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A HISTORY

OF THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

DURING LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION

By

JOHN BACH McMASTER

History of the People of the United States During Lincoln's Administration

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BY

JOHN BACH McMASTER

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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To the Memory of
my Wife.

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HISTORY

OF THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES DURING LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER I.

THE APPEAL TO ARMS.

On the fourth of February, 1861, eight and thirty gentlemen, delegates from six of the seven States that had broken the political ties that once bound them in the Federal Union, met in Convention in the Senate Chamber in the Capitol at Montgomery. The task before them was to frame a Constitution for the Confederate States of America. So diligent were they that before a week passed they turned the Convention into a Congress, adopted a provisional Constitution,* to remain in force for one year from the inauguration of a provisional President, or until a permanent Constitution was in operation; elected Jefferson Davis and Alexander Hamilton Stephens provisional President and Vice-President respectively, † put in force all laws of the United States not inconsistent with the temporary Constitution; and appointed committees to report a permanent Constitution and designs for a flag, a seal, a motto and a coat of arms. Before a fortnight had gone by the Confederate States were notified that the provisional Government would take over the settlement of all disputes with the United States; and Davis was directed to appoint, as soon as possible after his inauguration, three commissioners to "negotiate

* Printed in full in Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 4, vol i, pp. 92-99.

† February 9, 1861, Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, pp. 100, 101.

friendly relations between that Government and the Confederate States of America," and settle "all questions of disagreement between the two governments on principles of justice, equity and good faith." * All officers in the custom service of the United States, in office when the provisional Government was founded, were appointed to serve under the Confederate States, and given the same duties, salaries and fees as when under the Federal Government. February eighteenth Davis was inaugurated, and two days later the departments of State, War, Treasury, Justice, the Navy and the Post-Office were created. † Continuing the work of organization the Congress, before the month ended, authorized the issue of bonds not to exceed fifteen million dollars in amount; authorized the raising of a provisional army; and fixed the rates of postage. Davis was instructed to take control of all military operations in the several States, receive from them the arms and munitions they had "acquired" from the United States, and take into the service of the Confederacy such forces, then in the service of the States, as might be tendered, or might volunteer with consent of their States, in such number as might be necessary, and for any term not less than one year. ‡ March first P. T. Beauregard was appointed a Brigadier General in the Provisional Army and March fourth the Confederate flag was raised over the dome of the Capitol at Montgomery by the granddaughter of former President John Tyler. § Walker, under the act to raise a provisional army, called for troops to defend Charleston and Pensacola, to man forts Pulaski and Morgan, forts Jackson

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, p. 103.

† Robert Toombs was appointed Secretary of State; Christopher Gustavus Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury; Leroy Pope Walker, Secretary of War. To them were presently added Stephen Russell Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, Judah Philip Benjamin, Attorney-General, and John Henninger Reagan, Postmaster-General. The three commissioners to the Washington Government were, Andrew Bienvenue Roman, Martin Jenkins Crawford, and John Forsyth.

‡ Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, p. 117. Act of February 28, 1861.

§ Many designs and models for a flag were submitted to Congress. The one adopted consisted of three broad horizontal stripes; the upper and lower red, the middle white. In the upper left-hand corner, coming down to the top of the lower red stripe, was a blue square and on it was a circle of seven white stars.

and St. Philip on the Mississippi River below New Orleans, and to defend Texas.*

The Confederate Congress now finished the permanent Constitution,† sent it to the States, and adjourned to meet again on the second Monday in May. ‡ Complaints were made in Louisiana and Georgia because it was not submitted to a direct vote of the people; but they received little heed, and by the end of March five States had ratified and it went into force. §

In the northern Capital on the fourth of March, Lincoln took the oath of office required of Presidents of the United States. Never before had Washington presented such an appearance on inauguration day. Fear of attack on the President-elect led to the taking of unusual precautions lest a bullet, a hand grenade, a bomb should reach him. Troops lined Pennsylvania Avenue and stood upon the housetops that they might overlook and watch the crowd. Foot and horse escorted him to the Capitol. Arrived there he must walk some fifty yards to the entrance to the Senate wing, and be much exposed. A covered passage had therefore been built of thick boards, and through it Lincoln passed from his carriage to the Capitol.

Never before had an inaugural address been awaited with such deep and anxious interest. What would be the policy of Lincoln no one knew. In letters to friends and addresses to audiences he had, now and then, dropped hints. To one he wrote: "My opinion is that no State can in any way lawfully get out of the Union without the consent of the others." ‖ To another: "Please present my respects to General Scott, and tell him, confidentially, I shall be obliged to him to be as well prepared as he can be to either hold or retake the forts, as the case may require, at, or after, the inauguration." ¶

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* Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, p. 135.

† Ibid., pp. 136-147.

‡ March 16, 1861.

§ Alabama, March 13; Georgia, March 16; Louisiana, March 21; Texas, March 23; Mississippi, March 29. Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, pp. 150, 173, 187, 193. South Carolina, April 3; Florida, April 22, 1861. Ibid., pp. 207, 230.

‖ Lincoln to Washburn, December 17, 1860—Works, vol. i, p. 660.

¶ Thurlow Weed, December 2, 1860.

Speaking to the legislature of Indiana he asked: "Would the marching of an army into South Carolina without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent towards them, be 'invasion'? I certainly think it would; and it would be 'coercion' also, if South Carolinians were forced to submit. But, if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties would any or all of these things be 'invasion' or 'coercion'?" * These expressions were hints of what was in his mind, of what he would probably do, but no definite statement of how he would deal with the Confederacy, with secession, with the momentous question of war or peace was made public until, on the fourth of March, he spoke to the crowd gathered in front of the east portico of the unfinished Capitol to behold him take the oath of office.

The Union, he said, was unbroken. No State on its own mere motion could go out of the Union. Resolves and ordinances to that effect were legally void; and acts of violence, in any State, against the authority of the United States, were insurrectionary or revolutionary according to circumstances. Holding these opinions he should take care that the laws of the Union were duly executed in all the States, unless his rightful masters, the American people, should withhold the requisite means, or direct the contrary. In doing this there need be no bloodshed, no violence, and there should be none unless forced on the national authority. The power confided to him would be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts. Beyond what might be necessary for these objects there would be no invasion, no use of force against the people anywhere.

To friends of the South, in Washington, the speech seemed so threatening that some hastened to send warning telegrams to President Davis. Others met during the afternoon of March fourth, discussed the meaning of the inaugural, and bade one of their number inform the Confederate Secretary of State of their decision. It was their

* New York Tribune, February 12, 1861.

unanimous opinion that Lincoln would at once attempt to collect the revenue, reënforce and hold forts Sumter and Pickens, and retake such other places as had been seized by the Confederates, for he was a man of firmness and will. Should Sumter be attacked it was their belief that the order should come from the Confederate Government and not from the State of South Carolina.*

As the telegraph spread the inaugural over the country Republican journals praised it as sensible, judicious, full of patriotism and kindly feeling for all sections of the country. Here and there some Democratic journal condemned it as discreditable, unworthy of the President, a weak declaration of war against the seceded States, a tiger's claw under the fur of Sewardism. † It was a loose, disjointed, rambling speech, full of promises which, if carried out in good faith, must lead to civil war in thirty days, unless the Southern peoples were a set of braggarts. ‡ The tone of the speech and the character of the Cabinet justified the fear that the Border States would soon secede, and that the States which had seceded would make ready for war. § Indeed, the press of the Border States was eager for war. Civil war, it was said, must come. Sectional war declared by Lincoln awaits but the signal gun from the insulted Southern Confederacy to light its horrid fires along the Virginia border. The question, where shall Virginia go? is answered by Mr. Lincoln. She must go to war. She must fight, for she will surely be invaded by the army of Davis, or of Lincoln. No action of the Convention can now maintain peace. ||

In Petersburg, Virginia, it was said that thousands of men who had stood by the Union now changed their minds and declared for revolution unless the Convention at once passed an ordinance of secession. The people of Wilmington, North Carolina, were pleased with the address because it meant

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* Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 263–264.

† The Pennsylvanian.

‡ The Chicago Times.

§ Detroit Free Press.

|| Richmond Enquirer, March 5, 1861.

coercion, and coercion was just what they hoped would be attempted. Louisville was convinced that Lincoln was determined to retake the forts and collect the revenue by force. Knoxville declared Tennessee would fight him to the bitter end.

Editors in the Confederate States were of like mind. At Jacksonville and Columbus, Mississippi, the inaugural was held to be a declaration of war. At New Orleans the statement that the ordinances of the seceded States were null and void, and the determination to hold, occupy, and possess Government property and collect the revenue were called an open declaration of war. The assertion that no blood need be shed, nor invasion made, was read with laughter. In Mobile war was considered to be inevitable. A Montgomery journal described the speech as artfully worded, and written by a pen more skillful than the railsplitter yielded. The animus was plain, the meaning clear. It meant war, and nothing less than war would satisfy the abolition chief. If blood, and nothing but blood Mr. Lincoln must have, then let the South cry "havoc, and let slip the dogs of war." *

While the people were reading the comments of the press, the names of the Secretaries were laid before the Senate. † No opposition was made to any of them until those of Edward Bates of Missouri and Montgomery Blair of Maryland were reached. Then the Border States Senators protested. No man from a slave-holding State, they said, ought to have a place in the Cabinet of a Black Republican President holding such views as Lincoln had expressed in his inaugural. Some votes were cast against them: but their appointments were confirmed and the President and his Secretaries took up a task far more difficult than had ever been laid on any of their predecessors. Truly was it said, never before has an

* Montgomery Advertiser, March 5, 1861.

† Seward, Secretary of State; Chase, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General.

administration been called on to discharge duties so grave or complicated. Never before was there such need of so much charity, forbearance, reserve of public criticism. Buchanan's feeble and treacherous administration has left a broken Union, a bankrupt treasury, a divided people, an imperiled nation. On the new administration rests the duty of facing these perils and finding a cure. It will be no holiday service. A tottering Government is to be preserved or lost; a nation is to be saved. Let every man put aside partisanship; forget resentments, forget men, forget politics, and rally to the support of the Government and of the Administration into whose hands it has for a short time been confided.*

Lincoln in his inaugural speech had promised to hold, occupy and possess the places and property belonging to the United States. Under this solemn promise it was now his duty to hold both Sumter and Pickens. What should be done to hold them must be speedily decided or they might be taken by the Confederacy. Indeed, while the ceremonies of the inauguration were under way there came to the Department of War a report from Anderson in Fort Sumter, setting forth that his provisions would last but a month, that unless relieved he must then surrender, and that to relieve the garrison would require a fleet and twenty thousand men. † The President at once consulted General Scott, and on the sixth of March, by order of Lincoln, a meeting was held at the Department of War to consider the situation of Anderson.

To those present Scott reviewed the perils which beset the country; told of the advice and warning he had given Buchanan; of the precautions he had taken to provide for public safety; of his fear that war was near at hand, and of the distressing news from Anderson to consider which the meeting had been called. Most of his hearers were in favor of the prompt relief and reënforcement of Anderson; but Scott dwelt on the difficulty presented by the strong batteries

* New York Tribune, March 5, 1861.

† Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, p. 197.

erected by the South Carolinians, declared the Navy must decide, for the Army could do nothing, and the meeting adjourned without coming to a decision.*

March ninth the question was discussed at a Cabinet meeting. On the tenth newspaper correspondents telegraphed their journals that the report was current, in Washington, that the Government was about to order the troops in Sumter to be withdrawn. An official letter, it was said, had come from Anderson stating that his provisions would last but fifteen days. The question, shall he be reënforced or the fort abandoned? had, therefore, arisen, and the latter course was to be adopted from necessity, and by advice of Scott. One report had it that the *Brooklyn* would probably be sent to bring him and his men to some Northern city. Senator Wigfall telegraphed to Beauregard and Davis that it was believed Anderson would be ordered to leave Sumter in a few days. Such at all events had been informally agreed to at a Cabinet meeting on Saturday night. †

Merchants and stock brokers in New York were greatly excited by the rumor. "Is it possible?"; "Can it be true?"; "Do you believe it?"; "Nonsense, out of the question" were exclamations heard on every hand. ‡ The brokers, however, were inclined to believe the report was true. Bank exchange and uncurrent bills rose in value. The stock board was in a furor of excitement and the sales larger in quantity and the price higher than they had been for a month past. §

Dispatches from Washington that night set forth that reports of the intended evacuation of Sumter still prevailed. Men of prominence declared they had information which satisfied them that such a course was necessary and must be taken. It was idle to pretend the question had not been settled. The fact was, Anderson had been ordered to leave, and was to come by land to Washington or Baltimore. ||

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* Diary of Gideon Welles, vol. i, pp. 3-5.

† Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, p. 273.

‡ Philadelphia Ledger, March 12, 1861.

§ New York Herald, March 12, 1861.

|| Philadelphia Ledger, March 12, 1861.

March twelfth Seward was reported to have heartily approved of the evacuation of Sumter. The popular belief was that Lincoln, however reluctant, would be persuaded to accept the opinion of Scott and withdraw Anderson, and that a messenger would soon be sent with the order.

In Philadelphia, while every man hoped for peace, there was a strong feeling against buying it by yielding to all the demands of the South. If the President gave up Sumter one week after solemnly promising to hold, possess, and occupy the forts, he would soon be forced to abandon his other promise to collect the duties. Nothing would then remain for him to do but assemble Congress, recognize the Confederate States, and divide the public property. Perhaps this would be the best policy. People everywhere believed the report because they hoped it might be true. Every lover of his country, it was admitted, must feel humiliated that the Government is brought so low that it cannot maintain its authority against treason and rebellion. The misconduct of the late Administration has been such that the present Administration has neither the ships nor the money necessary to enforce the law against armed traitors. Treason, which at first could have been checked, has grown to such proportions that any attempt to put it down will bring on a widespread sectional war. Viewed as a measure of conciliation the withdrawal of the troops may have a good effect, may quiet sectional excitement. The whole country feels relieved. Ultras, striving for a fight, are disgusted; but Moderates and Christian men North and South will feel that abandonment of Sumter is best for the country and a step towards reunion.

The President, however, had come to no such decision. While positive assurances of evacuation of Sumter were coming from Washington, Lincoln turned to Scott and asked what should be done to supply and reënforce the fort. The General replied that the time for relief had gone. Five thousand regulars and twenty thousand volunteers would be needed to take the batteries. The help of the Navy would be necessary, but ships could not be gathered in less than four months, nor troops in less than six. Starvation, or surrender to assault was merely a question of time. He there-

fore presented a draft of an order for the evacuation of Sumter.*

Blair, still convinced that the fort could be relieved, now telegraphed Captain Gustavus V. Fox, of the Navy, who hurried from New York and laid a plan before the President who took him to the office of Scott where the possibility of relief was again debated. Scott admitted that the plan was workable in February, but impossible in March because of the many new batteries at the entrance to the harbor. Fox thereupon suggested that he visit Sumter and see for himself what was the situation. Lincoln agreed if Cameron and Scott had no objections. †

That the plan could be carried out seems to have been the belief of the President, for he now asked each member of the Cabinet for a written answer to the question, "Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it?" All save Blair and Chase said no. The most that could be done, Seward believed, would be to attempt to throw into Sumter a few hundred men and provisions for six months. But in our country with its daily press, mails, and telegraphs the attempt would be known as soon as begun, and the fort would be taken by assault before the expedition reached Charleston. Even if the attempt were successful, and the garrison put in condition to defy assault for six months, nothing would be gained, for the Administration could not hope to subjugate Charleston or the State of South Carolina. The garrison might fire on the batteries and demolish them; but that would not check disunion. It would inaugurate civil war and then reunion would be hopeless. Seward would not begin war to regain a useless and unnecessary position on the soil of the seceding States. ‡

Meantime the question, what was Lincoln going to do? came before the Secretary in yet another way. In the closing hours of Buchanan's administration one of the three

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, p. 197.

† Fox's Memorandum of facts concerning the attempt to send supplies to Fort Sumter in 1861. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies, Series 1, vol. iv, pp. 246–247.

‡ Crawford's Genesis of the Civil War, pp. 348-353.

Confederate Commissioners reached Washington. Instructions bade them seek recognition of independence, and make, as soon as possible, a treaty of amity and good will. They were to begin by obtaining a personal interview with Lincoln. Should he receive them in their official capacity they were to present their letter empowering them to act. Should he decline to receive them officially, but agree to meet them unofficially, they should go, tell him by word of mouth of the duties with which they were charged, learn what course he intended to adopt, and report at once.

Lincoln, and, indeed, all others were to be assured of the earnest wish of the President, Congress and people of the Confederate States to maintain peaceful relations with the United States and secure a friendly settlement of all pending questions. They were to say that while firmly resolved to maintain independence at all hazards, the South neither intended, nor wished, to injure her late confederates. Nothing would induce her to take a hostile attitude towards the United States save refusal to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States accompanied by an aggressive attempt to assert, within the limits of the Confederacy, the powers which belong to the Federal authority under the Constitution, powers which ceased the moment the sovereign Commonwealths forming the Confederacy solemnly dissolved the old bonds, renounced allegiance and reassumed the powers delegated to form the old Union. If the United States would pursue its time-honored policy of recognizing *de facto* governments, and the right of every people to create and reform their political institutions at their will, it could have no hesitation in recognizing the independence of the Confederate States which were an independent nation *de facto* and *de jure.*

Should Lincoln refuse to receive the Commissioners in any way, and propose to refer the subject of their mission to the Senate, they were to wait. Should he propose to withhold a reply until Congress assembled and acted, they were to wait.*

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* Pickett Papers, Library of Congress. Instructions to the Commissioners, February 27, 1861.

From Washington, early in March, Crawford reported that it was useless to approach Buchanan. A little while since he had expressed his willingness to receive the Commissioners "purporting" to come from the Confederate States Government, and send to Congress such matter as they might lay before him. After the Confederate Government had been informed of this he changed his mind, or lost remembrance of what he had said, and denied having given utterance to such language. On further conversation he recalled something of the matter and declared he would refer any communication from them to Congress, but must consult his Cabinet. He was as incapable of purpose as a child. As to what should be the policy of the new Administration, the Cabinet was not agreed. Lincoln, it was understood, had rejected Chase. Thereupon delegation after delegation from the Wide Awake Clubs, Crawford wrote, had waited on the President-elect and urged the appointment. Getting no pledge they made a demand, and finally defied and dared Lincoln to refuse. He then yielded. Bell was in constant conference with him, urging him not to disturb the South. Any attempts to collect revenue or reënforce the forts would be the signal for every Border State to secede. Bell advised indefinite truce and withdrawal of the troops from the forts, save a sergeant and a few men, "leaving the flag of the United States flying to satisfy the war party. Let the Confederate States do as they pleased, let them make ready for war, strengthen their defenses, do as they pleased. The more they did looking towards independence the greater would be the taxes, the sooner would come discontent, and at last reconciliation on the most enduring basis." *

Two days after the inauguration Crawford reported that the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War favored a peace policy to prevent further disruption, and bring back the States that had already seceded. The construction that Seward put on the inaugural speech, was, that it only followed the language of every inaugural speech from that of Washington down. Lincoln had promised to "execute the laws."

* Pickett Papers: Crawford to Toombs, March 3, 1861.

This was necessary to prevent the utter ruin of the party. He had promised to collect the revenue. In this he had an eye to ports outside rather than inside the Confederacy. Had he not so declared New York or San Francisco might at any time, for any reason, have refused to pay the duties. The words, hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the United States Government, Seward said, must, with all else in the speech, be taken in connection with the qualification, "doing this seems to be only a simple duty on my part and I shall perform it so far as possible unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary." *

In the next report Crawford and Forsyth stated their belief that in the Cabinet was a peace party with Seward at the head; that it was good policy to cultivate unofficial relations with this party, and to that end the services of a distinguished ex-Senator had been secured to bring about an understanding with Seward. The Secretary was for delay. The agent declared delay was not possible. He was sent to demand a definition of the relations the Confederate States were to hold with the United States. The Confederacy wished peace, but was ready to accept war. In the excited state of the public mind, the anomalous condition of Sumter and Pickens, the flag of a Foreign Power flying over soil its people had declared independent, the uncertainty whether the forts would or would not be reënforced, and the five or six steamers receiving troops and supplies in Brooklyn made delay impossible. Seward urged that it was not the time for action, the new Administration was besieged by applicants for office, and beset by all the difficulties of its early days in office. The agent admitted this to be true; nevertheless, without assurances, the Commissioners were bound to make an issue and force a reply. Seward would give assurances, wherefore it was agreed the agent should bring him a memorandum of terms on which the Commissioners would consent to delay. †

* Pickett Papers. Crawford to Toombs, March 6, 1861.
† Ibid. Crawford and Forsythe to Toombs, March 8, 1861.

The paper was drafted at once, and carried to the Department of State early on the morning of March eighth. The terms were: consideration of diplomatic relations; withdrawal of troops from forts, arsenals, and dockyards; and postponement for twenty days of all questions arising from secession, provided the United States gave a pledge not to change the present military status, not to attempt to reenforce forts in its possession, not to molest forts and arsenals in possession of the Confederate States. The Confederate States would not attack Sumter nor Pickens, and their garrisons might get supplies.

Seward was sick when the memorandum was delivered, and three days passed before he was again at his desk. The agent who had carried the memorandum was then out of the city; but that no time should be lost Senator Hunter of Virginia offered to see Seward and ask for an unofficial reception of the Commissioners. The reply was a polite refusal. A formal note was then drafted, Seward duly informed of the official presence of the Commissioners in Washington, and a request made for a day when they might present to Lincoln the credentials they bore, and state the objects of the mission with which they were charged. Seward made no reply, but on the fifteenth placed on the files of the Department a long memorandum in which he declined "official intercourse" with Crawford and Forsyth.*

While the Commissioners were waiting for Seward's reply two justices of the Supreme Court, Nelson of New York and Campbell of Alabama assumed the rôle of peace-makers. No one had watched the course of events more carefully than Justice Nelson. He had thought much on the right of the President to coerce the seceded States, had reached the conclusion that force could not be used without serious violation of the Constitution, and on March fifteenth visited the Secretaries of State, and War, and the Attorney-General and stated his views. Seward was strong for peace, would spare no efforts to keep it, was thankful for any hindrance

* Forsyth to Pickens, March 14, 1861. Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, p. 275.

to war, and complained of the embarrassment caused him by the demand of the Commissioners for recognition. Such being the case Nelson suggested that Justice John A. Campbell, a native of Alabama, but a true friend of the Union, might be of use, and happening to meet him after leaving Seward, told him of the interview and the two went at once to Seward, and advised him to answer the letter. Seward refused to do so. Not a member of the Cabinet, he said, would hear of it. The evacuation of Sumter was as much as the Administration could bear.

Campbell, then for the first time made aware that the withdrawal of Anderson was considered by the Cabinet, admitted that it would be as much as the Administration could bear, and offered to see the Commissioners and write to Davis. "And what," said he, "shall I say to him upon the subject of Fort Sumter?" "You may say to him that before the letter reaches him, the telegraph will have informed him that Sumter will have been evacuated." * Confident that the fort would soon be abandoned, Campbell went at once to Crawford and urged him to wait for an answer to his note, for if he pressed for a reply a refusal to receive the Commissioners would follow.

Crawford answered that if Campbell could give assurance that the intentions of the United States were peaceful, that Sumter would be evacuated and Pickens not reënforced, time would be granted. He soon returned and asked for a delay of ten days until the effect on the people of the evacuation of Sumter was known. Campbell was requested to put his assurance in writing and did so. I feel perfectly confident, he wrote, Fort Sumter will be evacuated within the next five days. I feel perfectly confident no measure changing the existing status of things prejudicial to the Confederate States of America is at present contemplated. I feel entire confidence that an immediate demand for an answer will be productive of evil, and not good.

The five days came and went. No order was sent to Anderson, and when, on the twentieth of March, the Com-

* Crawford's Genesis of the Civil War, p. 328, note.

missioners telegraphed to Beauregard, "Has Sumter been evacuated?" * and received the reply that it had not, the answer was laid before Campbell. He carried it to Seward, returned, and left a second memorandum, and on the following day came again and left a third memorandum which read: "As a result of my interview of to-day, I have to say that I have still unabated confidence that Fort Sumter will be evacuated, and that no delay that has occurred excites in my mind any apprehension or distrust; and that the state of things existing at Fort Pickens will not be altered prejudicially to the Confederate States." †

Justice Nelson now ceased to act as a go-between, and the Russian Minister, Baron Stoeckl, called on Roman who had just arrived. The Baron had seen Seward the day before, and had found him anxious for a peaceful settlement. There would be no coercion, no blockade. The Confederate States would be allowed to collect the customs duties; but out of them should be paid the expense of the Post-Offices. If matters were allowed to go on peacefully he hoped to see the Confederate States back in the Union. If they persisted in maintaining the position they had assumed he believed "they should be permitted to depart in peace," and the terms of separation settled amicably. The Baron then proposed an informal meeting of Seward and Roman. Roman should come to tea on a certain evening at the Baron's house. Seward should drop in, and after tea Stoeckl should go out and Seward and Roman be left alone. ‡ Roman accepted, but Seward wrote that after much reflection he could not accept the invitation to take a cup of tea on the appointed evening. When reporting this incident to Toombs the Commissioners asked, shall we dally longer with a Government hesitating and doubting as to its own course; or shall we demand our answer at once?" §

By order of Lincoln, Fox was now sent to obtain accurate information as to the state of affairs in Sumter. ‖ He was

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, p. 277.
† Pickett Papers. To Toombs, March 22, 1861.
‡ Ibid., Roman to Toombs, March 25, 1861.
§ Ibid., March 26, 1861.
‖ Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 208, 209.

allowed to enter the fort, and brought back word that Anderson believed that it was too late to take it by landing an army on Morris Island, that entrance from the sea was impossible, and that his provisions would be exhausted by noon on the fifteenth of April.* Lamon, the President's old law partner, was also sent, saw Anderson and Governor Pickens, and left on each the impression that the fort would soon be abandoned. † Indeed, Beauregard informed Anderson that he was to go, that no formal surrender would be required, and that the garrison might take with them side arms and company arms, and salute their flag before leaving. ‡

As day followed day and Lamon did not return, as he had promised to do, and the flag still flew over Sumter, Governor Pickens grew uneasy and telegraphed to the Commissioners an account of the visit of Lamon and his pledges. Campbell took it to Seward, and after the interview reported he was still satisfied of the good faith of the Government in all respects, save as to the evacuation of the fort. The truth was, the Commissioner told Toombs, the promise was given after the President and Cabinet had agreed to the order for evacuation, and when the person pledging its fulfillment had no reason to believe any influences whatever could delay evacuation. But Lincoln, hard-pressed by others of his party, was induced, in order to protect himself from the indignation sure to follow the act, to send Lamon to inspect and report so that the necessity of evacuation might be made manifest. Lamon had told the Governor he would return in three or four days and remove the garrison. This was not done because the President was forced to await the result of the elections in Connecticut and Rhode Island. There was no purpose to countermand the order. §

April first Campbell again saw Seward, was told Lamon had no authority to pledge Lincoln by any promise or assurance, and was given in writing the statement: "I am

* Official Records, Navies, Series 1, vol. iv, p. 247.
† Ibid., Armies, Series 1, vol. i, p. 282.
‡ Ibid., p. 222, March 26, 1861.
§ Pickett Papers, April 1, 1861.

satisfied the Government will not undertake to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice to Governor Pickens." * The President, Crawford telegraphed Beauregard, has not the courage to execute the order we know was agreed on to evacuate. He intends to shift the responsibility on Anderson by suffering him to be starved out. Our best course is to aid by cutting off supplies. If the fort be assaulted while the general impression is that its surrender may be expected any day, we will appear guilty of unnecessarily shedding blood. † The war wing presses on the President, he vibrates to that side, has conferred with several officers and naval engineers supposedly in regard to Sumter, and his form of notice may be that of the coward who gives it when he strikes. ‡

The President had, indeed, gone over to the war wing for, on the return of Fox, he decided to provision Sumter and signed an order directing Welles and Cameron to get ready an expedition to move by sea not later than the sixth of April. By the fourth preparations had gone so far that Fox was notified that Sumter was to be succored, that he was to command the transports and was to go to the entrance of Charleston harbor and attempt to deliver the provisions. Should resistance be offered the senior naval officer would use his entire force to effect an entrance.

It was now the fourth of April. A month had passed since inauguration day, yet Seward saw on every hand nothing but wavering, fickleness, want of vigor, want of policy, want of leadership. Convinced that it was his duty to guide the hesitating President, supply him with a policy and, if need be, take over the work of administration, he sat down and wrote a long paper, called it "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration," and handed it to Lincoln on the first day of April. We are now, he said, at the end of a month's administration, yet without a policy foreign or domestic. For this they were not to be blamed, for the

* Campbell MSS. Crawford's Genesis of the Civil War, pp. 337-339.

† Pickett Papers, April 1, 1861.

‡ Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies, Series 1, vol. iv, p. 256. Crawford and Roman to Toombs, April 2, 1861.

pressure of the Senate, and the pressure of office seekers prevented attention to graver affairs. But further delay to adopt and prosecute policies, both domestic and foreign, would bring scandal on the Administration and danger on the country. As a home policy the question before the people should be changed from one upon slavery, or about slavery, to one of union or disunion. The occupation, or evacuation, of Fort Sumter, though not a slavery question, was so regarded and should be ended as a safe means of changing the issue. All forts along the Gulf should be reënforced and defended; all naval vessels in foreign stations should be recalled and prepared for a blockade; and the question of union or disunion distinctly raised. As to foreign policy, categorical explanations should at once be demanded from France and Spain, and if not satisfactory Congress should be assembled and war declared. Explanations should be sought from Great Britain and Russia, and agents sent into Canada, Mexico and Central America to raise a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention. Whatever the policy adopted, it must be vigorously prosecuted. It must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly. Either the President must direct it himself, or pass it on to some member of his Cabinet. "It is not my especial province, but I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility." *

The wild scheme of foreign war in hope of uniting the sections and putting an end to secession; the censorious tone; the demand that Lincoln should perform the duties of his office or assign them to him, might well have led to his instant dismissal. But Lincoln, with that magnanimity which was one of his finest traits, passed over all that was offensive and replied to the "Thoughts" the very day he received them. As to having no policy, he had said in the inaugural: "The powers confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts," and Seward had approved. He could not see how reënforcement of Sumter

* Nicolay and Hay's Abraham Lincoln, vol. iii, pp. 445–447.

would be a slavery, or party, issue while that of Fort Pickens would be a national and patriotic one. As to the closing proposition that "either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or devolve it on some member of his Cabinet," I remark, he wrote, "that if it must be done, I must do it." * And there the incident closed. Nor did either party ever allude to it; nor was the existence of the "Thoughts" and the answer ever known until both President and Secretary were in their graves and the biographers of Lincoln made the papers public.

Preparations for the expedition being well under way, the next step was to serve the promised notice on Governor Pickens. For this purpose Captain Talbot and Robert A. Chew, a clerk in the Department of State, were now sent to Charleston. If, on reaching the city, Talbot found the flag still flying over Sumter, and the fort not fired on, he was to read these words to Governor Pickens: "I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and that if such attempt is not resisted no effort to throw in men, arms or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of attack." † Should the fort have been evacuated or given up, Talbot was to return.

Alarmed by the rumors current in Washington, and by the reported activity in the Brooklyn navy yard, the Confederate Commissioners telegraphed Toombs that events made it necessary to require a reply to their note of the twelfth of March, and that they would notify Seward that evening that a messenger would call for an answer at two o'clock on the morrow. Should it be unsatisfactory, they would consider the gauntlet thrown down, and close their mission. On the afternoon of the eighth, accordingly, Pickett went to Seward's home, met his son, and received the memorandum of March fifteenth refusing official recognition to the Commissioners. They at once telegraphed Toombs they would leave the city.

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* Nicolay and Hay's Abraham Lincoln, vol. iii, pp. 448-449.

† Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, p. 245. April 6, 1861.

A journey of two days brought Talbot and Chew to Charleston late on the afternoon of the tenth. Without loss of time Talbot betook himself to the Governor, told him of the written instructions and said that Mr. Chew asked for an interview. Consent was given. Chew was brought in, read the notice, and handed a copy to Governor Pickens who said that Beauregard was in charge of military matters, sent for him, and delivered to him the copy of the message. Talbot, as instructed by Cameron, then asked if he might return to duty in the fort. Beauregard refused. Talbot then asked if he might visit Anderson if he promised to return to Charleston. This too was refused, and having no further business he announced his wish to go North that night, and with Chew was escorted by two staff officers to the hotel. There some excitement was aroused by their presence; but in time they were quietly taken out a rear door and driven to the railroad depot in a carriage. The train left at eleven o'clock that night; but by order of Beauregard connections were missed at Florence and Richmond, and so much delay caused that not until the morning of the twelfth did the two reach Washington.*

No sooner had they left the Governor than Beauregard telegraphed the news to Montgomery, and just before midnight the sleeping citizens in Charleston were awakened by the booming of seven guns from the citadel. This was the signal for the gathering of the reserves, and in a few minutes the wet and misty streets were noisy with the tramp of volunteers hurrying to their commands, and of friends and relations eager to see them go. As company after company marched to the boats, the thunder, it was said, pealed a salute, and the lightning lit up the bright bayonets and glazed knapsacks. † Meantime a wild rumor spread about the town that Anderson had shown signal lights, and that a fleet of United States steamers was off the bar. No signals had been made. No steamers were off the bar. Indeed, they were but just starting, and none too soon, for the press and the people in the

* Talbot's Report, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 251–252.

† Charleston Mercury, April 9, 1861.

North were growing restive. Had not forbearance, it was asked, about ceased to be a virtue? A month of kindness had been wasted on the rebels, and they were growing more rebellious, more arrogant every day.* The Rebellion must be put down at all costs, or our Government will be broken in pieces. If the Union is worth anything it is worth fighting for. Late accounts indicate vigorous action; but not before it is demanded. † The fatal incubus of suspense and uncertainty hangs over and paralyzes the business of all classes, and is worse than a state of war. To hesitate longer to enforce the Federal authority will so alienate the friends of the Administration as to leave it wrecked and stranded without a party, a Government, a country. ‡ At last the time has come for action. Supplies have been cut off from Sumter. A hundred starving men cry out for bread to sustain them in defending the flag. Food must be furnished, peaceably if possible, but furnished at any cost. § There was a sudden and grateful relief in the public mind when news came that the Government was moving vigorously at the navy yard and military stations. "Thank God," said Scott as Lincoln closed his inaugural, "we now have a Government." Thank God, exclaimed every true-hearted American, we now have a Government that will protect us from villainy, fraud and treason. ‖

The fleet having sailed, and the notice having been given, the Commissioners telegraphed Toombs they would start for home at once, ¶ and Walker ordered Beauregard, if he had no doubt of the authorized character of the messenger from Lincoln, to demand the evacuation of Sumter, and if refused reduce the fort.

Beauregard answered that the demand would be made at noon on the following day. Walker bade him do it sooner, unless special reasons prevented. Beauregard replied that

* Scioto Gazette.
† Burlington Hawkeye.
‡ Peoria Transcript.
§ Boston Argus.
‖ New Hampshire Sentinel.
¶ Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies, Series 1, vol. iv, p. 260.

there were special reasons, held fast to his plan, and at two o'clock on the eleventh a boat carrying Colonel James Chesnut and Captain Stephen D. Lee left the wharf at Charleston, with the formal demand for surrender.

Every proper aid would be given for removal of the little band to any post in the United States Anderson might select. Company arms and property and private property might be taken away, and the flag, so long upheld with such fortitude under the most trying circumstances, might be saluted when taken down.* Anderson returned his thanks for the generous terms, but declared the demand was one with which his sense of honor and his duty to his Government prevented compliance. † As he handed this answer to the waiting Confederates he remarked: "Gentlemen, if you do not batter the fort to pieces about us, we shall be starved out in a few days." ‡ This refusal having been telegraphed to Montgomery, Walker at once authorized Beauregard "to avoid the effusion of blood" if Anderson would state when he would evacuate, and would agree, meanwhile, not to use his guns unless those of the Confederates were used against him. If he refused, the fort must be reduced. §

About midnight, therefore, Chesnut and Lee came again to Sumter with a note from Beauregard, telling Anderson if he would enter into such an agreement as Walker proposed, the aids had authority to conclude it. ‖ At half past two o'clock Anderson replied that if provided with transportation he would evacuate the fort at noon on the fifteenth, unless, ere that time, he received "controlling instructions" from his Government, or additional supplies. ¶ Having read the reply the aides, without consulting Beauregard, at twenty minutes after three notified Anderson in writing that in one hour from that time the Confederate batteries would open fire. At half past four, accordingly, on the morning of April twelfth, a gun fired at Fort Johnson gave the signal,

* April 11, 1861, McPherson, History of the Rebellion, p. 113.
† Ibid.
‡ McPherson, History of the Rebellion, p. 113.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Ibid., April 12, 1861.

a shell from a mortar on Morris Island rose in a graceful curve high in the air, burst almost over the fort, and the bombardment of Sumter began.

The day had been one of hurry and excitement in Charleston. Aides, couriers, soldiers hastened to and fro; cannon rumbled through the streets on their way to the wharves; militia from the interior of the State came by hundreds into the city, and every train brought scores of people from the towns, some to fight and many to behold the expected bombardment. As the report spread that a demand for the surrender of Sumter was to be made, the citizens hurried to the Battery, the wharves, to every spot from which the fort could be seen. Towards evening, after the return of Colonel Chesnut and his companions from their first visit to Anderson, rumor had it that the fight would begin at eight o'clock. Nobody knew just why that hour was chosen, but the report was believed, the crowd along the water front grew larger and larger and waited patiently till almost midnight when it dispersed. Roused from sleep in the early morning by the firing on the fort, the whole population of the city rushed to some place of vantage to see the fight. Housetops, steeples, wharves, the Battery were alive with onlookers. And what a spectacle, said one who saw it, did they behold! The stream of bombs from Fort Moultrie, Fort Johnson, Cummings Point, from all the batteries; the exploding flash, the thick white ball of smoke, all projected against the dark background of clouds along the horizon, made a picture as grand as it was awful. Towards seven o'clock Sumter opened on Cummings Point, then on Sullivan's Island, then on Fort Moultrie, and all day long the duel continued. Three times the barracks in Sumter burst into flames. So accurate was the vertical fire that half the shells came within, or exploded over, the fort, and the men were driven by the horizontal fire from the barbette guns. By noon cartridges ran low, the fire from Sumter slackened, and when evening came ceased, though the Confederates threw shells from time to time all night.

At three o'clock on the morning of the twelfth, just before Anderson received the notice from Chesnut and Lee, the

Baltic arrived at the meeting place, ten miles off Charleston bar, and found the *Harriet Lane* awaiting her. At six the the *Pawnee* came, and was boarded by Fox. He told her commander Rowan, of his orders to take provisions into Sumter, and asked that he stand in to the bar with the *Baltic*. Rowan replied that his orders were to await the *Powhatan* ten miles off the bar, and that he was not going in to start a civil war. The *Baltic* then stood in followed by the *Harriet Lane*. As they neared the harbor the sound of heavy guns, the shells, and smoke made known that the attack on Fort Sumter had begun. Fox thereupon went back to inform Commander Rowan of the *Pawnee,* met him coming in, boarded his vessel, found him determined to enter the harbor and share the fate of his brethren of the army, and told him that the Government did not expect such a gallant sacrifice. But the *Pawnee* went on and anchored on the outer edge of Swash Channel. No other vessel of the fleet came that day. The tug *Freeborn* never left New York; a heavy gale drove the *Uncle Ben* into Wilmington, where the Confederates captured her; and three days passed before the *Yankee* came, after all was over.*

As soon as it was light on the morning of the thirteenth the guns again opened on Sumter. At nine the officers' quarters took fire, the flames spread to the barracks, and by eleven o'clock it became necessary to close the magazine. Fifty barrels of powder were taken out and put in the casemates ere the doors were shut. But the cloud of cinders that poured into the casemates, setting fire to the beds and boxes, made it necessary to throw all but five barrels into the sea. The smoke, blown by a strong south wind, almost suffocated the men and forced them to lie down and cover their faces with wet rags, or seek fresh air at the embrasures. Firing from Sumter soon ceased, but, as the Confederate batteries poured forth shot and shell more fiercely than ever, Captain Doubleday ordered a few rounds to be fired that the enemy

* Fox, Memoranda of facts concerning the attempt to send supplies to Fort Sumter in 1861. Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies, Series I, vol. iv, pp. 249–250. Report of Commander Rowan, ibid., p. 253.

might know that the garrison was still undaunted. At each discharge the Confederates, mounted on the batteries, cheered the garrison for its pluck and hooted the fleet lying outside.*

The silence of Sumter and the dense cloud of smoke that hung over it led Beauregard, towards noon, to send three aids to General Simons on Morris Island to find out the condition of the fort and if the fire had forced evacuation. As they passed Sumter the flag was still flying; but after a conference with Simons it was decided that to offer aid was no more than human, and while a flag of truce and a boat were being made ready the flagstaff on Sumter was shot away. † As quickly as possible the flag was attached to a spar and fastened to a gun carriage on the parapet. Meantime Wigfall, with a private soldier in a skiff rowed by two negroes, pushed off from shore, reached and entered the fort. ‡ He acted without authority, and from his interview with Anderson came a serious misunderstanding. Representing himself as coming from Beauregard he demanded the surrender of the fort and understood Anderson to do so unconditionally. Anderson was willing to accept the terms offered on the eleventh, and believing this agreed to, lowered his flag, and Wigfall returned to Morris Island, announced the unconditional surrender and went on to Charleston. § The fall of the flag and the visit of Wigfall gave rise to an idle story which towards evening spread about the city and was believed. The officers on Morris Island, so the story ran, seeing the flag go down, with true Southern chivalry sent a boat with another flag that the gallant defenders might have one to fight under.

When Beauregard heard the flag was gone, he sent off two more officers with offers of aid. About halfway to Sumter they saw the flag raised and turned back, but when halfway

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* Beauregard's Report, Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, p. 32.

† Report of Chesnut, Chisolm and Manning. Ibid., p. 61.

‡ Ibid., p. 61.

§ April 13, Beauregard to Walker: "Anderson surrenders to the Confederate Government unconditionally, but I have granted him the same terms as on the 11th instant."

to Charleston they beheld the white flag, turned about and reached the fort. Anderson declined their offer of help, and expressed surprise to hear that they came from Beauregard. "Gentlemen," said he, "do I understand you come direct from General Beauregard?" "Yes." "Why, Colonel Wigfall has just been here as an aide to, and by authority of, General Beauregard, and proposed the same terms of evacuation as offered on the eleventh.*

They assured him that Wigfall had been on Morris Island for two days, had not seen Beauregard during that time and did not act under orders. Anderson, thereupon, declared he would raise the flag and go on with the fight, but was dissuaded and agreed to wait until Beauregard could be informed. Later in the afternoon two other officers came and to them the fort was surrendered about seven o'clock on the evening of the thirteenth of April. †

The fall of the colors was also seen by the squadron. On the night of the twelfth Fox on the *Baltic* left the *Pawnee* and the *Harriet Lane* off the bar, went to sea and spent the night making signals for the *Powhatan,* for he did not then know she had been sent to Pensacola. The morning of the thirteenth was foggy and the *Baltic,* in making her way in, grounded, but got off and because of the heavy swell was forced to anchor in deep water outside the *Pawnee* and *Harriet Lane.* At eight o'clock Fox was rowed over to the *Pawnee.* As all believed no loaded boats could reach Sumter in the heavy sea then running it was decided to seize a schooner then beating in towards the harbor, load her with provisions and run her in at night. The seizure was made and while the work of loading her was under way the flag went down on Sumter, and Lieutenant Marcy was sent with a flag of truce to Cummings Point to find out if Anderson had surrendered and if so, arrange for bringing the garrison away in the squadron. The answer was that he had surrendered

* Report of Captain S. D. Lee, Roger A. Pryor and William Porcher Mills. Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 63, 64.

† Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 64, 65.

and that a reply to the offer to take away the garrison would be made in the morning.

Charleston on the afternoon and night of the thirteenth was a scene of revelry. The citizens were crazy with delight. Men on horseback rode about the streets shouting the news. Bells were rung, and guns were fired. The bay was crowded with craft. Restaurants, clubs, bars, tap rooms were filled. The churches were opened and a *Te Deum* was sung with great pomp in the Catholic Cathedral. Another idle story, told and told again with delight and firmly believed, was that when Anderson came before Beauregard he said, he surrendered his sword to the representative of the Confederate Government, and that the chivalric Southerner replied, "I will not receive the sword of so brave a man." *

By the terms of surrender the garrison was to march out with company property and private property and salute the flag on leaving. On Sunday the fourteenth of April, all being ready, the flag was raised, and after a salute of fifty guns, lowered for the last time. Anderson had intended that a hundred guns be fired; but the premature discharge of a gun killed one man and wounded five others. This hindered departure until four o'clock when the little garrison boarded the steamer *Isabel*. It was then too late to cross the bar, but early on the fifteenth they were carried to the *Baltic* and started on their way north.

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* Dispatch from Charleston, evening of April 13, New York Herald, April 14, 1861. Philadelphia Press, April 14, 1861.

CHAPTER II.

THE GREAT UPRISING.

Over all the North the progress of the battle in Charleston harbor was watched with feelings of depression, anxiety and alarm. Newspapers in the great cities on the morning of April twelfth announced that a demand for the surrender of Sumter had been made, that it had been refused, and that Charleston expected the bombardment to begin at any moment. By noon the bulletin boards reported that the opening shot had been fired, and from time to time during the night gave such scraps of information as came by telegraph. The journals of the thirteenth published the letters which passed between Beauregard and Walker before the firing began, and such dispatches describing the progress of the battle as were received before midnight on the twelfth. Washington was thrown into intense excitement, for the city was known to be full of Confederate sympathizers, and the departments were believed to be full of Confederate spies. The Secretary of War at once detailed the Union Mechanic Rifles, a company of sixty men employed in building the great dome, to guard the Capitol, and sent regulars to the outskirts of the city to watch every approach. When the news reached Columbus, the legislature of Ohio was in session. Suddenly, a Senator entered its Chamber, caught the eye of the presiding officer and said: "The Secessionists are bombarding Fort Sumter."

All proceedings stopped instantly. Not a sound was heard until the silence was broken by the voice of a woman crying: "Glory to God." The voice was that of Abby Kelly Foster, a lifelong leader of the anti-slavery party.

The fourteenth of April fell on Sunday. In the churches in many cities prayers were offered for the safety of the little band in Sumter, and the services ended with the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner." By ten o'clock the crowds about the bulletin boards and on the streets knew that Ander-

son had surrendered, and that the Confederate flag floated over Sumter. Some would not believe the dispatch. Some openly accused Anderson of treachery,* a charge which led to many a fight. All loyal men for awhile were depressed; but, as the day wore on, flags appeared, the population of every village, town, and city poured into the streets, politics were forgotten and men of all parties declared for the Union.

In Philadelphia, on Monday excitement rose high. A crowd gathered in the streets, visited every hotel, every newspaper office and forced the owners to display a flag, if they had not already done so; visited the post-office and finding that the Government had not provided the postmaster with a flag, procured one for him; visited the shops of merchants and the homes of citizens suspected of sympathy for the South and required a flag to be hung out, and continued their demonstration until late in the night when a drenching rain sent the rioters home.

Newspaper baiting soon spread to New York where, on the afternoon of the seventeenth, a crowd gathered before the door of the *Daily News,* a paper of strong Southern sympathy, and demanded that a Union flag be shown, and it was. The crowd then moved down Chatham Street to the office of the *Day Book,* another Southern sheet. As was suspected the proprietor did not own a Union flag, but quickly borrowed one from Tammany Hall near by. No staff was on the building, so the clerks hung it from a window where the crowd saw upon it in large letters the word "Tammany." The *Express* and the *Journal of Commerce,* anti-war papers, were made to display flags. †

In every great city and, indeed, in many small ones, were newspapers which did not hesitate to cry out against the war. The Eastern *Argus* in Portland, Maine, maintained that the war was the work of extremists, North and South. Let them fight it out. Each day of bloody work would strengthen the ranks of the conservatives who, when the outburst of fanaticism had spent itself in butchery and blood,

* New York Courier and Enquirer, April 15, 1861.
† New York Herald, April 18, 1861.

would mend the wreck, rebuild the Government, and run it. If we are to have war, the Sag Harbor *Corrector* asked, who is to do the fighting? The army of the United States, some sixteen thousand strong, cannot do it. Volunteers must be called for, and who will be the first to rush to the fratricidal strife? Will it be the Union men who believe that Republicanism is sectional and wrong? No. They will be loath to battle for its sectionalism. It will not be easy to enlist men for civil war. Men of the North will not form an army of invasion. "We say, do not dismember the Union; but if we must part let us do it peaceably." A more unnatural, unhallowed war, in the opinion of the Buffalo *Republic* never disgraced the pages of history. Suppose the wrongs of the South were imaginary. They were none the less a potent force, nor the less worthy of serious treatment. The cry of the people should be for peace, and should ring throughout the land before the work of disunion rent the Government in twain. Compromise, the Harrisburg *Patriot and Union* said, and nothing else could save the Union. Civil war would ruin it, and plant in the parted sections feelings of hatred that would make reunion impossible.*

Members of the bar who happened to be in the Court of Quarter Sessions at Lancaster, renewed their oath to support the Constitution of the United States. The legislature at Harrisburg had before it a bill appropriating a million and a half of dollars for arming the State. It was promptly passed. At Pittsburgh excitement was intense, business stopped, enlisting began in earnest, and the people at a meeting in the City Hall, pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in defense of the Union, and appointed a Committee of Safety. † The merchants of Cincinnati agreed to ship no more goods south. Men over forty-five formed a Home Guard for defense of the city, and the citizens, without regard to party, held a great Union meeting. Members of the Detroit bar adopted resolutions denouncing the Confederate States, and binding themselves to stand by the old flag at all hazards and to the last extremity. A mass meeting

* New York Tribune, April 17, 1861.
† Philadelphia Press, April 16, 1861.

at Cleveland pledged support to the Government, approved the call for troops and recommended the legislature to appropriate money. Another at Toledo expressed determination to stand by the Government at all hazards, and made arrangements for the enrollment of volunteers.

During the day Douglas visited the President, and urged him to action. Though unalterably opposed to the Administration and all its policies Douglas was ready to uphold the President in the use of his constitutional powers to preserve the Union, and save the Capitol. A firm policy and quick action were necessary, Washington was in danger and must be defended at all hazards.* Lincoln was greatly pleased by this visit, but did not need the advice. That night a call for troops was telegraphed to the Governors of all the States and made public in the morning newspapers of the fifteenth.† Laws of the United States, so ran the proclamation, for some time past, had been, and were then, resisted and their execution obstructed in seven States by combinations too powerful to be overcome by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshals by law.

Therefore, by virtue of the power vested in him by the Constitution and the laws, he called forth the militia of the States to the amount of seventy-five thousand men to put down the combinations and cause the laws to be executed. They would be used to repossess the places, forts and property seized from the Union, and so far as consistent with this purpose there would be no devastation, no destruction of property, no disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country. Congress was summoned to meet in special session at noon on Thursday the fourth of July.

The Act of 1795, which authorized the President to call for militia to put down insurrection, repel invasion and execute the laws of the United States, limited the time of their service to three months in any one year. ‡ A letter from the Secretary of War to the Governors of the States, therefore,

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* Philadelphia Press, April 15, 1861.

† Ibid.

‡ Act of February 28, 1795.

stated that the militia would be three months in service. The response of the Governors was immediate.* Your call will be promptly met, telegraphed one. The people of Maine, of all parties, will maintain the Union. New Hampshire will furnish the men required. Vermont will respond promptly. Governor Andrew of Massachusetts asked by what route he should send troops. Rhode Island was making every effort to be first in the field. Connecticut would give the requisition every attention. The legislature of New York was to adjourn without delay on the sixteenth of April. As soon as it met on the fifteenth, Governor Morgan, without waiting for notice from the Secretary of War, called attention to the proclamation of the President, and asked for men and money for public defense. † Three million dollars was appropriated, and provision made for the enlistment of not more than thirty thousand militia for two years. ‡ We will furnish the largest number you receive, replied the Governor of Ohio. I tender you for defense of the Nation and maintenance of the Government ten thousand men, said Governor Morton of Indiana. Wisconsin would promptly meet the call and furnish more men when needed.

From the Governor of Iowa, came assurance to Lincoln that nine-tenths of the people were with him, and would be with him in sympathy so long as the present policy was followed, and would be with him in person when needed.

"Could you," asked the Governor of Pennsylvania, "accept Ringold's Artillery of Reading? They are ready to start." "Yes," was Cameron's reply. "Can move two regiments this week, but they are not uniformed. Will that do?" asked the Governor of Ohio. "Yes," answered Cameron, "send them on." Michigan sent word that her regiment would be ready in thirty days, if need be, and fifty thousand more men when wanted. Cameron did not think there was any occasion for such hurry in the start for Washington

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* Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 3, vol. i, p. 71.

† Messages from the Governors, State of New York, vol. v, pp. 356-357.

‡ Laws of New York, 1861. Chapter 277, April 15.

and telegraphed the Governors of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, that their troops need not be ready before the twentieth of May.*

Very different were the replies from slave-holding States not in the Confederacy. In Delaware before the arrival of the mail on the morning of the fifteenth, a call to arms was issued from the office of the Delaware *Republican,* headed: "Rally to your Country's Call." War, it was said, has been brought upon the country by the rebels of the South. They have struck the first blow against the liberties of the people. Shall they subjugate us, or shall we arise and defend the Government? To decide this a meeting was called and amidst great enthusiasm scores of men offered to volunteer. At Newark seventy-five men organized and through the press appealed for revolvers. † One regiment, the quota of the State, was quickly raised and mustered into the service of the United States. ‡ Not till ten days later did the Governor issue his proclamation. A requisition, he said, has been made by the Secretary of War for one regiment to be detached from the militia to serve for three months. But the laws of the State conferred no such authority on the Governor, and there was no organized militia. Therefore let volunteer companies be formed for protection of the lives and property of the people. They would be under the control of the State authorities, and mustered into the service of the United States. § Governor Hicks of Maryland would detail four regiments to serve within the State or for defense of Washington. Your object, said Governor Letcher of Virginia, is to subjugate the Southern States and a requisition made on me for such a purpose will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate civil war, and having done so we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the Administration has exhibited towards the South. || "Your dispatch is received,"

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* Official Records, Series 3, vol. i, pp. 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 82.

† Philadelphia Press, April 17, 30, 1861.

‡ Official Record, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 3, vol. i, pp. 124, 125.

§ Dated April 25, 1861.

|| Official Records, Series 3, vol. i, p. 76.

telegraphed Governor Magoffin of Kentucky. "In answer I say emphatically, Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States. * Governor Ellis of North Carolina would furnish none. Levying troops to subjugate the States of the South was a violation of the Constitution, and a usurpation of power. He would be no party to such a wicked violation of the law, nor to a war on the liberties of a free people. "You can get no troops from North Carolina." † "Tennessee," replied Governor Harris, "will not furnish a single man for coercion, but fifty thousand for defense of our rights or those of our Southern brethren." ‡ Jackson of Missouri pronounced the requisition "illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical," and refused to honor it. Not one man would Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade. § None will be furnished, said Rector of Arkansas. "The demand is only adding insult to injury." ||

In the South, as news of the fall of Sumter spread from city to city, the people went wild with joy. Norfolk, Augusta, Montgomery, Mobile, welcomed it with salutes of one hundred guns. The men of Gainsboro hung on the ruins of the old Court House an effigy of Lincoln inscribed, "May all abolitionists meet the same fate." The men of Richmond formed a procession, marched to the Tredegar Iron Works with a Confederate flag, witnessed the raising of another while a band played the Marseillaise, hurried to the arsenal, seized some cannon, dragged them to the steps of the Senate Chamber and fired a salute. A score of men entered the Capitol and raised a Confederate flag over the roof of the House of Delegates, while a mass meeting resolved, "That we rejoice with high, exultant, heartfelt joy at the triumph of the Southern Confederacy over the accursed government at Washington in the capture of Fort Sumter." After nightfall there were bonfires, a torchlight procession and lights in

* Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 3, vol. i, p. 70.
† Ibid., p. 72.
‡ Ibid., p. 81.
§ Ibid., p. 83.
|| Ibid., p. 99.

every window. Before dawn the Confederate flag on the Capitol was removed by order of Governor Letcher.*

All honor to South Carolina, wrote the editor of a Richmond journal, nobly does she hold her place in the van of the Southern Column. If one little State can thus vindicate the sacredness of her soil, how can the North expect to subjugate a united South? † We believe that right is with our brethren of the South. We look on the Government in assailing them as representing not the Union, but a malignant fanaticism which takes the name of Union in vain. The war which the Government has begun is a wanton, desperate, wicked crusade against the homes and rights of the South and the principles of self-government.

The call of Lincoln for troops was said to have greatly increased secession feeling in Alexandria. Business was suspended, and the belief expressed that Virginia would at once leave the Union. Wilmington read it with contempt and indignation. Richmond received it with execration. Nothing could be more helpful to the cause of secession. Military men declared they would not obey it. At Montgomery the Confederate Cabinet was said to have greeted the reading of it with shouts of laughter. Stephens, speaking at Atlanta, said, seventy-five times seventy-five thousand troops would be needed to intimidate the South, and then she would not stay intimidated. The Confederate Government met it with a call for thirty-two thousand men, and President Davis issued a proclamation inviting applications for letters of marque and reprisal.

Abraham Lincoln, so the proclamation ran, having announced his intention to invade the Confederate States with armed forces to capture its fortresses and overthrow its independence, all who wished to aid the Government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression were invited to apply for letters of marque and reprisal. ‡ That Davis had authority to issue letters of marque on his own responsibility was vigorously denied in South Carolina, and in many places

* Richmond Enquirer, April 15, 1861.

† Richmond Dispatch, New York Tribune, April 27, 1861.

‡ New York Herald, April 30, 1861.

in the Confederacy. To do so was peculiarly the prerogative of Congress and he should, it was held, have waited until that body assembled.

Sitting in secret session, the Virginia Convention passed an ordinance of secession. The people of Virginia, the ordinance asserted, in their ratification of the Federal Constitution had declared the powers granted might be recalled whenever the same were used to their injury. The Federal Government having used those powers not only to the injury of the people of Virginia, but to the oppression of the Southern States, the ordinance whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and all acts of the Assembly adopting amendments, are repealed and abrogated. The Union between Virginia and the other States is dissolved. Virginia is in full possession of all her rights of Sovereignty, and the Constitution of the United States is no longer binding on her citizens.* The ordinance was not to go into effect until ratified by a majority of the people at a poll to be taken on the fourth Thursday in May; but from one end of the South to the other Virginia was hailed as out of the Union. In Richmond a crowd tore down and broke in pieces a gilded sign on which were the words "United States Court," and Confederate flags were run up on the State Capitol, the Customs House, the hotels and private dwellings. At Montgomery a Confederate flag with eight stars, one for Virginia, was raised over the Capitol. In Charleston, Augusta, Mobile, New Orleans, the glad tidings were hailed with bell ringing, cannon and shouts of the people.

There were those in Virginia, however, who did not intend to wait for a call to arms. Late on the fifteenth of April, John D. Imboden, then commanding the Staunton Artillery, was summoned to Richmond by the editor of the *Enquirer*. Reaching there on the morning of the sixteenth he was met in the streets by ex-Governor Wise, and asked to find among the delegates to the Convention as many officers of the armed volunteers as he could, and invite them to come to the Exchange Hotel that evening. Four officers and the superin-

* New York Tribune, April 29, 1861.

tendent of the Government works at Harpers Ferry were found, and these, with Imboden and Wise, met at the appointed time, decided to capture the works at Harpers Ferry, and to begin the movement the following day. The seventeenth was spent in preparation, and at sunrise on the eighteenth the Staunton Artillery, the Monticello Guards, the Albemarle Rifles and a Culpeper company were at Manasses Junction. Nightfall found them at Winchester whence the little army, much increased in size, marched to Halltown four miles from the Ferry.* The attack was to be made at daybreak; but just after ten o'clock a bright light showed that the works were on fire.

The Union force at the arsenal consisted of Lieutenant Jones and forty-five men. Fully aware that he was to be attacked, he placed piles of powder and straw in the buildings, telegraphed Scott that several companies of troops had gathered at Halltown and that he was prepared to destroy the buildings, and retreat into Pennsylvania. Scarcely had he sent the dispatch when word came that twenty-five hundred men were on their march from Winchester. The order to apply the torch was instantly given, and in a few minutes the arsenal buildings and the carpenter shop were wrapped in flames. Jones and his men fled over the bridge and reached Carlisle. Fifteen minutes after they left, the Virginia troops entered the yard and put out the fires in the shops; but the rifles were destroyed. †

In the loyal States, meantime, the people were rising. Regiments were recruiting, companies were forming, armories were crowded, and men with fife and drum were marching up and down the streets of the Eastern cities seeking recruits.

New York militia regiments, some of which had less than the required seven hundred and eighty men, opened recruiting stations and asked aid of their friends and the public for the purchase of arms and equipment. A score of independent

* Narrative of General John D. Imboden. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. i, pp. 111–117.

† Report of Lt. Roger Jones, April 18, 19, 20, 1861. Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, pp. 3–5.

companies, and citizens with and without military experience, advertised for volunteers, and in a few days the city was turned into a huge recruiting station. Colonel Baker appealed to old Californians to join his California Regiment. Alderman Barry organized the Barry Volunteers. The usual way was to announce the proposal to raise a company or regiment, and invite all willing to join to come on a certain morning to some saloon, hotel or public hall. There organization would be begun and in a few days half a dozen recruiting stations would be opened and the company, regiment, or battalion, quickly formed. In this way "Billy Wilson," a noted character in the city, raised the Wilson Zouaves; Daniel E. Sickles, the Excelsior Brigade, which in time was joined by the Buena Vista Guards of Philadelphia; Abraham Duryea, the Advance Guard Zouaves; and Elmer E. Ellsworth, the New York Fire Zouaves, composed entirely of men taken from the Fire Companies of the city.

Nor were the foreign-born citizens and residents less active than the natives. Colonel D'Utassy called on all who had seen service in foreign wars to enlist in the Garibaldi Guards; a well-to-do Polish merchant organized the Polish Legion, which was soon joined by the Italian Legion. The English and Irish Home Guards were to be composed of men who had served in the British Army, the Irish Constabulary, the Dublin and Revenue Police; the Cuban Volunteers, of natives of that Island, and the British Volunteers of subjects of her Majesty resident in New York. The Irishmen furnished four regiments; the 69th, St. Patrick Brigade, Irish Volunteers, and the Irish Zouaves, raised by Thomas Francis Meagher. The Steuben Volunteers, the German Rifles raised by Colonel Louis Blenker, the Turner Rifles and the DeKalb Regiment were all composed of Germans. A company of Hungarians joined the Garibaldi Guards. Students at the Free Academy, now the College of the City of New York, formed a Company of Zouaves.

In Philadelphia the news of the fall of Sumter was instantly followed by calls for young men of spirit to rally round the standard of the Union and enroll in some volunteer company old or new. There were the Union Guards,

the Washington Guards, Jackson Guards, Anderson Guards, Emmet Guards, Buena Vista Guards, the State Fencibles, the Black Hussars, the Garde Lafayette, the Philadelphia Greys, the Washington Brigade and many more from which to make a choice.

Non-fighters, women, men too old to enter the ranks, heads of banks and corporations who could not abandon their trusts at a moment's notice, ministers, judges, physicians, members of legislature and city government, all who, for any reason, could not bear arms were summoned to do their part at home, give their labor and spend their money to provide for the health and comfort of the soldiers, and to support the families they left behind. A notice in the daily papers requested the ladies of New York to meet in the Church of the Puritans in Union Square and form an association to furnish hospital supplies to be used in aid of the volunteers who might be wounded in the struggle "between the Government and traitors." They met and formed the New York Ladies' Relief Union, to raise funds, send out nurses, and procure hospital supplies for the sick and wounded.* The New York Ladies' Army Aid Association met in the Home for the Friendless, to make lint, bandages and clothing to be used in hospitals. One of the theaters gave the proceeds of a night towards a fund to equip volunteers. † A depot for receiving and furnishing medical supplies, given by citizens, was opened at Cooper Union. ‡ A meeting of women in Clinton Hall took under its care the families of volunteers. It was not its purpose to send nurses, nor provide lint and bandages, but visit, comfort, sympathize with, help the wives and families of soldiers at the front.§ A public meeting held in Cooper Union founded the Ladies' Home Samaritan Association. || Thus started, the movement spread over the whole city till in almost every household the women were scraping lint, making bandages and underclothes.

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* New York Herald, April 22, 1861.
† Ibid., April 23, 1861.
‡ Ibid., April 25, 1861.
§ Ibid., April 26, 1861.
|| Ibid., April 27, 1861.

All these and many more associations were working without concert, with no general organization or head, and with little knowledge of the needs of the army, the sick, or the wounded. This seemed so unwise that a hundred women signed a call for a meeting in Cooper Union, for the purpose of appointing a general committee to organize all workers in a common association, obtain money, lint, bandages, hospital supplies, and secure efficient nurses.* The name Woman's Central Association of Relief was taken, and its objects announced to be gathering of information concerning the real needs and probable wants of the army, the establishment of recognized relations with the medical staffs of Federal and State troops; aiding the New York Medical Association to sustain a depot for supplies.

States, cities, towns, counties, banks, poured out their money to equip the troops and keep their families. The Common Council of Rochester voted one hundred and twenty thousand dollars for the relief of families; Oswego, ten thousand; Troy the same; Norwich, fourteen thousand; Cambridge, five thousand; Brooklyn, fifty thousand. At Xenia, Ohio, fourteen thousand dollars were subscribed in a few hours, and six thousand in Chicago. Three weeks after the call for men the money so gathered amounted to more than twenty-seven million dollars.

Long ere this troops were on their way to Washington. On the night of the sixteenth of April the Ringgold Artillery of Reading entered Harrisburg, † whither they were quickly followed by the National Light Infantry of Pottsville, the Washington Artillery of Pottsville, the Allen Infantry of Allentown and the Logan Guards of Lewiston. After a delay of two days these five companies left Harrisburg, passed through Philadelphia and Baltimore and at ten o'clock at night reached Washington. ‡ They were the first troops to arrive. So quickly had they come that no preparations to receive them had been made. They were therefore quartered in the House of Representatives, and on the morrow were

* New York Herald, April 27, 1861.
† Philadelphia Press, April 17, 1861.
‡ Philadelphia Press, April 17, 18, 1861.

visited and congratulated by the Secretary of War.* While the Pennsylvania troops were on their way, two Ohio regiments were hurrying to Pittsburgh † and the Sixth Massachusetts reached Philadelphia, was received with cheers for Boston, the Old Bay State, and for Bunker Hill; was escorted by an immense crowd to the Continental Hotel, where a supper awaited them, and lodged that night in the Girard House.

Early the next morning they set off for Baltimore. With them went ten companies, parts of two regiments composing the Washington Brigade of Philadelphia, commanded by General Small. They formed no part of the organized militia of the Commonwealth. ‡ The officers were not commissioned. But this mattered not, and late on the night of April eighteenth ten companies assembled at the depot in order that, unarmed and ununiformed as they were, they might be under the protection of the Sixth Massachusetts should trouble arise along the route. §

In those days travelers from Philadelphia to Washington went by train to Perryville on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna, boarded the large steamboat *Maryland,* were carried across the river to Havre-de-Grace, and went thence by rail to the President Street depot in Baltimore. There the locomotive was detached and the cars drawn by horses through the city to the Camden Street depot of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Though it was three o'clock in the morning of April nineteenth when the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania troops left Philadelphia, it was nearly noon when the train reached Baltimore. As the cars were detached horses were hitched to them and the journey to Camden Street began. Nine loaded with the men of the Sixth Massachusetts went through with but little opposition. As the tenth was seen coming over the Pratt Street bridge stones were piled on the track, a load of sand was dumped on it, an anchor from a wharf near by

* Philadelphia Press, April 17, 18, 1861.

† Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 3, vol. i, p. 84. Philadelphia Press, April 20, 1861.

‡ Message of Governor Curtin, April 30, 1861.

§ Small's Report, Philadelphia Inquirer, April 23, 1861.

was dragged across it, and the troops defied to come out. They were taken back to President Street depot where a great crowd had gathered. No choice was now left. They must go on foot to Camden Street. After a consultation Captain Follansbee was put in command and the march began. The crowd at once closed in on the soldiers, throwing stones and missiles. At Gay Street the mob in waiting greeted the troops with a shower of cobblestones. Several men fell, and when the excited crowd had passed over them crawled into stores on Pratt Street. At South Street some one in the mob fired a pistol into the ranks whereupon the men in the rear turned and fired, killing and wounding several citizens. At Calvert Street the troops fired again, checking their pursuers and bringing down several. When the head of Light Street wharf was reached a body of police came up, deployed in line across the street, opened to allow the troops to pass through, closed, and faced the mob with drawn revolvers. The line held firm, the mob was checked, the troops pushed on, and despite a volley of stones at Howard Street, reached the depot and boarded the cars.*

At the President Street depot, meanwhile, the unarmed, ununiformed Pennsylvania troops had been mobbed, driven from their cars and scattered, and the police not knowing what to do with them they were sent back to Philadelphia. Three had been killed, more than a score wounded, and two hundred were missing. They had mingled with the mob and gradually made their way home as best they could. † Of the Massachusetts men four were killed, thirty-nine wounded, and one hundred and thirty were not to be found. ‡

A rumor that more troops were coming so alarmed the Mayor that he extorted from the Governor a reluctant consent that the railroad bridges might be destroyed, and ere morning came three were in flames and all communication

* Brown, Baltimore, and the 19th of April, 1861. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. Extra Volume No. 3.

† Report of Small, Philadelphia Inquirer, April 23, 1861.

‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 709. Brown, Baltimore, and the 19th of April, 1861. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. Extra Volume No. 3.

with Havre-de-Grace was severed.* On the night after the riot three citizens of Baltimore were sent to Washington bearing a letter to Lincoln from the Mayor and the Governor. The people, he was assured, were exasperated to the highest degree by the passage of the troops. That no more should come was the universal opinion, and it was the Mayor's solemn duty to say that if they did come they must fight their way at every step. None would be sent, Lincoln assured the bearers of the letter, if, from a military point of view, they could be marched around the city. On Sunday the city was again thrown into intense excitement by the report that five thousand Northern troops were at Cockeysville, near which a bridge on the Northern Central Railroad had been burned. They had come from Harrisburg, and unable to go on had camped on the heights to await orders. The Mayor that Sunday was in Washington, and hearing of the arrival of the troops hurried to Lincoln to protest, was assured they were brought through Maryland for no hostile purpose, and was promised that they should not go through the city if the other routes to Washington were left open. They were soon ordered back to Harrisburg. Half were without arms and uniforms. Expecting to go through by rail none brought food enough to tide them over the unlooked for delay, and would have suffered much had not the Marshal of Police sent wagon loads of food from Baltimore to the camp. †

But what, meantime, was happening in Washington? That it should be captured was the earnest wish of Southern leaders and the Southern press. On the day the news of the bombardment of Sumter reached Montgomery, the Secretary of War said in a speech: no man can tell where the war this day begun will end, but I will prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May. Let them try Southern chivalry and test the extent of Southern resources, and it may float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself. ‡

* Baltimore Sun, April 20, 1861. Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, pp. 13–15.

† Brown, Baltimore, and the 19th of April, 1861, pp. 75, 76.

‡ National Intelligencer, May 9, 1861.

The day Sumter was surrendered the Richmond *Enquirer* announced that nothing was more probable than that President Davis would march an army through North Carolina and Virginia to Washington.* The first fruits of the secession of Virginia will be the removal of Lincoln and his Cabinet, and whatever he can carry away, to the safer neighborhood of Harrisburg or Cincinnati, perhaps Buffalo. † Washington is to be the seat of war. Washington is the great prize in dispute, and if Southerners will instantly rush upon it, the war will soon be ended. ‡ The capture of Washington City is within the power of Virginia and Maryland if they will only make the effort, nor is there a moment to lose. The whole population pants for the onset. Never before was there half the unanimity among the people, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject, that is now shown to take Washington and drive from it every Black Republican who dwells therein. The filthy cage of unclean birds must and will be purified by fire. The people clamor for Washington and for a leader to conduct them there. § The editor of the Charleston *Mercury* did not think the city worth taking. If it were offered for nothing, on condition that the Confederate States make it their Capital, it should be refused. The New Republic should have a new Capital in the heart of the Confederacy. "Let Washington remain, with its magnificent buildings crumbling into ruin, a striking monument to future ages of the folly and wickedness of the people of the North." ‖ When the call for troops was made Washington depended for protection on a few regulars and the district militia. A company of United States Cavalry were quartered just west of the War Department in "Fort Lawson" once the old home of William Wirt, then the property of Surgeon-General Lawson, and used as headquarters for the new military Department. A company of Dragoons was housed in Burch's stables opposite Williards Hotel. More Dragoons

* Richmond Enquirer, April 13, 1861.
† Vicksburg Whig, April 20, 1861.
‡ Richmond Examiner, April 20, 1861.
§ Richmond Enquirer, April 23, 1861.
‖ National Intelligencer, April 29, 1861.

and the West Point Battery in a private house on E Street near the City Hall; Magruder's Battery, a company of Infantry, and a Company of Ordnance were at the Arsenal; a battalion of Marines at the Navy Yard, and a Company of Artillery at Fort Washington just below Alexandria. The district militia was made up of some seventeen companies bearing such names as Henderson Guards, Turner Rifles, Metropolitan Rifles, Constitutional Guards, Union Regiment, and numbering from sixty to two hundred and fifty men each. There were also ununiformed companies of workmen at the Navy Yard and on the Capitol extension. *

By Wednesday, the seventeenth of April, excitement in the city rose to fever heat. Residents and strangers crowded the hotels, stood in groups about the bulletin boards, and walked up and down the streets asking and telling the news. Now it was a rumor that an ordinance of secession had been passed at the dead of night by the Virginia Convention in secret session; now that seizures had been made, and obstructions placed in the harbor of Norfolk; now, Harpers Ferry had been burned; now it was the likelihood of the march of an army of Virginians to the heights about Alexandria and the bombardment of the city. On the morrow the rumor that Norfolk had been taken was declared to be true, and that the Arsenal at Harpers Ferry had been burned was declared to be false. As no Virginia troops were seen across the river the cars, it was said, had all been sent from Alexandria to Richmond to bring the Virginians to the Capital. That Virginia had seceded was soon confirmed and the excitement and alarm rose higher than before. More patrols were sent to the Long Bridge; Federal troops at important points were strengthened, volunteers hastened to enlist, and hour after hour new companies marched to the War Department to be inspected and sworn into service. That evening Cassius M. Clay organized the strangers staying at Williards, Brown's and the National Hotel, called them the Strangers' Guard, and began to patrol the streets after nightfall. † Men from

* Philadelphia Inquirer, April 20, 1861.
† Philadelphia Press, April 20, 1861.

Kansas organized by Senator Lane as the Frontier Guard, were given quarters for a time in the East Room of the White House. Later that evening the five companies of Pennsylvania troops arrived. As no preparations had been made for them they were quartered in the Capitol.

Friday, the nineteenth, was another day of excitement and dread. Little business was done, for more rumors of the destruction of the Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, the reported seizure of important places by the Virginians, the news of the Baltimore riot and the arrival of the Massachusetts Sixth kept the people on the streets till long after midnight. Lincoln now replied to the proclamation of Davis, laid a blockade on the ports of the seven Confederate States, and gave warning that if any person, under the pretended authority of those states, should molest a vessel of the United States, or the crew, or the passengers, or the cargo on board of her, such person should be held answerable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.*

With the coming of the five companies of Pennsylvania troops, the Massachusetts Sixth, and the news of the Baltimore riot, the Capitol took on the appearance of a fort. About the entrances, and between the piers and great pillars, were barricades of iron plates intended for the dome, and behind the plates, barrels of cement piled endways, and heaps of stone, timber and sand. All the statuary in the corridors and the old rotunda were boxed, and the pictures in the panels were covered over with heavy planks, for all day long the halls and corridors were full of soldiers drilling. The Sixth Massachusetts was lodged in the Senate Chamber, and the Pennsylvania troops in various offices and committee rooms, for the Hall of Representatives was to be assigned to the Seventh, New York, known to be on its way to Washington. On the richly carpeted floor were piles of hastily gathered commissary stores. From the bronze ornaments, the gallery chandeliers and the gilt brackets that held back the silk and lace curtains hung knapsacks, belts,

* Proclamation of April 19, 1861.

cartridge boxes and bayonet scabbards, and here and there on the damask sofas lay stretched a sleeping soldier.*

On Saturday the twentieth, Robert E. Lee resigned and the air was full of rumors concerning the troops from New York. They were fighting in Baltimore, they were at Annapolis, at Trenton, at Harrisburg, anywhere save in Washington. By Sunday the people began to realize that they were cut off from the North; that the wires were down, the mails stopped, no trains running, and the city in danger of a famine. All routes of approach, it was believed, were in the hands of the Confederates, Annapolis captured and batteries erected on the Potomac below Alexandria. That night a vessel laden with flour was seized at Georgetown and the supply thus obtained was sold to the citizens.

Monday brought scores of resignations from Department clerks, and officers of high rank in the Army and Navy, among them Franklin Buchanan, Commandant at the Navy Yard, and John Bankhead Magruder of the artillery. Bad as all this was Scott reported that he was sure, with the force at hand, he could defend the Capitol, the Arsenal, and the seven Department buildings against ten thousand troops no better than the District militia.

When Tuesday came gloom had settled over the city. Where can the troops be, was asked on every hand. They were coming. Four days after the call the New York Seventh marched down Broadway lined for two miles with a shouting, cheering crowd, took cars at Jersey City, and late that evening reached Philadelphia. There they were joined by the Eighth Massachusetts, Benjamin F. Butler in command. Both, on the following day, went on to Annapolis. The Seventh by steamer from Philadelphia, the Eighth by the steamboat *Maryland* from Perryville.

Against their landing in Maryland, Governor Hicks protested to Butler, and asked Lincoln that no more troops be sent across Maryland; that those off Annapolis be ordered away; that a truce be declared, and that Lord Lyons, the

* Correspondent, New York Times, Philadelphia Ledger, April 25, 1861.

British Minister, be invited to act as mediator.* In this moment of terror some citizens of Washington went to the Prussian Minister, Baron de Gerolt, and asked that the diplomatic body offer mediation to prevent bloodshed, and to obtain an armistice until Congress met in July. When consulted, the British Minister replied that while the object was excellent, there was one fatal objection to the plan, and this was that neither party would accept mediation. The French Minister was of the same mind and nothing was done. † Lord Lyons was quite right, for the next day Seward in a letter to the Governor rejected the "arbitrament of any European Monarchy." ‡ The troops were put ashore on the Naval Academy grounds over which Maryland had no jurisdiction.

On Wednesday a Cabinet meeting was held, and while the Secretaries were still gathered around the long table, a messenger brought word that two vessels had arrived off the Navy Yard. § Could it be that they brought the long-expected troops from New York? Unhappily they did not. They were the *Pawnee* and *Keystone State* with news that the ships at the Gosport Navy Yard had been scuttled and buildings burned and that the Yard was in the hands of the Virginia militia.

Some New York newspapers, three days old, filled with glowing accounts of the volunteering, enlisting, flag raising, of the great uprising of the whole North in response to the call for troops, now reached Washington. But where were the men? Little wonder that Lincoln, as from the window of the Executive office he looked that afternoon down the Potomac, was heard to exclaim: "Why don't they come! Why don't they come!" || Little wonder, when the wounded men of the Sixth Massachusetts visited him on the twenty-fourth he said to them: "I begin to believe there is no

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* Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, pp. 586, 589.

† Lord Lyons to Russell, April 27, 1861. C. F. Adams, Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, vol. xlviii, p. 227.

‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, pp. 586, 589.

§ Ibid., Navy, Series 1, vol. iv, pp. 289-291.

|| Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, vol. iv, p. 152.

North. The Seventh Regiment is a myth. Rhode Island is another. You are the only real thing." *

Most happily the Seventh was not a myth. At the very moment when the President was uttering his lament it was marching towards the Capital. After landing at Annapolis the troops expected to push on at once to Washington. But the track had been torn up in many places between Annapolis and the Junction. All the rolling stock save two rickety passenger cars, two cattle cars and a disabled locomotive had been sent to Baltimore, and it was believed that a strong force would come against them from that city. A call for men † who knew how to mend the locomotive brought machinists from the ranks of the Eighth Massachusetts; the engine was mended, and the Seventh, relaying tracks and rebuilding burned bridges as it went, made its way to the Junction, where a train which had come down under guard from Washington was waiting, reached the Capital and marched along Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House. That night it was quartered in the House of Representatives. The Eighth Massachusetts came on the following day and before the first of May the troops quartered in the Capitol, the Treasury building, the Patent Office, the Assembly Room, Inauguration Hall, in private houses and elsewhere numbered ten thousand.

Over all the South the riot in Baltimore and the secession of Virginia gave new occasions for bell ringing, cannonading, rejoicing, and for renewed demands that Washington be taken. With independent Virginia on one side, and the secessionists of Maryland on the other, the policy of the South was to seize the old Federal Capital and make "old Lincoln and his Cabinet prisoners of war." ‡ The Government of the Confederate States must have the City of Washington. § On the evening after the arrival of the news of

* Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, vol. iv, p. 153.

† "Who knows how to make an engine?" asked General Butler. Six machinists stepped from the ranks. But one claimed the right to make repairs. "I made the engine," said he, pointing to his private mark. New York Herald, April 28, 1861.

‡ Eufaula, Alabama Express, April 25, 1861.

§ Milledgeville Southern Recorder, April 30, 1861.

the Baltimore riot, a huge bonfire was lighted in front of the Exchange Hotel in Montgomery. Cheers were given for the loyal people of Baltimore, and Roger A. Pryor called out to speak. When he said he was in favor of marching immediately on Washington the crowd cheered him lustily. Before the departure of the Second South Carolina Regiment from Charleston for Richmond, a fine stand of colors was presented with much ceremony. "To your particular charge," said Colonel Kershaw, handing the colors to Sergeant Gordon, "is committed this noble gift. Plant it wherever honor calls. If opportunity offers let it be the first to kiss the breeze of heaven from the dome of the Capitol at Washington." *

Late in April, Stephens told a crowd gathered to greet him in Atlanta that Lincoln had fifteen thousand men in and about Washington. They were quartered in the Capitol and were defacing its walls and ornaments "with grease and filth like a set of vandal hordes." The new Senate Chamber had been "converted into a kitchen and quarters," and "cooking and sleeping apartments had actually been erected and placed in that elegant apartment." The Patent Office had become a soldiers' barracks and was ruined with their filth. "The Post-Office is made a storehouse for barrels of flour and bacon. All the Departments are appropriated to base uses, and despoiled of their beauty by those treacherous, destructive enemies of our country. Their filthy spoliations of the public buildings and works of art at the Capital, and their preparation to destroy them are strong evidences to my mind that they do not intend to hold or defend the place, but to abandon it after having despoiled and laid it in ruins. Let them destroy it, savage like, if they will. We will rebuild it. We will make the structure more glorious." †

A traveler through the Southern States declared that wherever he went the people were wild with excitement, the trains full of soldiers, arms and ammunition, and the belief prevailed that Washington would be taken and Lincoln

* National Intelligencer, May 7, 1861.
† Philadelphia Press, May 9, 1861.

killed; that the North wished to subjugate the South, and that Yankee soldiers were cowards. Pieces of the Sumter flagstaff were carried about as curiosities. At Richmond he found all business suspended, and the rumor current that, although the ordinance of secession would not be submitted to the people till May, the authorities would act as if Virginia were already out of the Union.*

On the day the bombardment of Sumter began Davis summoned the Confederate Congress to meet in special session at Montgomery.† Before it adjourned a state of war was recognized as existing between the United States and the Confederate States, the issue of letters of marque and reprisal was authorized, ‡ Davis was empowered to accept an unlimited number of volunteers to serve for the war, and a loan of fifty million dollars was ordered to be raised by the sale of bonds for specie, military stores or the proceeds of sales of raw produce or manufactured goods. § All persons were forbidden to pay debts due to individuals or corporations in the Northern States save Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, the District of Columbia and Missouri, and urged to turn the money into the Confederate treasury in exchange for a certificate redeemable after peace. || The export of cotton, save through the seaports was prohibited, ¶ Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee were admitted into the Confederacy, and an invitation of the Virginia Convention to make Richmond the Capital having been accepted, the Congress adjourned to meet in that city on the twentieth of July.

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* New York Tribune, April 20, 1861.

† Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, p. 219. April 12, 1861.

‡ Statutes at Large, Provisional Government, Confederate States of America, 1861, May 8, p. 100.

§ Ibid., May 16, p. 117.

|| Ibid., May 21, p. 151.

¶ Ibid., May 21, p. 152.

CHAPTER III.

IN THE BORDER STATES AND TERRITORIES.

NEVER for a moment doubting that Virginia was already out of the Union her Governor at once proceeded to prepare for her defense. He signed a covenant with the Confederate States which gave to Davis control of the Army of Virginia and of all military operations on her soil in the coming conflict with the United States. He asked Tennessee how far Virginia might rely on her for aid in repelling the invasion of their common rights. He made public an ordinance of the Convention bidding him call into service as many volunteers as necessary to repel invasion and invited all sons of Virginia then in the Army and Navy of the United States to resign. He ordered all volunteer companies in counties east of Richmond, between Richmond and the Blue Ridge, and in the Valley of Virginia to establish gathering places on lines of speedy communication and be ready to move at a moment's notice. Robert E. Lee was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of Virginia. Colonel Thomas Jonathan Jackson was made commander of the troops at Harpers Ferry and Joseph Eggleston Johnston of those gathering in Richmond,* and Lee authorized to call for as many volunteers as the needs of the hour might require and name the places where they should gather.

Western Virginia was then aflame. Cut off by the Alleghenies Mountains from the piedmont and tidewater regions, having no direct communication over the mountains with eastern Virginia, living as small farmers, owning few slaves, shipping their products down the Ohio or into Maryland, the people of the northwest counties were neither geographically nor economically a part of the Old Dominion. They

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, pp. 773, 774, 775, 777, 781, 783, 784.

were far more closely allied to the North than to Virginia. No sooner, therefore, did their delegates to the Virginia Convention return and report that the Commonwealth would surely leave the Union, than the loyal men took steps to prevent their section from going with it. They met in county mass meetings and resolved that secession was unwise and inexpedient; that if it were the only remedy which the eastern counties could find for their wrongs then was the day near when the western counties would sever the civil and political ties which bound the two sections and remain under the Stars and Stripes. They repudiated the Virginia Convention because it had adopted an Ordinance of Secession, put the Commonwealth in hostility to the Federal Government, seized its ships, wrested from it the customhouses at Norfolk and Richmond and, by capturing Harpers Ferry, had begun war without consulting the people. They held, at Wheeling, conventions which declared all acts of the Virginia Convention which tended to separate the Commonwealth from the United States to be without authority and void and the offices of all who adhered to the Convention whether legislative, executive or judicial, vacant; elected Francis H. Peirpoint Governor of Virginia, prescribed a test oath to be tendered to all officers serving under the old Government and bade the Governor fill all offices made vacant by refusal to take the oath. Claiming to be the true and loyal Governor of Virginia, Peirpoint summoned the old Legislature to assemble at Wheeling. Such members as came, claiming in their turn to be the true and loyal Legislature of Virginia, elected two Senators to fill the vacancies made by the withdrawal of James M. Mason and Robert M. T. Hunter. When Congress met in July they were allowed to take the oath and became Senators from Virginia.

Having in this way provided Virginia with a loyal Government the Union men went on and prepared to secede from it, framed and adopted a Constitution for West Virginia, obtained from the body claiming to be the true and loyal Legislature of Virginia its consent to the partition of the territory and applied to Congress for admission into the Union as a new State. But no provision was made for the

abolition of slavery or even for gradual emancipation. Congress, therefore, when it passed the act of admission into the Union imposed as a condition that a section forbidding slaves to be brought into the State, or free negroes to enter it for permanent residence, be stricken out, and that in lieu of it be inserted a provision for gradual emancipation after the fourth day of July, 1863. *

On receiving the act, Lincoln wrote to each member of his Cabinet and asked for an opinion, in writing, on two questions. "Is the said act constitutional? Is the said act expedient?" Seward, Stanton and Chase answered yes to both. Bates, Blair and Welles answered no to each. There was then no Secretary of the Interior, for Caleb B. Smith had gone to the bench in Indiana and no successor had as yet been appointed. Left to himself to decide, Lincoln in a long paper gave his reasons for believing the act was constitutional and expedient † and signed the bill. ‡ Thus amended, the Constitution was ratified by the Convention in February, 1863, and by the people at the polls in May and by proclamation of Lincoln, West Virginia entered the Union in June. §

West of Virginia lay the border slave State of Kentucky, torn and distracted like her neighbor by love for the Union and sympathy for the South. The Governor, many of the political leaders and most of the State militia were active, ardent secessionists. But the great body of the people was disposed to take no part in the coming struggle. No State, it was held, had a right to leave the Union; neither had the

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* "The children of slaves born within the limits of this State after the fourth day of July, 1863, shall be free; and all slaves within the said State who shall at the time aforesaid, be under the age of ten years shall be free when they arrive at the age of twenty-one years; and all slaves over ten and under twenty-one years shall be free when they arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and no slaves shall be permitted to come into the State for permanent residence therein." Thorpe, American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws, vol. vii, pp. 4031–4032.

† Letters and State Papers of Lincoln, vol. ii, p. 283.

‡ December 31, 1862.

§ June 20, 1863. Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 167.

Federal Government a right to coerce a State which had left the Union and force her to return. Such as were out should be left unmolested and in time they would come back. Should the Federal Government take up arms to bring them back Kentucky should have neither part nor lot in the contest. When, therefore, Lincoln made his call for troops and Governor Magoffin sent back his defiant refusal to furnish a man, the struggle between those who would drag Kentucky into the Confederacy and those who would hold her fast in the Union, began in earnest. One meeting in Louisville declared Kentucky would not prevent the marching of troops across her soil by the Confederacy, but would share its destiny if war must come. Another unanimously declared for neutrality. The Confederate States having begun the war, Kentucky had a right to choose her position, which should be one of loyalty to the Federal Government until it became an aggressor. Secession was no remedy. Kentucky, therefore, must oppose the call of the President for troops to coerce the South; oppose the enlistment of men to serve the Confederacy; maintain an independent position in the Union; declare her soil sacred against the hostile tread of either and arm herself according to law.*

The Union State Central Committee were of the same opinion and in an address to the people maintained that Kentucky could not comply with the call of the Federal Government for troops. To do so would be to outrage her solemn convictions of duty and trample on that natural sympathy with the seceding States which neither their contempt for her welfare nor their disloyalty to the Union could extinguish. To comply with the appeal of secession leaders in her midst would sully her unspotted loyalty, ruin her vital interests and quench, in the blood of her sons, the last hope of reëstablishing the Union. She ought not to comply with either call, and, unless smitten by judicial blindness, she would not. Her duty was to maintain an independent position, taking sides with neither the Federal Government

* Philadelphia Press, April 20, 1861; New York Herald, April 23, 1861.

nor the seceding States, but with the Union against them both.*

The Legislature which met in special session approved the Governor's refusal to furnish troops, resolved that Kentucky should remain neutral, authorized a loan of a million dollars to buy arms and munitions, and the organization of Home Guards for local defense, and forbade the use of the arms against either the Federal or Confederate Governments unless Kentucky was invaded.

In Tennessee there was a Union party, but by no means so large and so active as in Kentucky. That she would withhold aid from the North was certain. That she would join the Confederacy and take up arms against the North scarcely admitted of doubt. No sooner, therefore, was the call of Lincoln for troops made known than the feeling of sympathy for the South broke forth in active opposition to the North. The Governor returned his defiant answer and followed it with a long letter of explanation. Tennessee could regard the coercive policy of the Federal Government in no other light than a wanton usurpation of power at war with the genius of republican institutions, and so far as it might be successful subversive of civil liberty. He then called a special session of the Legislature and when it met urged that steps be taken to make Tennessee a State in the Confederacy. He would have an ordinance declaring the independence of the State, renouncing the authority of the United States, and reassuming each and every attribute of State sovereignty. He would have this ordinance submitted to the people at the polls and when, by its adoption, they had declared all connection with the other States severed, he would have Tennessee join those with whom she had common interest, sympathy and destiny. Finally he would have an ordinance for her admission into the Confederacy and would have this submitted to the vote of the people. † All these requests were taken into consideration by the Legislature, sitting in secret sessions behind closed doors, and

* National Intelligencer, April 23, 1861.
† Nashville Union, April 30, 1861.

granted. May first, the Governor was authorized to enter into a military league with the Confederate States and, when approved by both Governments, submit it to popular vote on the eighth of June. No time was lost. The military league was arranged and on the sixth of May the Legislature adopted a Declaration of Independence and Ordinance of Secession. Waiving all expression of opinion on the abstract doctrine of secession, said the Legislature, but asserting the right of a people to abolish, alter or amend their Government as may seem fit, we do declare abrogated and annulled all laws and ordinances by which the State of Tennessee became a member of the Federal Union.* The Ordinance of Secession, the Constitution of the Confederate States of America and the Military League were all submitted to popular vote and duly approved.

These preparations in Tennessee for secession and the gathering of Union troops at Cairo, Indianapolis and Columbus brought appeals to the Governor of Kentucky to declare her neutral. He yielded and warned all States, separate or united, especially the Confederate States of America and the United States of America, that he solemnly forbade any movement of troops upon the soil of Kentucky or the occupation of any place therein for any purpose whatever until invited or authorized by the Legislative or Executive authorities.

In Missouri the contending parties soon came to blows. At the head of the Southern sympathizers and eager to see Missouri a State in the Confederacy was Governor Claiborne Jackson. At the head of the unconditional Union party and determined that Missouri should remain steadfast in the Union was Francis Preston Blair, Jr. At St. Louis was a subtreasury and an arsenal in which was stored some thirty thousand stand of arms and much ammunition which the Governor and his party longed to seize and turn over to the Confederacy. No sooner, therefore, had Jackson sent his refusal to furnish the four regiments called for by Lincoln than he summoned the Legislature to meet in extra session

* National Intelligencer, May 13, 1861.

early in May and dispatched two officers with a letter to Jefferson Davis asking for help to capture the arsenal. Davis promised to send such guns as would be effective from the hills surrounding the building.* Captain Nathaniel Lyon, a bold, determined, able officer, was the Commandant at the arsenal. He did not propose to wait for a summons to surrender, wrote to Governor Yates of Illinois, told him of the imminent danger of attack on the arsenal, subtreasury, customhouse and post-office, suggested that he obtain authority to send to St. Louis the six regiments to be furnished by Illinois, make a requisition for the arms in the arsenal and have them shipped to Springfield.†

Yates acted at once and obtained authority from Cameron to send two or three regiments of Illinois militia to St. Louis; put Lyon in command and bid him muster into the service of the United States four regiments of volunteers, arm the loyal citizens, protect property, execute the laws and deliver ten thousand stand of arms to any agent Yates might send. ‡ The agent soon appeared, and one night, late in April, a steamboat made fast to the wharf. All the arms not needed for the use of the volunteers were put on board and early the next morning were taken to Alton and sent thence to Springfield.

Enlistment began as soon as Lyon received his orders and four regiments, composed of German citizens and young men who, during the presidential campaign, had marched in the Wide Awake Clubs, were soon drilling eight hours each day. To get men was easy. To get uniforms, blankets, shoes and stockings was hard. The colonels of the four regiments, therefore, appealed to friends in the East. As citizens of a State whose Governor was opposed to the Government of the United States it was idle, they said, to seek aid of him or of the State. They were forced, therefore, to ask help from their fellow-citizens of the free States, for

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, p. 688.

† Lyon to Governor Yates, April 16, 1861. Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, p. 667.

‡ Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 669, 670.

many of the volunteers were too poor to buy uniforms, blankets and shoes. *

The time now came to hold the yearly encampment of the State militia. Only one brigade, the First, commanded by General Frost, had been organized and this on the evening of the sixth of May pitched its tents in Lindell's Grove in the outskirts of St. Louis and made what was called Camp Jackson. † Scarcely had it been established when, on the night of the eighth, a steamboat arrived loaded with cannon, muskets and military stores taken from the Federal arsenal at Baton Rouge and sent by President Davis in response to Governor Jackson's call for aid. Under cover of the night the guns and supplies were hurried to the camp. ‡ Well aware of all this, and sure that an attack was to be made on the arsenal, Lyon determined to capture the militia, and on the afternoon of the tenth marched to the grove with his regulars and the four regiments of militia, surrounded the camp and sent in a written demand for surrender. Frost, unable to resist, replied that he never for a moment supposed so illegal and unconstitutional a demand would be made by an officer of the United States; that he was unprepared to defend the camp and surrendered. §

When it became known in the city that Federal troops were on their way to the camp the people hurried thither in wagons, buggies, carriages, on horseback, in street cars, on foot and occupied the hills which overlooked the grounds. As the troops started to go back to the city with their prisoners the crowd closed in, threw stones and greeted them with taunts, jeers and abusive language. Some shots, which did no harm, were fired at the head of the line; but the militia at the end of the line, thinking they were attacked, opened fire and killed and wounded twenty-eight citizens. The State put an army of militia in the field and gave the command to Sterling Price. Some fighting with successes on

* Philadelphia Press, May 13, 1861.

† Ibid., May 13, 1861.

‡ Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 6.

§ Ibid., pp. 6, 7.

both sides followed; but in the battle of Wilson's Creek the Union troops were beaten and Lyon was slain. His place was filled by Frémont, than whom it would have been hard to find a less competent commander.

Arkansas left the Union early in May and North Carolina followed her before the month ended. Her Governor, in his proclamation summoning the Legislature to meet in special session, denounced Lincoln's call for troops as an invasion of the peaceful homes of the South, a violent subversion of the liberties of a free people, a high-handed act of tyrannical outrage done in utter disregard of every sentiment of humanity and Christian civilization and unparalleled by any other recorded in history. Within an hour after assembling the Legislature rushed through an act providing for a Convention whose power should be without limit and whose action should be final. When it met the Convention, without one dissenting vote, passed an ordinance of secession, and having voted down a motion to submit the Constitution of the Confederate States to the people, ratified it unanimously.*

In Maryland the Legislature assembled April twenty-seventh at Frederick City, for Annapolis, the usual place of meeting, was in possession of the Union forces. Governor Hicks in his message narrated the events of the past eight days, told the Legislature that on its action hung, in all probability, the fate of the State, and strongly urged neutrality. The Senate was of much the same mind, and adopted an address to the people setting forth that it would not pass an ordinance of secession, but if they so desired, would give them an opportunity to express their sentiments on that issue. In the House a petition from voters in Prince George County praying that an ordinance of secession be passed without delay, was answered by the adoption of a report that the Legislature had no power so to do. The proposed Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was ratified and a resolution from the Committee on Federal Relations was adopted. The war then waged by the Government of the

* Journal of the North Carolina Convention, 1861, pp. 15, 17.

United States against the people of the Confederate States, the preamble declared, was unconstitutional in origin, purpose and conduct, repugnant to civilization, subversive of the principles on which the Federation was founded and certain to result in the hopeless and bloody overthrow of our institutions. Maryland, while recognizing her obligations to the Union, sympathized with the South, was for recognition of the Confederacy, solemnly protested against the war and would take no part in it. Therefore, it was resolved that Maryland implore the President, in the name of God and humanity, to stop the war, at least until Congress assembled; that Maryland consented to the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States; that military occupation of Maryland was unconstitutional; that she protested against it; that the vindication of her rights she left to time and reason, and that a Convention, under existing circumstances, was inexpedient.* Three days later the Legislature adjourned to meet again on the fourth of June.

Under orders from the Secretary of War,† Butler, early in May, moved sixteen hundred troops and a battery of light artillery to the Relay House, a little village nine miles from Baltimore, to protect the railroad and telegraph lines from that place to Washington. Scarcely had the camp been established when so many rumors reached him of a night attack by roughs from Baltimore that his aide-de-camp wrote Mayor Brown. A thousand men, he said, some of them Knights of the Golden Circle, and each sworn to kill his man, were coming, in wagons, on horses, on foot. Would not the Mayor guard every road from the city and prevent the attack? None came, but the General was alarmed, and without authority from Washington, without informing General Scott what he was about to do, he led a thousand men to Baltimore, marched through the city and took possession of Federal Hill. ‡ For his occupation of Baltimore Butler was censured by Scott, was removed from his depart-

* Adopted May 11, 1861.

† Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 623.

‡ Butler to General Scott, May 15, ibid., p. 29.

ment, was assigned to command at Fortress Monroe and in his place was put General George Cadwalader. *

The Ordinance of Secession which put the State of Texas out of the Union was quickly followed by a like act in New Mexico. Settlers who had found homes in the Territory dwelt in the Rio Grande Valley and in the southern part, in the country known as Arizona. They were strongly Southern in feeling, held a convention, † resolved they would not recognize the Black Republican Administration at Washington, declared Arizona out of the Union and chose a delegate to the Confederate Congress.

The secessionists in the Arizona country having thus pledged allegiance to the Confederacy, preparations were promptly made to drive out the few regular troops which held the forts in the Rio Grande Valley and occupy the Territory. A force of some two hundred Texans led by Colonel John R. Baylor marched up the Rio Grande, occupied Fort Bliss, abandoned by the Union forces, and pushing on, entered La Mesilla. Major Lynde, stationed at Fort Fillmore, a few miles away, marched out, made a feeble attack on the town, retreated, abandoned the fort and fled northward. Baylor overtook him, and, without firing a shot, Lynde surrendered his force of some five hundred regular Infantry and Mounted Rifles. Thus put in possession of Arizona, Baylor issued a proclamation.

Social and political conditions, he said, being little short of general anarchy; the people being literally destitute of law, order and protection, he took possession of Arizona in the name of the Confederate States of America and of all New Mexico south of the thirty-fourth parallel and placed it under military government until Congress ordered otherwise. ‡

While these things were happening on the Rio Grande, Major Henry H. Sibley appeared in Richmond. Sibley was

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* Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, pp. 28, 30, 32, 636, 640-642.

† March 16, 1861.

‡ August 1, 1861, Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, pp. 20, 21.

a graduate of West Point, had fought the Seminole Indians in Florida, had won distinction under Scott in Mexico, had served in Kansas in the free soil days, and in Utah against the Mormons, and in New Mexico against the Indians; but resigned in May of 1861 and offered his services to the Confederacy, for he was born in Louisiana. Davis made him a Brigadier General and sent him back to Texas to carry out a scheme of conquest. He was to raise in Texas a brigade of mounted men, enter New Mexico, make Mesilla his base of operations, and open negotiations with the Governors of the Mexican States of Chihuahua, Sonora and Lower California. These States once acquired by purchase or by conquest, and conquest in the condition of Mexico at that time seemed easy, Utah and California would join the Confederacy and because of the acquisition of this vast domain recognition would follow. California was greatly desired because of her gold, her size and her commanding position on the Pacific coast.

In mid-December, Sibley reached Fort Bliss and assumed command of some thirty-five hundred men known as the Army of New Mexico and issued a proclamation. "An army under my command," he said, "enters New Mexico to take possession in the name of the Confederate States of America."

The Confederate Congress now formed the Territory of Arizona, gave it metes and bounds, provided a temporary Government and pledged protection to slavery. Arizona as thus defined comprised the vast stretch of country between the Colorado River, the thirty-fourth parallel, the western boundary of Texas to the Rio Grande and the international boundary to the Colorado; all the southern half of the present States of Arizona and New Mexico.* Davis appointed General Baylor Military Governor.

The Union forces commanded by Colonel Edward R. S. Canby were at Fort Craig, Albuquerque, Sante Fé and Fort Union. Towards the end of February Sibley appeared before Fort Craig and offered battle. Canby refused to fight

* Act of January 18, 1862. Ibid., pp. 853-859.

and Sibley, crossing to the east bank of the Rio Grande, moved north towards the crossing at Valverde, there met and defeated Canby's troops in a severe all-day fight * and entered Albuquerque and Sante Fé without opposition. His next objective was Fort Union. But a regiment of Colorado Volunteers, led by Major John M. Chivington, had come by forced marches across the plains from Denver and were already in the fort. Determined to drive the enemy from Sante Fé, Chivington set out late in March, met the Confederates in La Glorieta Pass and beat them. Another fight quickly followed. Again the Texans were badly beaten, fell back to Sante Fé and Albuquerque, crossed the Rio Grande and retreated down the west bank into Texas. New Mexico was saved for the Union and the Confederate Territory of Arizona came to naught. At Fort Bliss Sibley heard of the advance of the column from California and fled to San Antonio.

Reports from the Pacific coast during April and May made known the existence of a strong secession feeling in California. This was not new. In days before the war, leading men in the State had attempted to take California out of the Union and form a Republic of the Pacific. † Now that the war was on, this old secession feeling found expression in an attempt to make her a member of the Confederacy. Disloyal newspapers upheld the scheme, spared no pains to justify secession, called the war ruinous and unholy, maintained that the South could not be beaten, rejoiced over every Union defeat and roundly abused the President. Disloyal men upheld the scheme by public meetings where the names of Beauregard and Davis were loudly cheered; by a whispering campaign carried on in hotels, barrooms, saloons; by seeking to persuade the native population that with California out of the Union they would never feel the grinding taxes the war was sure to bring; by secretly raising companies of armed men and by aiding the secret work of the

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. ix, pp. 487–493, 506–512.

† California in the Civil War. J. J. Earle, American Historical Association Report, 1907, vol. i, p. 127.

Knights of the Golden Circle and of the Knights of the Columbian Star. *

General Sumner, commanding the Department of the Pacific, reported that the majority of the people of California were loyal; but there existed a secession party, active, aggressive, zealous and because of their activity exerting an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. He had no doubt there was a deep-laid scheme to draw California out of the Union, found a Republic of the Pacific and then join it to the Confederacy. † So rampant was this feeling in the southern part of the State that he hurried troops to Los Angeles. ‡ A citizen of Santa Barbara wrote Seward that the secessionists intended to seize Lower California; that once in possession of the peninsula they would cut off all communications with Mexico and seize the Panama steamers. The native population to a man, he said, was with them, and so were most of the French and Spaniards. Lower California ought to be held at all costs. § An editor assured Sumner that a secret organization of secessionists existed in all the southern counties and held secret meetings. In a settlement near Los Angeles was a fully equipped cavalry regiment. It was there the first attack would be made. Notice had been given him to stop publishing Union sentiments. He had been expecting a rising and nothing but the presence of troops had prevented it. ||

Overawed by the troops sent to Los Angeles, the secessionists turned to Nevada. The field seemed most promising. The Governor of the newly organized Territory had not arrived. Judicial districts had not been marked out, and no territorial officer was at his post of duty. ¶ There was nobody to hinder them from seizing the Territory save the officer in command at Fort Churchill. Some two hundred men,

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, Part I, pp. 496, 556, 629, 759, 879; Part II, pp. 107, 130, 453, 521, 930, 1018.

† Sumner to Assistant Adjutant General, April 28, 1861. Ibid., p. 472.

‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, Part I, p. 474.

§ Ibid., p. 475, May 3, 1861.

|| Ibid., pp. 496-497.

¶ Ibid., pp. 506, 507.

therefore, were easily raised and when organized declared for the Confederacy, raised the rebel flag in Virginia City and defied the Union men to pull it down.* "Cannot something be done for us?" said a citizen. "We are eleven-twelfths Union men, but have no arms, while the secessionists have control of all arms, public and private. My heart aches to see the vile secession flag floating in our midst and we not able to pull it down." †

Congress, in July, having authorized the use of volunteers to aid in enforcing the laws and protecting public property, ‡ a call for one regiment of cavalry and four of infantry was made on the Governor of California in August. Under command of General Sumner they were to sail from San Francisco to Mazatlan, march thence to western Texas, recover the lost public property, and by their activity draw Confederate forces from Arkansas and Missouri. § Another expedition, composed of regular horse and foot, under Colonel Carleton, was to cross the mountains and protect the Overland Mail Route from Indian depredations. More than fifty firms in San Francisco protested and appealed to Cameron. It was reported, they said, that five thousand troops were to be raised and sent to Texas under Sumner. Against this they protested because the majority of State officers were undisguised and avowed secessionists, and the rest bitterly hostile to the Administration, and urging peace. Every appointment made by the Governor during the last three months showed his sympathy with those plotting to sever California from the Union. Three-eighths of her citizens were natives of slave-holding States; sixteen thousand Knights of the Golden Circle were organized in the State. Native Spaniards were being assured that all their real estate troubles would be settled under the Confederacy. Squatters and lawless trespassers who for years past had been contending with landed proprietors were assured a change of allegiance could do them no harm. In the face of these

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, Part I, pp. 499, 500.
† Ibid., p. 499, June 5, 1861.
‡ Act of July 22, 1861.
§ Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, Part I, p. 572, August 16, 1861.

conditions to deprive loyal men of military support was simply to encourage traitors.* The County Judge, the District Attorney, the County Clerk and the Sheriff of Santa Barbara County assured the commanding officer at Los Angeles that the country was in great danger. Native Californians and Mexicans, who never were loyal to the United States, made the bulk of the population. A serious collision between them and loyal Americans would surely happen unless troops were sent to Santa Barbara.† Members of the Union Club at San Bernardino reported that a company of cavalry under the name of Home Guard had been organized by Mormons, sworn enemies of the United States. They pretended to be loyal, but beyond doubt were disloyal. The Club feared that hostilities would soon break out between them and the United States, and asked that no arms be given them. ‡

Moved by warnings and appeals such as these Sumner did not send Carleton to the plains, but to Los Angeles. He assumed the responsibility of changing the destination of the expedition, he said, because disloyalty was increasing and growing dangerous in southern California, because it was absolutely necessary to send troops there at once. The rebels were organizing, gathering supplies, preparing to receive a force from Texas, and had corrupted the native Californians by telling them they would be ruined by taxes to maintain the war. § The Adjutant General had already revoked the order to send Sumner into Texas. The regulars on the Pacific Coast were needed in the East and Sumner was ordered to bring them to New York. ‖

Command of the Department of the Pacific then passed to Colonel George Wright, who was ordered by McClellan to send Carleton with one or two regiments of California volunteers to protect the Overland Mail Route. ¶ But

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, Part I, pp. 589-591.

† Ibid., p. 664.

‡ Ibid., p. 622.

§ Ibid., pp. 641-642. To the Assistant Adjutant General, September 17, 1861.

‖ Ibid., pp. 616, 620, 621.

¶ Ibid., pp. 720, 730, 735.

Wright found a better way of quieting the Indians than by overawing them with troops. To send troops and supply trains across the mountains at that time of year would be impossible because of snow. The Indians were starving. A reasonable distribution of food would keep them quiet. He arranged, therefore, with the Governor of Nevada as Indian Agent and with the agent of the Overland Mail Company, for the distribution of food,* and asked that Carleton be sent to open the Great Southern Mail Route and retake Forts Buchanan, Thorn, Fillmore and Bliss, and be sent as soon as possible. Why act on the defensive, he asked, when we have the power and the will to drive every rebel beyond the Rio Grande? †

McClellan approved ‡ and the troops were gathered as quickly as possible at Fort Yuma on the Colorado River. But three months and more passed before they were able to move. Not for years had there been such a winter. Rain was incessant. The whole country was flooded. Horses and cattle were mired on the open plains and lost. Unprecedented rains and storms for six weeks past, Wright reported, had so saturated and submerged the whole country that it was impossible to move. Suffering in the interior of the State was beyond all calculation. Many lives had been lost. Sacramento was under water, the legislature had been forced to adjourn, towns and villages had been swept away, a vast amount of property ruined, and the people, compelled to fly for their lives, had found refuge in San Francisco and were supported by charity. § Fort Yuma, Carleton reported, was an island. During three hours, on one day, the river rose six feet, overflowing its banks and carrying all before it. Colorado City was washed away. ‖ Not until the middle of April did the advance guard of the little army known officially as "The Column from California" set off from

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* Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, Part I, pp. 735, 745, 746, 749, 751.
† Ibid., p. 753, December 9, 1861.
‡ Ibid., pp. 752, 753.
§ Wright to Adjutant General, January 18, 1862, ibid., pp. 812-813.
‖ Ibid., pp. 815-816.

Fort Yuma and May was nearly gone when it entered Tucson. Carleton with the rest of the column arrived in June and issued a proclamation. Arizona, he said, was all the country east of the Colorado then held by the column from California and as the flag was carried eastward the limit of Arizona would go with it. The Territory was in a state of chaos. There was no civil authority, no security for life or property. As Military Governor, therefore, he assumed control until the President ordered otherwise.* In September he was able to report that Fort Thorn, Mesilla, Fort Fillmore and Fort Bliss were again in Union hands, that the Great Southern Overland Mail Route was reopened and the flag raised over Fort Bliss, Fort Quitman and Fort Davis in western Texas, and over Forts Breckinridge and Buchanan in New Mexico.

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. i, Part I, p. 96.

CHAPTER IV.

BULL RUN.

THE time had now come for the people of Virginia to go through the form of voting for or against the Ordinance of Secession submitted to them in April. The name of each voter was to be taken down. Many who would have voted against separation, fearing vengeance might be wreaked on them, kept away from the polls. Others, considering Virginia already out of the Union, and well aware that the Confederate Congress would soon meet in Richmond, cast no votes. No returns came from several counties. From such as did come, it appeared that less than one hundred and twenty-six thousand wished Virginia to join the Confederacy and less than twenty-one thousand would have her remain in the Union.

The votes were cast on the twenty-third of May. Before dawn on the twenty-fourth the Union troops crossed the Potomac and occupied Arlington Heights and Alexandria. Some went by the Aqueduct Bridge, some by Long Bridge. Colonel Ellsworth and his Zouaves were carried in two steamboats to Alexandria and landed under the guns of the *Pawnee*. No resistance was made. The town was occupied and Ellsworth with a few of his men set off to seize the telegraph office. As they drew near to the Marshall House Ellsworth beheld a Confederate flag flying from a pole on the roof. Determined to pull it down with his own hands he entered the hotel with two companions, cut the halyards, wound the flag about his body and began his descent. When a few steps above the second floor landing a door was suddenly opened and the proprietor, leveling a double-barreled gun at Ellsworth, shot him through the body. He died instantly. The next moment the proprietor fell dead from a musket shot and bayonet stab delivered by Private Travers E. Brownell, one of Ellsworth's comrades.

The movement across the Potomac was necessary for the protection of Washington. Since the action of the Virginia Convention, in April, small forces of militia had been posted along the Virginia side of the Potomac. Some were at Acquia Creek, some at Alexandria, some at Leesburg holding the upper fords of the Potomac and some at Harpers Ferry. Should Arlington Heights be occupied and mortar batteries erected, Washington would be at their mercy; for Georgetown would be but a mile, the White House but two and a half and the Capitol but three and a half miles away.* Clearly Alexandria and the Heights must be occupied and the rebels forced back beyond range of Washington. But until the Ordinance of Secession had been voted on and adopted by the people of Virginia and the State out of the Union beyond all question the military authorities at Washington made no attempt to send troops across the Potomac. Then the crossing was made and the troops under General Irwin McDowell encamped behind a line of entrenchments stretching from the Chain Bridge to Alexandria.

The Confederates acted with equal promptness and by early June the departments of government had been moved from Montgomery to Richmond, and General Beauregard sent to take command of the troops gathering at Manassas Junction some five and thirty miles from Washington.

Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, born on a plantation on the Mississippi River below New Orleans, was the son of a wealthy creole planter. The family name was Toutant; and that of the plantation Beauregard. But when he entered West Point in 1834 his name was given as Toutant de Beauregard, was so entered on the records and Beauregard was ever afterward his name. He graduated second in his class, became second lieutenant of engineers and as such went with the army to Mexico. For gallant conduct at Contreras he was brevetted captain; for like conduct at Chapultepec he was made brevet major and was mentioned by Scott as one of five officers whose behavior during the storming and the fight at the gate was "the admiration of

* Nicolay, Outbreak of the Rebellion, pp. 109, 110.

all." After the Mexican War Beauregard was put in charge of the construction of the Customhouse and the Mint at New Orleans and of the forts on the banks of the Mississippi below the city. When the Confederate Congress was in session at Montgomery he was appointed Brigadier General in the Provisional Army and as such commanded at Charleston when Sumter was attacked, and after the secession of Virginia came north to command the army gathering about Manassas.

There, early in June, he issued a proclamation. "A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil," said he, addressing "The good people of the Counties of Loudoun, Fairfax and Prince Williams." "Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraints, has thrown his abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property and committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated. All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war cry is 'Beauty and Booty.' All that is dear to man, your honor, and that of your wives and daughters, your fortunes, and your lives, are involved in this momentous struggle." Therefore, as Brigadier General of the Confederate States commanding at Camp Pickens, Manassas Junction, he summoned them by the memory of their revolutionary brothers, and by the purity and sanctity of their domestic firesides to rally to the standard of the State.* Two days later Governor Letcher, by proclamation, turned over to the Confederate States all volunteer forces which had been mustered into the service of Virginia, and all other "regiments, battalions, squadrons and companies" that might be formed and called into service in the future. † How many were then scattered over Virginia in camps was not known; but a careful estimate made by the Adjutant General

* Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 907, June 5, 1861.

† Ibid., p. 911.

fixed the number at thirty-six thousand two hundred.* As late as the middle of May some had neither uniforms, arms nor ammunition; some had arms but no ammunition. There were cavalrymen without sabers and infantry without knapsacks, and such arms as the men carried were mostly old-time flintlocks. Of eight hundred and twenty men at Williamsburg under Lieutenant Colonel B. S. Ewell not more than three hundred were armed and of the three hundred at least one-half had only flintlock muskets. † "The infantry companies," Colonel Jubal Early wrote from Lynchburg, "have no arms whatever and I imagine that there are no companies in the counties for which this place is the rendezvous which are armed." Mess-pans, camp kettles, canteens, knapsacks were badly wanted. If knapsacks could not be furnished from Richmond, the men could make out pretty well by rolling up their clothes in blankets and wrapping pieces of coarse cloth around them. ‡. Of four companies at Staunton three were "entirely without arms and the fourth, an infantry company, has only some fifty-five flintlock muskets in bad order." § At Culpeper Court House, in one company of a hundred men there were but fifty muskets and no ammunition; in another of sixty-nine men, fifty muskets and no ammunition; in another of eighty-eight men, fifty-four muskets and no ammunition. Two companies with flintlock muskets altered to percussion cap muskets had neither equipments nor ammunition; and three more neither arms, uniforms, equipment nor ammunition. || Colonel Thomas Jonathan Jackson, at Harpers Ferry, reported that he could get enough volunteers from the countryside to raise his command to forty-five hundred men, but they would be without arms, accouterments and ammunition. ¶ When four hundred and eighty Kentucky volunteers arrived without arms and he ordered old arms to be issued,

* Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 895.

† Ibid., p. 854. ‡ Ibid., p. 852.

§ Lieutenant Colonel John Echol to Lee, May 15, 1861. Ibid., p. 847.

|| Brigadier General Philip St. Geo. Cocke, May 8, 1861, p. 819.

¶ Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, page 832.

they refused to receive them.* In June, more than two regiments were without cartridge boxes. Most of them having traveled by railroad used trunks and valises instead of knapsacks. Few were provided with shoes fit for marching. † All that the State could do to supply arms and ammunition was done; but when the troops were turned over to the Confederate Government the flintlock musket, the double-barreled shotguns loaded with buckshot formed no inconsiderable part of the armament and many a hastily raised company had no arms at all.

During almost two months the armies of Beauregard and McDowell faced each other without showing any intention on the part of either to attack the other. Meantime military movements of some importance were under way elsewhere in Virginia. Among the military divisions created just after the opening of the war were those of Pennsylvania and Ohio. That of Pennsylvania, comprising most of that Commonwealth, Delaware and all of Maryland except the District of Columbia, was in command of General Robert Patterson. To the Department of the Ohio was assigned Major General George Brinton McClellan. A native of Philadelphia, son of a physician of distinction, a graduate of West Point in 1846, he entered the army at twenty years of age as brevet second lieutenant in the corps of engineers. War with Mexico had just begun, a company of sappers and miners was mustered at West Point and with them he went to Vera Cruz, where his conduct was commended by his superior officer. Again and again as the army marched westward his name appears in the reports. For efficiency and gallantry in the battle of Contraras, Twiggs presented "his name for the favorable consideration of the General-in-Chief." For gallantry in the battle of Molino del Rey he was brevetted captain, but declined promotion. Scott named him as one of five lieutenants who in the attack on Chapultepec "won the admiration of all," and at the close of the war he was again brevetted captain. In 1851, under Major

* Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 810.

† Ibid., p. 908.

Marcy, whose daughter he married, McClellan served in the expedition which explored the Red River, and two years later when the government ordered the survey of five railroad routes across the plains to the Pacific, he surveyed the western end of the northern route from the mouth of the Columbia across the Cascade Mountains. This done he was sent to visit existing railroads and gather from their experience data which might be useful in determining which route across the plains might be most practicable. In 1855, with Colonel Delafield and Major Mordecai, he went to the Crimea, and wrote a critical "Report on the Organization of European Armies and the Operations of the War."

McClellan now resigned his commission, entered the business world, was chief engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad for a few years, and then became President of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, a position he held when Sumter was surrendered and Lincoln called for troops.

The call required Ohio to furnish thirteen regiments, a quota which entitled her to a Major General and to this high rank the Governor appointed Captain McClellan. Scarcely had he taken up his duties when he was made a Major General in the regular army and assigned to the command of the new Military Department of Ohio, which included Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and part of western Pennsylvania.

Meantime, in Virginia, neither Governor Letcher nor the military authorities considered the Union movement in the northwestern counties as a matter for serious consideration. Indeed, in his call for volunteers the Governor included that section of the State, and sure of a response officers were sent to gather and organize them. They reported that disaffection was widespread, that Union organizations existed in every county, that feeling was bitter against Virginia, and that the western section of the State was verging on rebellion. Troops were then sent to Beverly to overawe the people, serve as a rendezvous for such volunteers as offered, and threaten Grafton, where the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad divided, one branch going on to Wheeling, and one to Parkersburg on the Ohio. As the twenty-third of May, the day whereon the people of Virginia were to vote for, or against,

the Ordinance of Secession, drew near, troops were moved to Grafton. After the vote was taken and Virginia was out of the Union, the Confederates opened hostilities and burned two bridges on the railroad. McClellan, who had been waiting until the balloting was over, so that it could not be said that he had sought to influence the vote, now ordered troops to cross the Ohio to Parkersburg and Wheeling and move on Grafton, and issued a proclamation.

As the Union troops advanced towards Grafton the Confederates fell back to Philippi, where they were surprised and routed. More troops were now sent to the Kanawha Valley under Wise, Governor of Virginia in the days of John Brown, and under Garnett to Beverly. But McClellan took the field in person and in a short campaign beat and scattered them all. The battles were small affairs, but great were the results. They enabled the Union men to go on unmolested in their formation of a new State, forced back the military frontier, and brought forward McClellan as an able and successful commander at the very moment when such a general was sorely needed.

The movement of the troops across the Potomac, the occupation of Arlington, Alexandria, and the country south of it raised great expectations, in the North, of a coming battle and crushing defeat of the Confederate forces assembled at Manassas Junction. As week followed week and no fighting was done, no victory won, and the time of service of the three months' men drew near its end, expressions of discontent, loud and strong, rose from a disappointed people. Could anything be more ridiculous, it was said, than the sight of the two armies in Virginia both willing to fight yet both afraid to strike? Two hostile armies nearly equal in number, with no obstacle between them, so near that their pickets are constantly shooting each other, lie in camp for weeks without coming to close quarters. The rebel leaders began by threatening to capture Washington and carry the war into the North. Now, they are quite content to be let alone. The President promised to recapture all places and property taken from the United States. Yet no progress has been made in any direction. Our troops are eager to fight, anxious to de-

cide the issue and go home. Let us, then, have no more fooling, no more child's play. Burning houses, furniture and libraries is vandalism. Let us fight.* Is the war, the New York *Tribune* asked, to be conducted on political or military principles? Is it to be a politicians' war looking to compromise, or a soldiers' war for the maintenance of the Union? This is the great question, a question raised not by the people but by the Administration. Heretofore it has been conducted as a politicians' war with compromise always in the background. Why else was Butler disgraced because he occupied Baltimore and reduced it to order? Why else should Patterson's army be kept out of Virginia for a fortnight leaving the rebels to destroy the property of loyal men? Why else is that gallant and energetic soldier, McDowell, condemned to inactivity in the face of the enemy? Why else are Lyon and Blair blamed for saving Missouri? If the men in Washington are ready to do their duty let them see to it that the Stars and Stripes float over Richmond before the twentieth of July. The Nation's war cry is "Forward to Richmond! Forward to Richmond! The Rebel Congress must not be allowed to meet there on the twentieth of July." †

Even the South complained of delay. Nothing, it was pointed out, would have been easier than for Maryland and Virginia, or Virginia alone to have prevented the inauguration of Lincoln, or driven his Government north of the Mason and Dixon line. At any time during March a few Virginia troops could have expelled it from Washington. But this was not done and every day since his inauguration troops for defense of the Capital have been brought in faster than the South levied them for assault, and the North has gone on blockading the Chesapeake and the rivers of eastern Virginia, and has seized Alexandria. But why let it have Newport News, ravage the peninsula between the York and James Rivers, fortify Arlington Heights and hold one-half of Fairfax County? ‡

* New York Herald, June 28, 1861.
† New York Tribune, June 27, 1861.
‡ Richmond Examiner, New York Tribune, July 3, 1861.

A battle in Virginia was far from meeting the approval of Scott; but the President on the twenty-ninth of June, yielding to popular clamor and political necessity, held a Cabinet council before which McDowell laid a plan of attack to be undertaken, provided Patterson held Johnston in the Shenandoah Valley.

The plan was approved and at three o'clock on the afternoon of the sixteenth of July the march began. On the seventeenth the troops were at Fairfax Court House; on the eighteenth Centreville was occupied. This was slow progress; but no better time could be made for the men, as McDowell afterwards stated, were not accustomed to marching and were not in condition to carry even the load of light marching order.* As they advanced the Confederates abandoned their camp and fell back so hastily that flour, fresh beef, intrenching tools, hospital furniture, baggage were left behind. At Fairfax Court House even the pickets were not withdrawn and came into the Union camp thinking, as it occupied the same place, it was their own. † Friday and Saturday the nineteenth and twentieth were spent in reconnoitering the defenses of the enemy on Bull Run, which, "though not a wide stream, is only to be crossed at certain places owing to its precipitous, rocky banks." ‡

Beauregard, meantime, had called for reënforcements, and Johnston, at one o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth, received an order to join him if practicable. § It was practicable for Patterson was then at Charlestown, twenty-two miles from Winchester.

As soon as it was decided to attack Beauregard at Manassas, Patterson was ordered to remain in front of the enemy, hold his attention, and, if not outnumbered, fight. Patterson, sure he was far outnumbered, called for more guns and troops. They were sent and July second he crossed the Potomac, advanced to Martinsburg, was informed that on the

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* McDowell's Report, Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 324.

† Ibid., pp. 305, 306, 309.

‡ Ibid., p. 308.

sixteenth McDowell would begin his advance, was directed to at least make a demonstration against Johnston and keep him at Winchester, advanced to Bunker Hill, was there dissuaded by his officers from going further, and on the seventeenth fell back to Charlestown. Soon after midnight on the seventeenth Johnston was ordered to join Beauregard. On the following day he set off with nine thousand men, marched through Ashby's Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains to Piedmont on the Manassas Gap Railroad, whence seven regiments were carried by train to Manassas Junction which they reached on the afternoon of the nineteenth. Johnston with more troops arrived on the twentieth and the rest of his force on the afternoon of the twenty-first in time to take part in the battle.

And now the time of the three months' men began to expire. That of two regiments, the Fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and the battery of Volunteer Artillery of the Eighth New York militia had expired and they insisted on their discharge. "I wrote to the regiment as pressing a request as I could pen," said McDowell, "and the Honorable Secretary of War, who was at the time on the ground, tried to induce the battery to remain at least five days but in vain. They insisted on their discharge. It was granted; and the next morning when the army moved into battle, these troops moved to the rear to the sound of the enemy's cannon."

To the west of Centreville, some three miles away, flowed between steep rocky banks the narrow, sluggish stream of Bull Run. The Warrenton turnpike stretching westward from Centreville crossed the Run on a stone bridge. Eight miles to the southward of the bridge the Run was crossed by the Manassas Railroad. Between the stone bridge and the railroad were six fords, and along the west bank, holding the fords and the bridges, lay the army of Beauregard. On the morning of Thursday the eighteenth of July, General Tyler with the advance of the army reached Centreville. The hamlet stood on a hill from which he saw spread out before him the valley, the River, and beyond it the high plateau destined to be the place of the coming battle. Hearing that the enemy had gone down a road leading to Mitchell's and

Blackburn's Fords, he ordered a reconnaissance. But the enemy was found in force; guns and troops were sent for; and the reconnaissance became a skirmish and then a battle, which raged for three hours before McDowell ordered the men back to Centreville.

Friday and Saturday were spent in a search for an undefended ford, a search which delayed the battle until Sunday. Johnston and Beauregard had planned to cross at the fords that Sunday morning, march on Centreville and attack the Union army in its camp; but McDowell struck first.

His plan was to leave a division at Centreville in reserve, have a brigade threaten Blackburn's Ford, send Tyler to threaten the Stone Bridge, and have Hunter and Heintzelman march by night to within a mile of the bridge, turn northward, cross Bull Run at Sudley Springs Ford, come down on the flank and rear of the enemy at the Stone Bridge, drive them back, open a passage across the bridge for Tyler's men, and attack in force. Tyler's division was to move at half past two on the morning of Sunday the twenty-first of July. But the troops were raw, the men and wagons moved slowly, and half past six came before General Tyler reached the Stone Bridge and opened with his artillery. It was nine o'clock before the advance under Hunter and Heintzelman reached Sudley Ford. It was ten when it came out of the woods a mile north of the Warrenton Pike to find the Confederates on a ridge between them and the Pike. The battle now opened in earnest. The Union troops pressed gallantly forward. The Confederates resisted stubbornly, but soon wavered, yielded, broke, and fled down the ridge, across Young's Branch, and over the Pike to find refuge behind the troops of General Jackson drawn up on the plateau between the Robinson and Henry houses. It was to these retreating men that General Bee cried: "Look at Jackson standing like a stone wall," and as "Stonewall" Jackson he has ever since been known.

Against this line the Union army moved, climbed the slope, occupied the north end of the plateau, and drove the enemy back into the woods. Beauregard ordered a counter attack. The Union center was pierced, the line broken and the men

driven from the plateau. But they rallied and drove the Confederates back into the woods. At three o'clock McDowell thought the fight was won. "The enemy," he said, "were evidently disheartened and broken." But his own men had been on foot since midnight. Some had made what, for raw troops, was a long and fatiguing march. Some of the regiments which had been driven from the plateau in the attempt of the enemy to get possession of it, were shaken, unsteady, and had men out of ranks. Captain Woodbury declared that at four o'clock there were more than twelve thousand volunteers on the field who had lost their regimental organization. They could no longer be handled as troops because officers and men were not together. They were disorganized not by defeat, or fear, but because the discipline which keeps every man in his place had not been acquired.

While organization was slowly going to pieces, Beauregard determined to make a final effort to drive the Yankees from the hotly contested plateau. The order was given, but before it could be executed loud cheering announced the arrival of three regiments, the remainder of Johnston's army from Winchester. Thus reënforced Beauregard attacked at once. The Union army had lost its morale. Detachment after detachment left the field. McDowell, finding "that nothing remained on that field but to recognize what we could no longer prevent," gave the "order to protect their withdrawal, begging the men to form in line and offer the appearance, at least, of organization and force."

It was some time before Johnston and Beauregard could believe that the Union army was really in retreat. When at last they were convinced Stuart was sent to give chase along the Sudley Road, Radford was ordered to attack the troops moving along the pike, and Bonham, with Longstreet's men, the line of retreat at Centreville. Ere the pursuers reached the pike it had become the scene of panic and confusion. On the day before the battle scores of civilians, eager to behold a great battle, had come down from Washington and were even then strolling about the bivouacs around Centreville. On Sunday came Senators, Representatives and more civilians who moved down the Warrenton Pike to the neighbor-

hood of the Stone Bridge, where the rattle of musketry could be heard, and the smoke and dust of battle and the movements of the troops, be seen. At the first rush of fugitives from the field, newspaper correspondents, civilians and congressmen started for Centreville spreading panic among the drivers of baggage wagons, ammunition wagons, ambulances which lined the pike from the Stone Bridge to Cub Run. The retreating troops, the sound of musketry growing louder and louder hastened their flight. Coats and hats were thrown aside. Guns were flung away. Wagons were abandoned, and panic-stricken teamsters galloped off on horses cut from their wagons. Even ambulances with wounded were left by the roadside. While this panic was at its height, Radford's cavalry reached the scene, hovered along the pike, and from time to time, dashed in on the fugitives. A battery of light artillery established itself where it could command the little bridge over Cub Run. When, therefore, the troops which retreated by way of Sudley Ford reached the pike, it was necessary for them to pass within range of the battery, which opened fire.

A shot killed a team, overturned the wagon in the center of the bridge, and completely blocked the passage. The enemy continued to play his artillery upon the train of carriages, ambulances, artillery wagons that filled the road, and reduced them to ruin. Five pieces of the Rhode Island Battery, which had been safely brought off the field were lost.* "The infantry, as they reached the bridge, were pelted with showers of grape and shot, were thrown into confusion, and could not be rallied again for a distance of three miles." † The pursuit ended at Cub Run.

Among those who fled along the pike toward Centreville was Lyman Trumbull, a Senator from Illinois. In company with Senators Wade, Chandler, Grimes, and Mr. Brown, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, he left Washington early Sunday morning, drove to Centreville, where he and Grimes procured saddle horses and rode down the pike towards the

* Burnside's Report, July 24, 1861. Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 397.

† Ibid., p. 397.

Stone Bridge to a field hospital. There Senator McDougall joined them and the three went back for lunch to a house nearer Centreville and a hundred yards or so from the road. Just as they finished eating a great noise was heard. Looking towards the road they beheld it "filled with wagons, horsemen and footmen in full run towards Centreville." Mounting their horses they galloped to the pike, found it crowded with fugitives, and not knowing what else to do went along with them. On the way "many soldiers threw away their guns and knapsacks." "It was the most shameful rout you can conceive of. I suppose two thousand soldiers came into Centreville in this disorganized condition." Between Centreville and Washington Trumbull saw thousands of shovels, axes, boxes of provisions and overturned wagons littering the road which "was full of four-horse wagons retreating as fast as possible, and also of flying soldiers who could not be made to stop." A file of men was finally put across the pike and the wagons and some fugitives were stopped. But the stragglers climbed the fences and got past. *

The correspondent of the London *Times* was another who beheld the flight, and left a record of what he saw. Every carriage, gig, wagon, hack and saddle horse, had been hired by men going to see the battle. But a liberal use of money secured for him a gig, a saddle horse, and a negro boy to ride it, and bright and early on the twenty-first he set off over Long Bridge with a companion. On the way to Centreville a cloud of dust appeared over the tree tops, and he soon came up with the head of a column of Union soldiers marching without order. They were men of the Fourth Pennsylvania going home. When the road to Centreville was reached he found it jammed with buggies, carts and wagons full of civilians. On top of a hill was a crowd of spectators on horseback, and in vehicles of every sort and description. Leaving the gig, his companion and the negro boy at Centreville, he mounted the saddle horse and rode towards the front. Near the Stone Bridge loud shouts were heard, and

* Trumbull to his wife, July 22, 1861. White's Life of Trumbull, pp. 165–167.

he saw wagons coming from the battlefield, the drivers striving to get by the ammunition wagons going to the front. Beside the wagons were men in uniform who called to him as they passed, "turn back; turn back." Beyond the bridge he entered a corn field crowded with men, without muskets, some walking, some running, and rode for a mile over ground strewn with coats and blankets, caps and belts. On the road were infantry on mules and gun horses, their chains trailing in the dust. Joining the fleeing mass he reached Washington by midnight.* About ten o'clock orders were given to fall back to the Potomac.

The retreat was by night and disorderly in the extreme. Men of different regiments mingled together. Some reached the river at Alexandria. Some crossed the Long Bridge. The greater part returned to their old camps near Fort Cochran.†

Towards daylight on the morning of Monday the twenty-second of July, the foremost in flight, hungry, weary, footsore and dirty crossed Long Bridge over the Potomac and entered the streets of Washington. Little groups, men all alone, squads, now and then a regiment passed before the astonished gaze of the inhabitants. Many a man, exhausted by four-and-twenty hours of marching and fighting sank down on a doorstep, at the foot of a tree, or on the ground beside a fence, and fell asleep in the rain. Good citizens realizing the plight of the men, prepared kettles of soup, and coffee; set tables on the sidewalk, and loaded them with bread and served the soldiers with the only food many a one had tasted since he threw away his rations the day before. ‡

To the Confederate Army, in the opinion of Johnston, victory was more demoralizing than was defeat to the Union. Believing that all their country required had been done, many Southern volunteers left, and hastened home to show the trophies picked up on the field. Others left their colors to

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* William Howard Russell, My Diary North and South, pp. 442–454.

† General W. T. Sherman's Report, Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 571.

‡ The return of the defeated troops to Washington is described by Walt Whitman in Specimen Days and Collect.

attend to wounded friends, even going with them to hospitals in distant towns. With such as remained the Confederate commander made a fortified camp and reoccupied his old positions at Centreville and Fairfax Court House.

Alarmed, and justly alarmed for the safety of the Capital, Scott ordered McClellan to come down the Shenandoah Valley with such troops as could be spared from Western Virginia, and make head against the enemy in that quarter.* Colonel Sickels and his regiment were called from New York.† Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania was urged to forward that night all the troops he could, ‡ and the next day McClellan was called to Washington.§ Patterson, whose term would expire in five days, had already been notified that he would then be honorably discharged. Banks had been ordered to Harpers Ferry to assume command of Patterson's army, and Dix to Baltimore to relieve General Cadwalader. || Ere the month closed most of the three months' men were back in their homes and their places at the front had been taken by those who had volunteered for three years.

The battle fought and won, the people of Richmond turned to the care of the wounded. The Mayor by proclamation announced that the telegraph reported a glorious victory at Manassas, that wounded from all the Confederate States required succor, and asked all citizens to meet that afternoon at the Washington Monument and decide on measures of relief. Two committees were then appointed, one to go to Manassas and bring in the wounded; the other to arrange for their care in private houses, and such hospitals as could be hastily made ready. ¶

As anxiety for the safety of the Capital went down, the North, mortified by defeat, began a search for some one on whom to lay the blame. It was due to the conduct of inferior officers and the failure of Patterson to obey the orders

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* Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 749.
† Ibid., p. 749.
‡ Ibid., p. 750.
§ Ibid., p. 753.
|| General Order No. 46, July 19, 1861. Ibid., p. 171.
¶ Richmond Enquirer, July 22, 1861. Also July 24, 29.

of the War Department and prevent Johnston hurrying reenforcements to Beauregard. Indignation against him was almost universal. It was due to the teamsters, Congressmen, politicians, newspaper correspondents and civilians of all sorts who at the first alarm fled like sheep. It was due to the regulars who in contempt of the volunteers drove their caissons furiously through the ranks when going to the rear for ammunitions and so started the belief that the front ranks were giving way. It was due to want of a general able to handle the troops. Scott was to blame for yielding to popular clamor before the army was ready to move, and for entrusting the command to so ill fitted a general as Irwin McDowell. With an able commander neither civilians nor camp followers could have made confusion, indeed, could not have been on the field. Scott, in the opinion of Thurlow Weed, had planned a summer and autumn campaign to end the war. Camps of instruction were to be formed. Raw troops were to be drilled and when ready sent into the field. But this was not in accord with the popular idea. Quick, immediate action was demanded, and the *Tribune* raised the cry of "on to Richmond." Congress met and Senators and Representatives took up the cry. The President was visited. Complaints were made concerning the inactivity of the army, and Scott was urged to go "on to Richmond" at once. Thus beset the old general for once in his life was moved from his position, for once his mind became the mind of others. To have resisted would have overthrown the Administration and the battle of Manassas became a political, not a military necessity.* The Secretary of War was denounced and a new Cabinet demanded. The New York Sabbath Committee, which had been busy attempting to prevent apple women and candy dealers from vending their wares and newsboys from selling their newspapers on the Sabbath, were of the opinion that the cause of defeat was fighting the battle on Sunday. At a meeting in the Baptist Church on Madison Avenue, New York, on the evening of the Sunday following the battle, a meeting called to consider what to do for the sick and dying soldiers in

* New York Herald, August, 1861.

Washington, Dr. Stephen H. Tyng declared that the battle "was fought on Sunday and that was reason enough for defeat. History has recorded the fact that the party who attacks in war on Sunday has invariably been defeated." *

As news of the battle spread over the South exultation, mingled with savage hatred of the North found expression in the speeches of orators, and in the issues of the daily press. The rout and dispersion at the great battle at Manassas has brought into bold relief the fact that the Yankees are humbugs. The white people of the slave-holding states are the true masters, the real rulers of the continent. Under the direction of the most-vaunted military character of the age, not of their production for they never produced a genius capable of anything beyond arranging a hotel, working a steam engine, or directing some base mechanical contrivance, they spent millions of dollars in money, drilled three hundred thousand men, and equipped them in a way unheard of in the annals of war. They met the rude, poorly equipped volunteers of the Southern States and were routed and slain by thousands, and driven like chaff before the wind. Yankees are very little better than Chinese. The breakdown of the Yankee race, their unfitness for empire, forces dominion on the South. We are compelled to take the scepter of power. We must adapt ourselves to our new destinies. We must elevate our race, every man of it, breed them up to arms, to command, to empire. †

We have driven back to their dens the boasting invaders of our soil. We have mowed them down by hundreds and by thousands. We have captured their batteries and sent them howling and panic-stricken from the field of fight. The first regiment of the enemy that crossed over from Washington, the Ellsworth Zouaves, have fled from the field with only two hundred left. Retributive justice has overtaken the first of the enemy to set foot on the sacred soil of Virginia. ‡

The Southern flag proudly floats over the prostrate foe.

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* New York Herald, July 24, 25, 30. August 2, 1861. Philadelphia Ledger, August 2, 1861.

† Richmond Whig, July 23, 1861.

‡ New Orleans Crescent, July 23, 1861.

The insolent invaders of Virginia soil bite the dust. Their pale corpses strew the field of encounter. The haughty North has received a bloody lesson, has felt the weight of the Southern arm uplifted in defense of Southern soil. Our people weigh the result of the battle. It will perhaps be the decisive battle of the war. The North will not likely recover from a reverse so signal and decisive. It will dishearten our enemies, destroy their credit, dampen the ardor of volunteering to fight in a cause on which rests the curse of God, and force them to make peace.*

* Memphis Avalanche, quoted by the New York Herald, July 26, 1861.

CHAPTER V.

THE BRITISH VIEW.

Never since the United States became a Nation had its relations with Great Britain been so cordial, so friendly, as in the closing months of 1860. For the first time in eighty years no international question of any importance awaited settlement. All had been adjusted or forgotten and, as a special mark of friendliness, the Prince of Wales had come to visit us and was making his triumphant progress through the States. This condition of peace and quiet, unhappily was but the lull which precedes the storm. As the movement in the South passed rapidly from secession to a state of war, Great Britain took sides, and in a little while the public men, the public organs, the people of the two countries were abusing and vilifying each other as heartily as in the old days of free trade and sailors' rights. That government by the people had, as usual, failed; that the Union was broken never to be united; that there must henceforth be two, or perchance three little Republics where there had been but one, great and powerful, was the firm belief of men foremost in every walk in life in England. Lord John Russell could not see how the United States could be cobbled together again by any compromise. South Carolina declared she had a right to secede and did secede. Lincoln's party declared secession was rebellion and must be put down. There was no way of reconciling such parties. The wisest course would be to admit the right of secession, and let there be a separation; one Republic to be founded on the principle of slavery and the surrender of fugitives.* He supposed the break-up of the Union must be considered inevitable.† The very day Lincoln took the oath of office, when the Confederacy

* Russell to Lyons, January 18, 1861. C. F. Adams, Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, vol. xlviii, p. 203.

† Ibid., Russell to Lyons, January 22, 1861, p. 204.

was but three weeks old, Mr. Gregory, the member from Glasgow, gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion to call the attention of Her Majesty's government to the expediency of prompt recognition of the Southern Confederacy. When returning thanks for his election, as member from Tiverton, Lord Palmerston told his constituents that there was but one spot on the political horizon the contemplation of which must inspire uneasiness and regret. "I mean," said he, "those convulsions taking place among our cousins in North America leading to a dissolution of the formerly United States. I am sure that every man who hears me, that every British breast, will feel that it is our cordial wish that results may be brought about by amicable adjustments; that the world may be saved from the afflicting spectacle of seeing brothers arming against brothers, and parents against children; of seeing the state of social happiness which has hitherto been the admiration of mankind, deformed by dispute, and a country once the scene of peace and industry polluted by the effusion of blood."

No event in our day, said the *Saturday Review,* has been half so wonderful as the one before us. Who would have believed, *a priori,* that in the nineteenth century the grandsons of Englishmen would organize a new State solely on the principle of preserving and extending slavery. A more ignoble basis for a great Confederation cannot be imagined. No great career can lie before the Southern States bound together by the tie of a working class of negro bondsmen. Assuredly it will be the Northern Confederation with a working class of free white men that will grow and prosper and become the leader in the New World.

One result of the American Revolution may safely be predicted. The two Republics, if not absolutely hostile, will yet dread each other's hostility. The prospect for the late United States is not bright. Neither Mr. Lincoln nor Mr. Davis will have a quiet reign. With them has come in a new system. The broad track marked out by the founders has been definitely abandoned, and some of us may live to see whether, like Europe, she is divided into antagonistic nations with fixed politics, or, like South America, split up into a

number of snarling communities.* For the President the *Times* had nothing but contempt. Ever since he delivered his inaugural, the American public had been trying to decide whether he meant war or peace. Even the most acute commentators could not decide; and no wonder, for there were those who said that Mr. Lincoln himself knew no more of his own intentions than did his supporters. He is too busy filling vacancies to attend to such matters as how to evacuate Sumter, and what to do next. Thus the critical days fly by, and we know no more of the plans of the American Government, and for aught we can see the American Government knows no more of its own plan, than on the day it took office. Let the Americans read the Fourth of July orations on which they have been reared and see how great is the error of striving to perpetuate by bloodshed and force a union between two nations speaking the same language, and sprung from the same race, when that union has long ceased to be one of friendship and good will.†

While the newspapers were supplying their readers with such information and thereby greatly affecting public opinion, the Foreign Minister, Lord John Russell, was receiving information concerning the state of affairs North and South, from the British Minister, Lord Lyons, and the British Consul at Charleston, Robert Bunch. After the Provisional Government was set up at Montgomery, Bunch wrote that he was convinced the new Republic would never become a great power and gave three reasons. It was founded on a monopoly of cotton, and from the moment its cultivation was impeded or destroyed by causes physical or political, or by the substitution of some cheaper fiber, the importance of the Southern States must diminish and their claim to consideration disappear. It was based, in the second place, on the preservation and extension of negro slavery. It seemed impossible in the present age that a Government avowedly established on such principles in defiance of the sentiments of nature and civilization, could succeed. It would be ostracized by the public opinion of the world, and considered only as a grower of

* London Times, March 26, 1861.
† Ibid., April 5, 1861.

cotton and rice. But there was a third ground on which the new Confederacy was likely to create an unfavorable opinion abroad, and this was, the filibustering propensities which would develop as soon as the dread of war with the North had proved unfounded.*

Concerning the men who were to administer government, Bunch gave his Lordship no favorable account. Davis, all his life, had held the extremest Southern and pro-slavery views, was a firm believer in the "manifest destiny" of the South to overrun Mexico, Central America and Cuba and turn them into slaveholding States of a Southern Confederacy, was a warm advocate of the filibustering expeditions of Lopez and Walker and others, and had endeared himself to the most advanced States-rights party by his support, in the Senate, of their doctrine. His election was due, in very large part, to a high opinion of his military abilities. The South firmly believed that a civil war must result from a dissolution of the Union, and thought it prudent that the duties of the Commander in Chief should be discharged by one willing and able to take the field in person if necessary. Toombs was a violent and impulsive man, no diplomat, an orator, a secessionist of the worst kind. His appointment was unfortunate. Memminger was the reputed son of a low German, had been brought up in the Orphan House in Charleston, was a lawyer, a clear-headed man, but not believed to be heartily enlisted in the present movement. He was made Secretary of the Treasury because of financial aptitude and great powers for sustained labor. Concerning the rest of the members of the Cabinet there was not much to be said. Save the President, not one of them rose above the dead level of mediocrity to which the popular institutions of the Republic seemed to have condemned its political leaders. The bombastic self-glorification so common in the United States saw in every ordinary speaker a Burke, in every moderately clever lawyer an Eldon, in every captain of militia a Napoleon or a Wellington. †

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* Bunch to Russell, February 28, 1861, C. F. Adams, Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, vol. xlviii, p. 208.

† Ibid., pp. 206, 207.

Quite as unfavorable were his sketches of the three Confederate commissions whom Russell was soon to meet. Mann was the son of a bankrupt grocer in eastern Virginia and had been made commissioner because of some experience in what was called "court life," meaning the management of public affairs in Europe, he having negotiated a treaty with Switzerland, and having been sent by Webster into Hungary with a roving commission, to encourage the Hungarians in their revolt.* On his return he became Undersecretary of State. He was said by those who knew him to be a mere trading politician with no originality of mind and no special merit of any sort.

Yancey was a lawyer of repute and a man of parts, a fluent speaker, a fine stump orator, possessing much power over the masses; but was impulsive, erratic and hot-headed, a rabid secessionist, a favorer of the revival of the slave trade and a filibuster of the extreme type of manifest destiny. As to Judge Rost, Bunch knew nothing, save that he was a sugar planter in Louisiana. †

From Lord Lyons came sketches of Seward. He has, wrote his Lordship, unbounded confidence in his skill in managing the American people. He thinks that with the influence and the patronage of the Federal Government at his command, he shall have little difficulty in turning the tide of popular feeling in the South. He thinks that in a few months the evils and hardships caused by secession will become intolerable, and the conservative element, kept down by the pressure of the secessionists, will emerge with irresistible force. He then hopes to put himself at the head of a strong Union party with ramifications North and South, and make Union or Disunion, not Freedom or Slavery, the watchwords of both parties. He seemed to take it for granted that Lincoln would leave the whole management of affairs to him. ‡ Lord Lyons could not help fearing Seward would be

* For this mission see History of the People of the United States, vol. viii, pp. 144–147.

† Bunch to Russell, March 21, 1861. C. F. Adams. Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, vol. xlviii, pp. 209, 210.

‡ Lyons to Russell, February 4, 1861. Ibid., pp. 212, 213.

a dangerous Foreign Minister. He had always thought the relations between the United States and Great Britain good material for political capital, that they might be safely played with and yet incur no risk of bringing on war. The temptation would be great for the Lincoln party, if not actually engaged in civil war, to seek to divert public excitement to a foreign quarrel.* He had told the Bremen Minister that nothing would give him more pleasure than to see a European power interfere in favor of South Carolina, for then he should "pitch into" that Power, and South Carolina and the seceding States would soon join him in doing so. † Lincoln had not given any proof of possessing any natural talents to compensate for his ignorance of everything but Illinois politics. He seemed well meaning and conscientious, in the measure of his understanding, but not much more. ‡

Interesting as may have been the information and character sketches furnished by the Minister and the Consul, they concerned Lord Russell far less than the questions whether a blockade would or would not be laid on the Southern ports, whether the blockade of so long a coast could be made effective according to international law; and what would be the effect of the state of affairs in America on Parliament.

Certain members had already begun to question him. One day in April Lord Alfred Churchill gave notice of his intention to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to recognize the Confederate States of America without a guarantee that the flag of that Confederacy shall not be made subservient to the slave trade, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to invite a conference of the European powers on the subject, so as to prevent the slave trade being reopened or carried on under the flag of the said confederation. §

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* Lyons to Russell, January 7, 1861. C. F. Adams. Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, vol. xlviii, p. 214.

† Ibid., February 4, 1861, pp. 217, 219.

‡ Ibid., April 9, 1861, p. 224.

§ House of Commons, April 9, 1861.

Mr. Gregory now gave notice that on April twelfth he would move to call the attention of the House to the expedience of the prompt recognition of the Southern Confederacy of America. Thereupon Mr. Forster gave notice that he should move, as an amendment, that this House does not at present desire to express any opinion in favor of the recognition of the Confederacy, and trusts that Her Majesty's Government will at no time make such recognition, without obtaining due security against the renewal of the African slave trade.* Doubt as to what Lincoln would do was now removed by the arrival of the news of the fall of Sumter, the call for troops, and the rising of the North. The day it became known in London, Mr. Gregory rose in the House of Commons and said, that in deference to the opinion of the Foreign Secretary, who had informed him that a discussion at that time of the expedience of a prompt recognition of the Southern Confederacy would be embarrassing to the public service, he would postpone, for a fortnight, the motion which stood in his name for to-morrow night. †

In the upper house, Earl Malmesbury asked the under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government had attempted to prevent the quarrel between the different States of America coming to a bloody issue, and if so what hopes were there of success, and if Her Majesty's Government was in communication with other European Governments for the purpose of attempting to stop a civil war.

Lord Wodehouse answered that Her Majesty's Government had considered whether there were any steps which might arrest so great a calamity; but, after due consideration, thought it not desirable for Great Britain to intrude advice and counsel on the United States. The Government was not, and had not been, in communication with any foreign Government, nor taken any steps to prevent a civil war.

The *Times* remarked that the challenge of the Confederate States had been promptly accepted, that President Lincoln could no longer be accused of having no designated policy. Were a literal interpretation put on the proclamation, war

* House of Commons, April 9, 1861.
† Ibid., April 29, 1861.

had been declared, and a call made for seventy-five thousand troops. In a state paper, so weak and wordy as to contrast strangely with those great historical documents which marked the birth of the American nation, the President denounced "combinations" existing in the seven insurgent states, and appealed to his fellow-citizens to "favor, facilitate and aid" his efforts to maintain the war and redress the wrongs of the North. But was it certain that the document meant exactly what it purported on its face to declare? It may mean what we in England, who have been so proud of our strong, blustering son, most dread, and a few weeks may show us Anglo-Saxons rushing at each other's throats. But it might also mean that the President was only taking a formal position, consequent on acts of hostility, and that he still intended to carry out his policy of procrastination.*

Should a second secession take place, should Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri and, perhaps, Maryland, leave the Union, the difficulties of the North would be overwhelming. The North had more money, more ships, but even with these it could not conquer and hold a dozen great territories with some eight million people as active and warlike as any on the globe. It was to be hoped the Government would see the hopelessness of an attempt to coerce soon enough to save the country from being drenched with blood.† We of this generation have seen wonderful things. But, of all the strange and inconceivable events of these later days, civil war in America is the most inconceivably marvelous. So short-lived has been the American Union that men who saw its rise may live to see its fall. Lord Lyndhurst, who is happily with us, was born a British subject in Boston when Massachusetts was one of the United Provinces. Indeed, we are still paying pensions to loyalists of 1775, when the conquerors in that war are destroying the work of their own hands. ‡

Civil War in the once United States, said the *Post*, has at last begun. It is a fratricidal contest, one in which no laurels

* London Times, April 29, 1861.
† Ibid., April 30, 1861.
‡ Ibid., May 7, 1861.

can be won except those steeped in the best blood of America, and has been needlessly and wickedly provoked. In recalling this event, equally deplored by the friends of peace in every civilized land, justice requires us to admit that the crime of civil war cannot be laid at the door of Mr. Lincoln. If Mr. Buchanan, at the first indication of rebellion, had sent a few vessels of war to Charleston harbor the secessionist movement would have been as successfully suppressed as it was in 1832. We believe that the battle will be fought *à l'outrance,* and that in place of one great, powerful, pretentious republic, there will be three confederations equally weak and powerless for good.*

The *Daily News* observed that up to the election of Mr. Lincoln it was the merest paradox to say that popular institutions had failed, and no less absurd to say so now that civil war has broken out. To hear some people talk one would think such a crisis had never befallen any other form of government. Have kings, popes, emperors never lost any part of their dominions? Did not England lose these very States? Did not Spain lose Mexico? Did not Austria lose Italy and Hungary? Did not France experience like disasters? Where, in the history of the world were such losses deemed evidence against the form of the government that sustained them? It was a favorite maxim with some that democratic government in the United States excluded the ablest men from office. The present crisis will put this theory to the test. A more difficult task never was imposed on any ruler than that laid on the shoulders of Mr. Lincoln. To many who believe the South can never be coerced the task seems impossible of accomplishment. Therefore, the blood that must be spilled will be spilled in vain. Not so. The war just begun may be obstinate and bloody, but it is hard to believe that the South will prevail.

Concerning the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards the Confederacy, now that an appeal to arms had been made, Lord Russell had, as yet, given no intimation whatever. When Dallas, early in April, called to deliver a

* London Post, April 27, 1861.

copy of the inaugural address, and a copy of Seward's circular letter to all representatives of the United States abroad bidding them do all in their power to defeat the efforts of representatives of the Confederacy to secure recognition,* and made the protest as directed, he was given the unmeaning assurance that Her Majesty's Government had not the slightest disposition to grasp at any advantage which might be supposed to arise from the unpleasant domestic differences in the United States. On the contrary, Her Majesty's Government would be highly gratified if those differences were adjusted, and the Union restored as of old. When Dallas suggested that, such being the case, it was most important that Great Britain and France abstain from doing what, by encouraging groundless hopes, might widen the breach still thought capable of being closed, he was answered that the matter was not ripe for decision.† But, no sooner did rumors of an intended blockade of the Southern ports reach him than he began to act, directed that the British fleet in American waters be strengthened, and requested a visit from Dallas at his home. Dallas went; was told that the Confederate Commissioners had arrived; that they had not been seen but would be, unofficially; that there was an understanding between Her Majesty's Government and France which would lead both to take the same course, whatever that course might be; and was questioned concerning the rumor of a blockade of the ports of the Confederacy. Dallas had no information to impart, informed him that Mr. Adams, the new Minister from the United States would soon arrive, and it was agreed to disregard the rumors and wait for the full information Mr. Adams would bring. ‡

On the third of May Russell met Yancey and Rost, and six days later met them again. Meanwhile, on the fourth of May, the President's proclamation of blockade was published, and May sixth Mr. Gregory, in the House of Com-

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* Circular, March 9, 1861, Senate Documents, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, vol. i, pp. 32, 33.

† Dallas to Seward, April 9, 1861. Ibid., vol. i, pp. 80-82.

‡ Ibid., May 2, 1861, p. 84.

mons, remarked that Mr. Lincoln had declared a blockade of seven States, and asked three questions: Whether any attempt of the Federal Government to levy dues on foreign vessels outside the ports of North Carolina and Virginia, before such vessels broke bulk, would not be an infringement of international law, and if so, whether the British Minister at Washington had received instructions?

Whether the Government of the United States had been informed that a blockade of any port in the Southern Confederacy, unless effective, would not be recognized?

Whether the United States having refused to relinquish the right to issue letters of marque, the seven Southern Confederated and Sovereign States having become, as to the United States, a separate and independent or Sovereign Power, Her Majesty's Government recognized the right of the President of the Southern Confederacy to issue letters of marque, and if so had Lord Lyons been notified? *

To the first, Lord Russell replied: the Queen's Advocate had said the question must depend on the circumstances of the case, and that it could not be declared beforehand whether such a case would or would not be contrary to International Law. As to the second, it was not necessary to give Lord Lyons instructions. The principle was well known to him, and it had been declared by the United States, that no blockade was valid unless effective. As to belligerent rights when citizens of a part of a State were in insurrection there was a precedent in the case of Greece and Turkey. In 1825 Great Britain allowed belligerent rights to Greece, though Turkey remonstrated. In the case of the United States, law officers of the Crown had been consulted and they and the Government were of the opinion that the Southern Confederacy of America must be treated as a belligerent. †

That same day, the sixth of May, Russell wrote Lord Lyons that accounts from Her Majesty's Consuls at different ports agreed in showing that whatever might be the result of the civil war that had broken out between the several

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, May 6, 1861, vol. clxii, pp. 1564-1567.

† London Times, May 7, 1861.

States "of the late Union," for the present "those States are separate and distinct confederacies." The question for neutral nations to consider was: what is the character of the war, and should it be considered a war carried on between parties severally in a position to wage war and claim the rights and perform the obligations attaching to belligerents? Her Majesty's Government were of the opinion that the question could only be answered in the affirmative. If the Government of the northern portion "of the late Union," possessed the advantages inherent in long-established government, the Government of the southern portion had duly constituted itself a Government, and carried on in regular form the administration of its affairs. Her Majesty's Government, without considering the merits of the question, could do no less than accept the facts. It deeply deplored the disruption, but could not question the right of the Southern States to be recognized as belligerents.*

Lord Derby, in the House of Lords, reminded their lordships that the Southern Confederates were sending forth letters of marque, and resorting to privateering for the purpose of destroying the commerce of the Northern States, and the Northern States had declared their intention to regard such letters of marque and such privateering as piracy. Should a British seaman who had entered a Southern privateer be captured by a Northern ship of war and condemned to death, his lordship could conceive of nothing more certain to involve Great Britain in serious complications with the United States, or more likely to make a party in the unhappy contest, supposing the British seaman was entitled to the protection of his Government. If, on the other hand, a British seaman, by entering a Southern privateer, lost his right to claim the protection of his Government, which his lordship believed was the case, then it should be publicly made known to him, and his blood would then be on his own head. His lordship understood that a proclamation was about to issue on the subject of privateering, and

* Russell to Lord Lyons, May 6, 1861. Claims of the U. S. against Great Britain, vol. iv, p. 19. British Blue Book, "America," No. 3, p. 1.

belligerent rights, and hoped that in the proclamation an emphatic warning would be given to seamen. Earl Granville, President of the Council, answered, that a proclamation was about to issue, but declined to discuss it until issued.

Mr. Forster, in the House of Commons, inquired whether it was not a criminal offense against the Foreign Enlistment Act for any subject of Her Majesty to serve on any privateer licensed by any person assuming to exercise power over a part of the United States, or for any person in Her Majesty's Dominions to assist in equipping such a privateer, and if so, whether Her Majesty's Government would take any steps to prevent infringement of the law, either by Her Majesty's subjects or by agents of the President of the Southern Confederation, then in England.

Sir George Lewis replied that it was in contemplation of Her Majesty's Government to issue a proclamation to caution Her subjects against interfering in the war.* This decision was speedily carried out, and on the fourteenth of May, the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality appeared in the *Gazette,* and all her subjects were warned not to enlist for land or sea service under the flag of either belligerent, not to supply munitions of war, fit out ships for privateering, or do any other act tending to give assistance to either belligerent. But it did far more than this. It led the way to like proclamations by the powers of Europe, made the Confederacy a belligerent power, and turned its cruisers from vessels without a flag, to privateers and cruisers entitled to the rights of belligerents in all the ports of Great Britain and her colonies.

The Earl of Ellenborough, in the House of Lords, found fault with the wording of the proclamation. The language was clear as to the law of England, but not clear as to the law of nations. Her Majesty's subjects were warned "not to break any blockade lawfully and actually established by either belligerent." The words, he thought, should be actually established and lawfully maintained. Contraband of war comprised "arms, military stores, or materials, or any

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3 Series, vol. clxii, p. 1763, May 9. 1861.

articles contraband of war." How was a plain man to know what articles were contraband? He would have to be familiar with the prize court decisions for years past.

Lord Granville explained that a blockade to be lawfully and actually established must be declared in proper form, and the State declaring it must have on the spot such a force as would make it dangerous for vessels to go in, or come out of, the blockaded port. Certain articles were clearly contraband of war. The character of others was dependable on circumstances, as ports for which they were destined, and could only be determined by private courts.

Lord Derby thought there were two points on which Her Majesty's Government should speedily come to an understanding with the United States. The first was as to blockades. The United States, it was said, intended to blockade all the Southern ports. To do this would not be in her power had she three times her present navy. A few ports might be closed, but the United States should be given to understand that a paper blockade, a blockade extending over a coast to which it was physically impossible that an effective blockade could be applied, would not be recognized as valid by Great Britain.

The other point was privateering. The Northern States must not be allowed to think they could so strain the law of nations as to convert privateering into piracy, and visit it with death. It was said the Northern States treated the Southern Confederacy not as having belligerent rights, but as rebels. Her Majesty's Government did not admit this because it had declared the Southern States entitled to the rights of belligerents. The Northern States could not claim the rights of belligerents for themselves and treat the Southern States as rebels.

The Lord Chancellor said Lord Granville had laid down the law on the point at issue with perfect correctness. If, after publication of the proclamation, a British subject were to enter into the service of either belligerent, on the other side of the Atlantic, there could be no doubt that he would be liable to punishment for a violation of the law of his own country, and would have no right to claim any interference

on the part of his Government to shield him from any consequences that might ensue. But there could be no doubt that he ought not to be regarded as a pirate for acting under a commission from a State admitted to be entitled to belligerent rights and carrying on what might be called a *justum bellum.* *

When, on June sixth, Mr. Crawford asked Mr. Gregory whether it was his intention to bring on his motion with reference to a recognition of the Southern Confederacy to-morrow, and whether the Foreign Secretary thought it desirable that it be discussed, Mr. Gregory said he did. Lord Russell thereupon stated that he did not think a discussion desirable, but having asked postponement on several occasions could make no further objection. The House was so manifestly opposed to a discussion that, on June seventh, Mr. Gregory postponed his motion *sine die.*

To Russell the Queen's Proclamation was a necessary act. Davis had issued letters of marque, and in a little while privateers would be roaming the sea and must be treated as pirates or recognized as belligerents. Lincoln had declared a blockade of Southern ports. These were acts of war and must be treated as such. "It is not our practice," he said, "to treat five millions of freemen as pirates, and to hang their sailors if they stop our merchantmen. But unless we meant to treat them as pirates and to hang them we could not deny them belligerent rights. This is what you and we did in the case of the South American Colonies of Spain. Your own President and Courts of Law decided this question in the case of Venezuela." †

On the day on which the Queen's Proclamation was made public Charles Francis Adams, the new Minister from the United States to the Court of St. James, reached London. His coming was known to Lord Russell. Indeed, Mr. Dallas, the retiring Minister, had arranged for the first interview. Courtesy should have led Russell to defer publication until

* Hansard Parliamentary Debates, May 16, 1861, vol. clxii, pp. 2077–2088.

† Russell to Everett, July 12, 1861. C. F. Adams, Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, vol. xlv, p. 77.

after Adams had arrived and been heard on a matter of such great importance to his country. But the proclamation was out and Adams was forced to confine himself to what was little more than idle comment. He objected to the words *justum bellum* used in a speech in Parliament. Action, he thought, had been taken a little more rapidly than circumstances required. The new Administration in the United States had found a great insurrection well under way, and all departments of government demoralized. Yet, before it had time to restore order, before it had time to develop a policy, when it had been but a little more than sixty days in power, Great Britain had taken the initiative and decided there were two sides to the struggle. She had declared the insurgents to be a belligerent Power before they had even shown their capacity to maintain any kind of warfare whatever. She had considered them a maritime Power before they had a single privateer at sea.

Russell replied that the United States had taken similar action quite as early and cited the case of Kossuth and Hungary. A necessity seemed to exist to define the course of the Government in regard to the participation of Her Majesty's subjects in the coming conflict. To this end the legal questions involved had been referred to those most conversant with them and their advice taken. They decided that "as a question merely of fact, a war existed." Seven States covering a wide extent of country were in open resistance. In many previous cases far less formidable demonstrations had been recognized. Under the circumstances it seemed scarcely possible to avoid speaking of the contest, in a technical sense, as *justum bellum,* a war of two sides. This was all that was intended by the Queen's Proclamation. It was to show the purport of existing laws, and explain to British subjects their liabilities if they took part in the war. *

Seward objected because the Proclamation had been issued the very day Adams reached London, though his arrival had been anticipated and his reception by Russell arranged; and because it seemed in a vague way to recognize, and did recog-

* Adams to Seward, May 21, 1861. Senate Executive Documents. 37th Congress, 2nd Session, vol. i, pp. 92, 93.

nize, the insurgents as a belligerent national Power.* The question of the privateers, he said, "is exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens preying on the commerce of our country." † But he would make no protest, because Adams was fully able to present the general views of his Government on the matter, and because Thouvenel had announced that communications setting forth the attitude to be taken by France and Great Britain in regard to the insurrection would soon be addressed to the United States. ‡

News of the indignation of the North aroused by the Proclamation, Adams wrote, was not without effect on public opinion in England. Men of all classes united in declaring that such a measure was unavoidable, and were equally united in declaring it was no evidence of ill will. They thought the complaints of the North unreasonable, and were profound in expression of sympathy. But the idea was still held that there would never be any actual conflict; that the Union might be cemented on the basis of measures hostile to Great Britain. §

The delusion that there would be no fighting was dispelled one day early in August when the steamers brought accounts of the defeat at Bull Run. In England the news was read with regret, for it seemed to foretell a long and bloody war, and the ruin of her cotton trade. We wish we could see in the battle, it was said, something on which we could congratulate either the victor or the vanquished. We wish we could see in it the probable cause of early peace. We can see in it nothing but what must inflame the evil passions of both combatants. ||

The Southerners will now accept nothing more nor less than independence and the acknowledgment of their right to secede. The war may drag on for years, but this must be

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* Seward to Adams, May 21, 1861. Senate Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, vol. i, p. 97.

† Ibid., p. 89.

‡ Ibid., June 3, 1861, pp. 97, 98.

§ Adams to Seward, June 21, 1861. Ibid., p. 110.

|| London Times, August 5, 1861.

the result at last. Let us not be diverted from our endeavors to get cotton from our dependencies by the idle hope that the American War will soon be over. Let it not be said the Northerners fight for the abolition of slavery, for they do not. Slavery is doomed, but it is not to fall by Northern arms.* Defeat of the North shuts the door to compromise. The Union is bound to conquer now. The spirit of New England and the North will rise to the occasion, and we of the old race shall not be surprised if our kinsmen never rest until they have turned defeat into victory.† A drawn battle would have made pacific results possible. Had the North triumphed, the South might have been brought to invite an arrangement. As it is, the war must go on. The North must persevere to the end and the end must be the utter destruction of the Union, or complete consolidation. ‡

The crash of a new political world, said the London *Times,* is an awful phenomenon. War has dashed like a comet upon the great American Republic, and all the institutions and destinies of that mighty Union seem scattered in fragments around. It is impossible to predict the formations which may survive after the convulsion has passed away, but all that we now see tends irresistibly to convince one that we shall never again behold that specimen of political organization which so amazed us with its growth, and impressed us with its apparent vigor. The United States of North America has ceased to be. The conquest of the South by the North has now become a most improbable event. All the incidents of the war appear to have been in favor of the Confederate States. Every day detracts from the chances of compromise except on a basis of a recognized separation. §

We are disposed to think that the period of Union had reached its limit, and that the States of the overgrown Confederacy could not have been long kept together. Indeed, the experiment which has broken down was a hopeless one from the beginning. No such mighty federation of people as

* Liverpool Courier, August 5, 1861.
† London News, August 6, 1861.
‡ Liverpool Post, August 22, 1861.
§ London Times, September 4, 1861.

the American Union has ever yet been kept together. Indeed it may be said that for twenty years the Union has been gradually breaking up. The least quarrel between parties in America was sufficient to bring a threat of secession into the mouths of one of them. Separation, in one way or the other, must soon have come to pass. Thirty large and powerful States, some of them equivalent to so many European Kingdoms, with various and conflicting interests and pursuits, were not to be held by the bounds of an artificial Confederacy. Instead of giving and taking for the common good, they look at things from a lower ground, believe they understand their own interests best, and could do better alone. Then comes divorce, or subjugation. One of these results will happen in the case before us. We cannot think it will be subjugation. There will then be an end of the Great American Republic, and it will be made clear that no advantage of geographical position, or novelty of political institutions, can save a people from the operation of natural laws.*

A little later, in a reply to an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*; "Why has the North felt aggrieved at England?" the *Times* restated its belief. We do believe, it said, and shall continue to do so, that the secession of the South has destroyed the Federal Union and that, let the victory be with whichever side it may, reconstruction on the old basis is impossible; that the contest on the side of the North is for empire, and on the side of the South for independence, and that in this respect we see a close analogy between the North and the Government of George III; and the South and the Thirteen Revolted Colonies. †

Bulwer Lytton, speaking at a meeting of the Herts Agricultural Society, said he did not understand how any far-thinking statesmen could conceive that a fourth part of the earth could long be held under one imperial form of government. The separation between North and South America, which was then being brought about by civil war, he had long foreseen and foretold to be inevitable, and he ventured to predict that the younger men there present would live to

* London Times, September 19, 1861.
† Ibid., November 7, 1861.

see not two, but at least four, and probably more than four, separate and sovereign commonwealths rising out of those populations which, a year ago, united their legislature under one President, and carried their merchandise under one flag.

Mr. Lindsay told his constituents that, as it would be some time before cotton could be got elsewhere, it was the duty of the Government to seek to induce the Federal Government, in the cause of humanity, to lift the blockade. Considering the bold stand made by the Confederates and the strength of the South, it was almost time that England and France thought of recognizing the independence of so numerous a body of people. The United States was not sincerely anxious to abolish slavery.* Premature recognition would be unjust and inexpedient, the *Post* maintained; but the course of events was forcing such action on foreign Governments. Wise and timely compromise and amicable renewal of political and commercial relations ought to be the policy of the United States.† The Recorder of Birmingham, in a speech, held that the declaration of the will of the Southern States to secede carried its own justification. To talk of rebellion and treason was to repeat the folly of the Government against which those very Northern States rebelled in 1776. Where was the tribunal before which six million people could be brought? Where the dock to hold them, the jury intelligent enough to try them, the mortal presumptuous enough to act as their judge? ‡

Lord Palmerston wrote Russell that, as to North America, "our best and true policy seems to be to go on as we have been doing and keep quite clear of the conflict between North and South. It is true, as you say, there have been cases in Europe in which the Allied Powers have said to the fighting parties, like the man in the Critic, 'In the Queen's name I bid you drop your swords,' but those cases have been rare and peculiar. . . . I quite agree with you that the want of cotton would not justify such a proceeding unless, indeed, the

* London Times, October 4, 1861.
† London Post, October 5, 1861.
‡ Manchester Guardian, October 26, 1861.

distress created by the want was far more serious than it is likely to be." *

The Assistant Secretary of our Legation in London wrote in his diary that the defeat at Bull Run would injure the North in Europe. "England's inherent hate of us is being expressed unmistakably to-day in sneers and chuckling over our misfortune." The British Nation was secretly longing for the destruction of the Union and would be content to see slavery become a mighty power, if only the South obtained its independence.†

To Disraeli "Jonathan" seemed, "in a pretty state; it's like the failure of some immense house; one can hardly realize the enormous results." It was a privilege to live in such a pantomimic age of glittering illusions and startling surprises. ‡

Bright, in a long letter to Sumner, declared that public opinion was languid and confused. The upper classes had some satisfaction in our troubles. They thought two nations on our continent more easy to deal with than one. The middle class alone wished abolition might come out of the war, but were irritated by our "foolish tariff." He had seen no considerable manifestation of a disposition to urge the Government to interfere. Yet some hoped that France and England would not permit their cotton manufactures to be starved out. Palmerston and Russell, in public, spoke in a friendly tone. He believed in the honest disposition of Russell, but did not like the movement of troops to Canada. "With our upper classes hostile to your country and Government, with the wonderful folly of your tariff telling against you here, and with the damage arising from the blockade," feeling was not so cordial as he wished. He could not see

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* Palmerston to Russell, October 18, 1861. Ashley, Life and Correspondence of Viscount Palmerston, vol. ii, p. 411. Russell had written October 17: "If we do anything it must be on a grand scale. It will not do for England and France to break a blockade for the sake of cotton." Walpole, Life of Lord John Russell, vol. ii, p. 344.

† Moran's Diary, August 5, 1861, Library of Congress.

‡ To Sir Stafford Northcote, September 12, 1861. Moneypenny and Buckle, Life of Disraeli, vol. iv, p. 328.

how the South, with its vast territory, could be subdued. If subdued, he could not see in the future a contented section made up of the States then passing through the crisis of a civil war. He had no sympathy with the South. It sought to overthrow the most free Government, and the noblest Constitution the world had ever seen, and wished to decree the perpetual bondage of millions of human beings. But he dreaded the effect of the war on the North. Debt, taxes, an army, corruption which always grew when so much public money was being expended, were fearful things.* "There are two nations in England," he wrote the American Consul in Liverpool, "the governing class and the millions who toil. The former dislike your Republic and their organs misrepresent and slander it. The latter have no ill-feeling towards you, but are not altogether unaffected by the statements made to your prejudice. † In a speech at Rochedale, a speech made when all England was seething with excitement over the Trent affair, he said: "Whether the Union will be restored or not, or the South achieve an unhonored independence or not, I know not, and I predict not. But this I think I know, that in a few years, a very few years, the twenty million of freemen in the North will be thirty million, or even fifty million, a population equal to, or exceeding, that of this kingdom. When that time comes, I pray that it may not be said amongst them that in the dark hour of their country's trial, England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness and saw unmoved the perils and calamities of their children. As for me, I have but this to say. I am but one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country; but, if all other tongues are silent mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondsmen of the South, and which tends to generous thoughts, generous words, and generous deeds between the two great nations who speak the English language and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name. ‡

* Bright to Sumner, September 6, 1861. Trevelyan, Life of John Bright, pp. 310–311.

† Bright to Thomas H. Dudley, December 9, 1861. Dudley MSS.

‡ December 4, 1861. Trevelyan, Life of John Bright, p. 313.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COAST BLOCKADE.

The outbreak of war, the proclamations of Lincoln laying the coast from Maryland to the Rio Grande under blockade, the proclamation of Davis inviting applications for letters of marque and reprisal, brought consternation to the hearts of merchants in every commercial city in the North. All who were concerned with ships and shipping, all who traded in Southern waters, all who took risks on ships and cargoes, steamship companies, merchants, bankers, underwriters, made haste to seek protection by the Federal Government. The president of the Atlantic and Pacific Steamship Company, whose vessels brought specie from Aspinwall to New York, begged for a good swivel gun for each ship, and for a hundred muskets. In the hands of such men as traveled by his line they would afford ample protection against pirates and privateers. Nineteen insurance companies in New York entreated the Secretary of the Navy to take immediate steps to protect American commerce in Southern waters.* Twenty-five firms, merchants and bankers in New York asked that the California steamers carrying forty million dollars' worth of gold annually from San Francisco be provided with two guns each and a proper number of artillerymen. A petition signed by thirty-six firms expressed the belief that Spaniards and other foreigners who would soon be in possession of letters of marque granted by the Confederate States, would seize the California steamers carrying treasure, and urged that convoys be furnished from San Francisco to Panama, and from Aspinwall to New York.†

* Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies, Series 1, vol. i, p. 9.

† Ibid., pp. 11–12.

The president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company heard that parties on the Pacific Coast had purchased and armed a steamer and desired that the ships of his company be protected in entering and leaving San Francisco, Acapulco, Panama, Aspinwall and while passing through the waters of the West Indies.* Flag-Officer Montgomery was accordingly ordered to give the necessary protection. † Governor Olden of New Jersey wrote the President that citizens living in the southwestern part of the State and on Delaware Bay felt some anxiety because of their defenseless condition and exposure to privateers and sent two gentlemen to confer with him. ‡ Underwriters and merchants of Boston petitioned for an armed steamer to be stationed in Vineyard Sound to protect the fifty thousand vessels that passed through each year.

Welles was doing the best he could. Blockade of the coast from Hampton Roads to Key West was assigned to the Atlantic Blockading Squadron under command of Flag-Officer Stringham. The Gulf Squadron under Flag-Officer William Marvin was to close the ports from Key West to the Rio Grande; but the Atlantic Squadron was soon cut into two, the Northern and the Southern. The one, operating from Maryland to South Carolina, was commanded by Flag-Officer Goldsborough. The other watching the coast from South Carolina to Key West was under the command of Flag-Officer Samuel F. DuPont. For the great task thus laid out, the navy was ill prepared. But forty-two vessels, tenders and storeships were in commission. Four were at Pensacola, six in Northern ports, one on the Great Lakes. The rest were scattered over the face of the globe, in East Indies, in the Mediterranean Sea, off the African coast, off the coast of Brazil, at Vera Cruz, in the Pacific, on the way home from Japan. Twenty-seven frigates, sloops, brigs and schooners were not in commission. Twenty-one were unfit for service.

With such as were available the work of blockading was begun, and with all possible speed attempts were made to

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* Ibid., p. 14. † Ibid., p. 15. ‡ Ibid., p. 19.

close the chief commercial cities of the South. Charleston and Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans were blockaded in May; but July came before an armed vessel appeared off Galveston and the month was nearly gone before a steamer took her station at the mouth of Cape Fear River and closed the port of Wilmington.

Nearly a score of rebel cruisers were then at sea.

Instructions issued by Toombs defined for them the words, "high seas," bade them pay strict attention to the rights of neutrals, and act towards the enemy with all justice and humanity. Captured vessels with one or more principal persons were to be sent before the proper Court in some Confederate port for examination. Property of the enemy in neutral ships was exempt unless contraband of war. Dispatches of the enemy, or military persons on neutral ships, were liable to capture; but this did not apply to neutral vessels bearing dispatches from public ministers or ambassadors in neutral ports.

First to receive a commission was the *Savannah.* She sailed from Charleston one June day, fell in with and captured a brig twenty-four hours later and by dark was herself the prize of the United States brig *Perry.* As the *Perry* was then on her way to Fernandina the prize and her crew were turned over to Flag-Officer Stringham, who sent the *Savannah* to New York, where her arrival caused no little excitement. Crowds went to the Battery to see her as she lay at anchor with the Confederate flag flying underneath the Stars and Stripes, and boatmen turned a pretty penny rowing sightseers around the "pirate." Later in the month the *Harriet Lane* brought the crew. They were in irons; were delivered to the Marshal and committed to the Tombs as men charged with piracy on the high seas.*

And now arose the question would the Court make good the threat of Lincoln's proclamation, and, were the men found guilty, order them hanged as pirates? And if they were, what would the Confederate Government do? A Charleston newspaper declared that in spite of all its ex-

* New York Herald, June 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 26, 1861.

perience of the treachery and cruelty of Lincoln and his despotic horde of underlings and satraps, it did not believe the men would be hanged. If so, then every citizen of a Lincoln State that fell into Southern hands would be a subject of retaliation. "We can erect the gallows or the gibbet as well as others." *

Far more serious was the threat of Davis made in a letter to Lincoln in July. Having heard of the capture of the *Savannah* he ordered that an offer be made to the officer commanding the squadron blockading Charleston for an exchange of prisoners for the officers and crew of the privateer and was told that the men were not on board any of the ships. It now appears, said he, that they are in New York, not as prisoners of war, but as criminals, and in irons, and before the Court charged with piracy. Such newspaper statements would not have been made the subject of communication had not the proclamation of April contained a threat to treat the privateersmen of the Confederacy as pirates. Should they be executed he would retaliate as far as necessary to secure the abandonment of practices unknown in the warfare of Christian nations. †

The sea now swarmed with Confederate privateers. From Wilmington, from Charleston, from New Orleans they came forth in such numbers that by the middle of July a score were roving the Atlantic in search of merchant ships. One, the old slaver *Echo,* ‡ refitted and named *Jeff Davis,* sailed from Charleston.

When some two hundred and fifty miles southeast of the Nantucket South Shoals she fell in with a fine merchantman called the *Enchantress* and made her a prize. Walter W. Smith was put aboard as prize master and four sailors from the *Jeff Davis* as the prize crew and the vessel ordered to Charleston. Eben Lane was navigator and so sailed the ship that, although one of the fastest out of New England and captured on the sixth of July, she had gone south but two hundred and fifty miles when, July twenty-second she was

* Charleston Mercury, June 12, 1861.
† Davis to Lincoln, July 6, 1861, New York Herald, July 30, 1861.
‡ History of the People of the United States, vol. viii, p. 348.

captured by the United States ship *Albatross*. Lane sailed south by day and north by night. The crew were taken first to Hampton Roads and then to Philadelphia, where they were tried in the Circuit Court for piracy. Smith and three of the prize crew were found guilty. Lane, because of his action in keeping the ship at sea in hopes that she might be captured, was found not guilty.

While these trials were under way at Philadelphia Captain Thomas Harrison Baker and twelve of the crew of the *Savannah* were tried at New York. At the end of eight days the jury disagreed. Jefferson Davis now made ready to carry out his threat and on November ninth Attorney-General Benjamin instructed General Winder to select by lot from the prisoners of highest rank taken at Bull Run, one to be confined in a cell, treated as a convicted felon and executed in the same manner as the Union Government might execute the prisoner of war Smith, lately condemned to death in Philadelphia, and thirteen to be confined in cells as felons so long as the enemy should so treat the like number of prisoners taken from the *Savannah* and held as pirates at New York.* Should one drop of Southern blood be shed by the Northern courts for defending the South on the Seas, it will be paid with interest in Charleston, said the Mercury. †

The blockade having been established in force as well as the ships at hand would permit, and the privateers having been nearly all swept from the sea, the Secretary of the Navy turned to the third part of his program which called for combined naval and military expeditions to attack points along the coast. From near Cape Henry to below Cape Hatteras the coast proper is bordered by a long, low, narrow strip of sand which parts the waters of the Atlantic from those of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. Numerous inlets pierce this sand beach; but few are navigable. Some are closed for years until opened by a storm of great severity. Some are so shallow that none but vessels of the lightest

* New York Herald, November 9, 14, 18, 1861; Norfolk Day Book, November 12, 1861.

† Charleston Mercury, November 10, 1861.

draft can use them. Only two, Hatteras Inlet and Ocracoke Inlet, are deep enough to admit the passage of vessels of considerable tonnage. Hatteras was the deeper and was found most convenient for the carriage of supplies to the Confederate army in Virginia and for the use of privateers and their prizes. Such was the importance of the inlet that no sooner was the Gosport Navy Yard in Confederate hands than guns of large caliber were carried thither and Fort Clark, on the ocean side, and Fort Hatteras, on the Sound side, were built to defend it. To attack these works there sailed from Hampton Roads, late in August, a motley fleet of ferryboats, gunboats, schooners, frigates and transports carrying eight hundred and fifty troops. Each transport towed a dismasted schooner on which was a flatboat for landing troops and each gunboat a huge iron surfboat large enough to hold a company.

A voyage of two days brought the squadron off the inlet. The frigates opened fire on Fort Clark, a landing place was chosen some three miles away, the schooners were anchored as near shore as was safe and several hundred troops on the flatboats and in the surfboats set off for the beach. But the surf ran high. Both flatboats were stove and the surfboats were tossed high up on the beach, whence they could not be moved. A cutter from a gunboat made a landing; but on a return trip was swamped in the surf. No further attempts were made and the men on shore were left without food to shift for themselves. A scouting party having reported Fort Clark abandoned, the troops entered it, and raised a flag; but, mistaken for the enemy, they were at once shelled by the ships and retreated to the landing place. There they passed an anxious night. In the morning the attack on Fort Hatteras, begun the previous afternoon, was renewed by the ships and kept up until a white flag announced surrender.

Port Royal came next. During two months preparations had been under way and by the close of October the squadron, composed of war vessels, chartered vessels, ferryboats, coal schooners, transports for twelve thousand men and an unseaworthy steamship carrying six hundred marines, was

assembled in Hampton Roads. Flag-Officer DuPont commanded the naval contingent; General Thomas W. Sherman the troops. October twenty-ninth, the coal schooners having gone on before, the vessels of war and the transports put to sea, ran into a gale just after passing Cape Hatteras and suffered losses. A transport loaded with stores went down; the steamer with the marines foundered and seven lives were lost. The commander of one of the chartered vessels was forced to throw overboard all her battery save one gun. Three transports with stores, but carrying no troops, never reached Port Royal and another was so badly damaged that it never left Port Royal.

What remained of the squadron arrived off the Port without further mishap and found the entrance defended on the right by Fort Beauregard on Bay Point, and on the left by Fort Walker on Hilton Head Island. The attack began on the morning of November seventh and before sunset Fort Walker was in Union hands and Fort Beauregard abandoned. Both were turned over to the army. The victory took from the Confederates one of the finest harbors on the Atlantic Coast, gave to the Union Navy a base for future operations and made it possible to greatly increase the effectiveness of the blockade. Beaufort, when visited a few days later, was found deserted by its white inhabitants.

The plan of the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, Mallory, called for vessels of three classes: those suitable for defense of the bays, harbors, rivers, inlets and sounds along the coast; heavily armed ironclad ships of war to sweep away blockaders, destroy, perhaps, the entire navy of the United States, defy the defenses of the great seaports of the North and lay them under contribution; and what he claimed was new in naval warfare, the cruising commerce destroyer. To build heavily armed ironclad ships at home was impossible, for nowhere in the Confederacy could Mallory find a mill capable of rolling armor plate two inches thick,* nor could he find in all its ports more than two wooden vessels fit for cruisers. England was his only hope. To England, there-

* Official Records, Navies, Series 2, vol. ii, pp. 72, 73.

fore, he turned, and having secured from Congress a grant of one million dollars for commerce destroyers and two millions for ironclad ships,* dispatched two agents to procure them as speedily as possible. James D. Bulloch was to buy if he could, build if he must, six stern propellers, not too large, light of draft, very speedy, able to make long cruises and armed with at least one heavy pivot gun and two or more of smaller caliber, broadside. They were to be paid for in Confederate bonds when delivered, under the British flag, in any Southern port; but the Government must not appear in the matter and all contracts must be made through some well-known commercial house in England. Bulloch was also to buy, at once, carbines, cutlasses, navy pistols, fixed ammunition, cannon and musket powder, clothing of every sort, shoes and red, white and blue bunting. †

To Lieutenant James H. North was assigned the task of procuring two ironclads of the type of the great French frigate *La Gloire,* "the most formidable ship afloat." France was well disposed towards the South. Indeed, at an early day she might recognize the independence of the Confederacy, and as the lifting of the blockade of the cotton ports concerned her greatly, she might be willing to sell a frigate of the class of *La Gloire* or permit such a vessel to be constructed at one of her dock yards. The other should be built in Great Britain. ‡

Bulloch had not been long in England before he perceived that it was almost impossible to carry out his instructions. No purchase, no contract could be made save with cash in hand, nor would any great gun factory enter into a contract save on long time. He must employ commission houses to contract for sea rifles with small concerns in Birmingham and elsewhere; and the Queen's Proclamation raised a barrier against shipments to Southern ports. English ship owners, partly through patriotism, partly through fear, refused to take anything contraband as freight. Wood,

* Official Records, Navies, Series 2, vol. ii, pp. 66, 67.
† Ibid., pp. 64, 65.
‡ Ibid., pp. 70, 71.

as material for ships, had gone out of use in the British merchant service. He could find no wooden vessels fit for cruisers, and their iron ships were too thin in the plates for war purposes.*

Driven to building, Bulloch contracted with two Liverpool shipbuilders for two light cruisers. Payment for one, known on the stocks as the *Orelo,* was guaranteed by Frazer, Trenholm & Co. The other known as "290," was not begun until money was remitted, for the Lairds, who built her, would not depart from the usual custom.†

To bring over the guns and munitions bought by Bulloch, Secretary Mallory dispatched a vessel in July. Arms and powder, he wrote, are of the first importance and I send her over to obtain a supply if practicable. Buy, if you can, ten thousand Enfield rifles at once, regardless of price, and if she will carry more, send more, and two hundred tons of powder to be shipped in a British vessel to Nassau consigned to Mr. Henry Adderly, commission merchant. The best way to bring arms into our States is to ship them to Nassau. We can have an agent there who will send a few thousand at a time in small Bahama wreckers that should clear for Vera Cruz or other ports along the Gulf of Mexico and run into any of the inlets of Louisiana or Texas.‡ Frazer, Trenholm & Co. of Liverpool, financial agents for the Confederacy, procured a fast steamer, the *Bermuda,* sent her to West Hartlepool, a port on the east coast of England, and loaded her with powder, and with guns packed in crates such as were used for earthenware, carried thither in secrecy and by circuitous routes. Aware of this the Vice-Consul at Liverpool notified Adams and warned Seward. Adams complained to Russell. A new steamer, the *Bermuda,* fitted out by Frazer, Trenholm & Co., he wrote, was at West Hartlepool ready for sea, carried four guns, had been taking on board crates, cases and barrels believed to contain arms and was nominally entered for Havana, a place to which he did not believe she was going. He asked, therefore, a

* Official Records, Navies, Series 2, vol. ii, pp. 83, 85.
† Ibid., p. 85.
‡ Ibid., pp. 81, 82.

prompt investigation. * Russell answered that he had referred the matter to the law officers of the Crown, who advised there was not enough evidence to warrant interference. The Act 59 George II applied to equipment of vessels to be used as transports or cruisers and not at all to the nature of the cargo. Clearly, the *Bermuda* was not for war purposes. † Meantime she sailed, ran the blockade at Savannah and delivered her precious cargo.

So great were the purchases made by Bulloch for the navy and by Major Caleb Huse for the army that they pooled their funds, bought the *Fingal* and sent her to Savannah. She, too, ran the blockade and delivered more than eleven thousand Enfield rifles, more than twenty-four thousand pounds of powder, more than half a million percussion caps, four hundred thousand cartridges, four pieces of ordnance and drugs, clothes, swords, sabers and shells. ‡ But so close was the blockade of Savannah that she could not escape and in time became the Confederate ram *Atlanta.*

Vigilant as were the blockaders, it was not always possible to catch a runner of great speed whose captain was willing to take desperate risks. So many broke through that, in hope of putting an end to their entrance and escape, Welles decided to sink vessels in the channels of harbors leading to ports they most frequented. Gustavus V. Fox suggested it early in the war, Welles approved and referred the plan to a Board which advised that Oregon, Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets on the coast of North Carolina be blocked by sinking on the inner bars old hulks loaded with stone, § and Commander Stellwagon was sent to Baltimore to purchase suitable vessels. || The Commander thought little of the plan. The tides in the Sound would make new channels around the sunken ships. Hulks and all obstructions would disappear in thirty days. Nevertheless, the vessels were procured

* Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. i, pp. 759, 761, August 15, 1861. Moran's Diary, August 14, 15, 16, 1861, Library of Congress.

† Ibid., p. 762, August 22, 1861. Moran's Diary, August 23, 1861.

‡ Official Records, Navies, Series 1, vol. xii, p. 331.

§ Ibid., p. 200.

|| Ibid., vol. vi, p. 50.

and brought to Hampton Roads, whence eight were towed to the coast to be sunk in Oregon, Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets and close the entrances to Pamlico Sound.* To do this was again declared impossible by Commander Stellwagon; but Goldsborough was sure that Ocracoke Inlet could be closed and Commander Reed Warden was sent to make the attempt. He, too, protested and asked to be relieved of the duty, but was told that the orders from the Department must be obeyed and in November three stone-laden hulks chained bow and stern were sunk in the inlet. †

It was not the intention of Welles to confine this form of obstruction to the little inlets along the coast. It was to be applied to the great ports and, that it might be, orders went forth for the purchase of twenty-five hulks to be sunk on the bar at Savannah and for twenty to be sunk in the channels leading to Charleston harbor. ‡ Old whalers were accordingly bought at New Bedford, New London and Nantucket, stripped of everything valuable, loaded with stone and sent South. Sixteen of those which went to Savannah were brought to Charleston § and sunk in the main channel some four miles southward of Sumter, and fourteen of the second stone fleet at the entrance to Maffitt's Channel some six miles eastward of the fort. ||

It is lawful, said a Richmond newspaper when it heard of the coming of the stone fleet, to seize drydocks, enemy's stores, ships, forts. It is lawful to blockade our ports. But we deny that it is the right of our enemy to destroy our ports if he can. That is an injury which outlasts wars; an attack not only on our defenses, but on the patrimony of Nature in which all the world is concerned. Sinking masses of stone in our channels in hope of destroying them is diabolical. Civilized warfare tolerates no such spirit. We do not believe Lincoln's scheme will succeed. The rivers and the ocean cannot be parted from each other. The currents and

* Official Records, Navies, Series 1, vol. vi, pp. 64, 126, 256-257, 261, 268, 279-281.

† Ibid., vol. vi, pp. 315, 345, 378, 429.

‡ Ibid., vol. xii, pp. 416, 417, 418, 419.

§ Ibid., pp. 391, 420.

|| Ibid., pp. 421, 422, 423, 424, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 552.

the waves will force for themselves new channels. Lincoln, as Satan's agent, will fail. But the intent and effort would stamp another badge of infamy on his brow were it not that the tablet is already full.*

This achievement, said Lee when he heard of the sinking of the stone fleet, "so unworthy of any nation, is the abortive expression of the malice and revenge of a people which it wishes to perpetuate by rendering more memorable a day hateful in their calendar." †

Angry protests from the South were to be expected. But the indignation the sinking of the "stone fleet" aroused in England was not expected and was surprising. The port of Charleston, it was said, is ruined for all time. Its ruin is a crime against civilization. We, in common with the rest of the world, view with horror the attempt to deprive future generations of the blessings which Nature has given them in the shape of harbors to protect them against a tempestuous ocean. Such acts are, indeed, acts of war, but acts of war against the whole human race, and by the intervention of those who represent the civilization of the whole human race should they be denounced.

There are limits to the rights of destruction which even a nation at war may exercise. To conquer, not to destroy, is the right of a belligerent nation of civilized beings. Yet we are told that fleets have gone forth from New London and New Bedford laden not with armed men, but with stones, and that these vessels scattered broadside have closed, for years to come, the entrances by sea to Charleston and Savannah. The object is to strangle these ports, not to possess them. If true, it is an act of hostility to the whole human race.

When known to be true, when known that the hulks had been sunk, not in a right line across the channel to Charleston harbor, but in three lines "checkerwise," that they might form a series of shoals around which the tide, it was hoped, would swirl and eddy, making navigation most difficult for blockade runners, the deed was denounced as infernal. "The

* Richmond Enquirer, December 12, 1861.
† Official Records, Series 1, vol. vi, p. 43.

ferocity and vindictiveness," it was said, "which have become in the present generation part of the American character, as shown by duels and assassinations and atrocities aboard ships that almost pass belief, are now in full play in this unhappy strife. If any one would know the character the war is assuming let him read of the destruction of the port of Charleston." Among all the crimes which have disgraced mankind it would be hard to find one more atrocious. It was appalling to read that men reared under the influence of religion, morality and law, men who had practiced self-government, should perpetrate a crime from which barbarians would shrink. Even the tribes of the desert would not destroy the well which gave life to an enemy. Yet here was a Christian Government ruthlessly destroying the principal harbor on a dangerous and stormy coast, choking up the outlet of a vast commerce, dooming one of the richest districts of the globe to ruin and cutting off millions of people from the ocean which washes their coast. No belligerent has a right to destroy the features of nature and deprive the mariner, for ages, of refuge from perils of the sea. During the war against Napoleon, Toulon and Brest and other ports of France were watched by British squadrons, yet it never entered the minds of Nelson, Jervis, Collingwood to save themselves trouble by totally destroying the ports they were sent to watch.*

To this it was answered that England had done such things. Did not Lord Hobart, in 1804, write the Comptroller of the Navy that it was expedient to choke the entrance to the harbor of Boulogne and that he had the command of the King that preparation be at once made and funds provided for the purchase of ships and material, and was it not done? On the evacuation of the port of Alexandria were not five vessels, loaded with stones, sunk in the narrow passage by which the squadron under command of Admiral Lewis came in and went out?† During our second war with Great Britain, did not the British attempt to block the harbor

* London Times, January 11, 1862.

† Gilignani's Messenger, January 7, 1862; Scott's Life of Napoleon. vol. ii, chapter 10.

of Otter Creek by sinking beneath its waters several vessels loaded with stone? *

So indignant were the members of the Shipowners' Association of Liverpool that they addressed Lord Russell, called attention to the obstructions in the entrance to Charleston harbor, and asked the earnest consideration of the Government lest other ports be destroyed in the same manner. Lord Russell replied that the attention of Her Majesty's Government was at once attracted by the rumors that such an act was to be done and that Lord Lyons was informed of its views. It was a cruel plan and seemed to imply despair of ever restoring the Union, for it never could be the wish of the American Government to destroy cities from which its own country was to derive riches and prosperity. Even as a scheme of embittered and sanguinary war it could not be justified. It was a plot against the commerce of all nations. Now that the project seemed to have been carried out Lord Lyons would receive instructions to protest again. In the letter to which Lord Russell referred in his reply to the shipowners of Liverpool, he told Lord Lyons that he had it, on apparently good authority, that the purpose of the stone fleet was the destruction of the harbors forever, and that it showed the utter despair of restoration of the Union. It was a measure of revenge and irremediable injury against an enemy, and even as such was not justifiable. It was a plot against the commerce of nations and the free intercourse of the Southern States with the civilized world. It was a project worthy only of times of barbarism. † When spoken to on the subject by Lord Lyons, Seward answered that it was not the intention of the Government to block the port forever. It was a temporary military measure to aid the blockade, and it would be the duty of the Government to remove the obstructions as soon as the Union was restored. That would be a mere matter of expense. That the port was not even temporarily destroyed Lord Lyons could deduce

* Cooper's Naval History, vol. ii, p. 34.

† Russell to Lyons, December 20, 1861. Adams, Great Britain and the American Civil War, vol. i, p. 254.

from the fact that a British vessel had recently run the blockade.* All vessels loaded with stone to be used for the obstruction of harbors had been sunk and it was not likely any others would be used for that purpose. †

A fortnight later the Charleston *Mercury* reported that wreckage, spars and blocks and whatnot had, during the last few days been picked up in and near the harbor, and that it undoubtedly came from Lincoln's stone fleet which wind and waves were gradually breaking to pieces.

Yancey and Mann wrote home that the prevailing, and undoubtedly the correct, opinion in Paris was that France and Great Britain had remonstrated in strong terms and had protested against the sinking of the stone fleet in the main channel of Charleston harbor and that they would directly interfere in some way. ‡ The French journals condemned the stone fleet blockade. *Pays* called it an act of vandalism and barbarity; the *Moniteur* an act of inhuman and barbarous revenge. Dayton, the American Minister, wrote from Paris that the effect of the blockade, the permanent destruction of the harbor of Charleston and the hopelessness of our cause, taken for granted and impressed on the public mind by the English press, had done us much harm in France. There could be no doubt that the French Government was seriously considering the blockade and the attempt to permanently block Charleston harbor. During an interview with the French Minister the stone fleet and the supposed permanent destruction of the harbor were mentioned. Thouvenel asked for an explanation of that proceeding, and said it had made, over all Europe, an impression most unfavorable to us. Dayton answered that as yet the only information concerning it came through newspapers; that the Government had never declared its intention to destroy the port, and the temporary obstruction of one channel was all that was sought. Had no stones been placed in the hulks to keep them down we might as well have thrown chips into the sea. The very next gale would have swept

* Lyons to Russell, January 27, 1862.
† Ibid., February 11, 1862.
‡ Yancey and Mann to Hunter, January 27, 1862. Pickett Papers.

them from their positions.* Seward replied that no American ever supposed the human hand could place obstructions in a river which the same hand could not remove. He was surprised to hear that putting temporary obstructions in the channel leading to Charleston was regarded in Europe as an act of peculiar and ruthless severity. † Seward had scarcely written his letter when Mercier called bringing a long note from Thouvenel much in the form of a protest. It would be vain, he was to say to Seward, to attempt to pretend that the closing, by such unwonted means, of ports already under blockade, would not effect the general interests of trade past all remedy; that it would be not only an injury to the enemy, but to all neutrals. It would, in fact, bar them, not momentarily and during the war, but permanently and after peace, from access to a coast where they ought to expect to find a port of refuge. Thouvenel was forced to regard the stone blockade as an abusive extension of the rights which international usage recognized as belonging to a belligerent. He did not hesitate to say that this opinion would certainly be that of all Governments which had it at heart not to see war again take on the destructive character it bore in times past. ‡ Mercier left a copy of the letter and Seward answered it saying, that Thouvenel had been misled into the grievous error of supposing that the United States intended to ruin, permanently, the harbors of her commercial cities temporarily occupied by the insurgents, and that placing artificial obstructions in the channels which led to Charleston was only the beginning of the work of universal destruction. On the contrary. All that had ever been intended was the temporary obstruction of some, not all, of the channels leading to Charleston harbor. §

This outbreak of indignation in Great Britain and France was largely due to fear that the coast blockade would cut off cotton, ruin the fine trade once carried on between these

* Dayton to Seward, January 27, 1862. House Executive Documents, 1862–63, vol. 1, pp. 310, 311.

† Seward to Dayton, February 10, 1862.

‡ House Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, p. 410.

§ Ibid., p. 412.

countries and the South, and bring distress to thousands of workers in Birmingham, Lancashire, Cheshire and western Scotland. Dread that such might be the course of events should the two sections appeal to arms, gave much concern to the rulers of Great Britain long before the blockade was laid. In February Lord Russell instructed Lyons "above all things endeavor to prevent a blockade of the Southern coast. It would produce misery, discord and enmity incalculable." * In March, Lyons assured Seward that "if the United States determine to stop by force so important a commerce as that of Great Britain with the cotton-growing States," he "could not answer for what might happen." † In April he was still striving "to make the Government here aware of the disastrous effects of their blockading the Southern ports, or attempting to interfere with foreign commerce." ‡ Within a few days Sumter was surrendered and the long-dreaded blockade was laid. Hope of an early peace was now entertained. But when the news of Bull Run and the second great uprising of the North reached Liverpool, all hope of an early peace faded away, cotton of every grade rose in price, thousands of bales were taken from the market by speculators or for export, and warnings of evil days to come were sounded. The situation, it was said, is serious. Four million people derive subsistence from the cotton industry. But the commodity does not exist in any quantity save in the United States, and the supply is two hundred thousand bales less than at this time one year ago. This means short time, idle looms, closed mills, a distressed population. §

If the Southern people are sincerely desirous of sending cotton we shall get it sometime, somehow. Where there is a will there is a way. But the truth is they think they hold the supply of Europe in their hands and may turn the power they possess to political advantage. They think if they starve Liverpool and Havre and all the factories dependent on these

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* C. F. Adams, Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, vol. xlviii, p. 205.

† Ibid., Lyons to Russell, March 26, 1861, p. 221.

‡ Ibid., p. 224.

§ London News, August 12, 1861.

markets they will force England and France to come to terms and either break the blockade or recognize the Confederacy.* We, and our neighbors across the Channel, may suffer from a shortage of cotton, but we are not going to involve ourselves in a naval war with the Northern States in which it is very doubtful if we should have the coöperation of France.†

When September came the stock of cotton at Liverpool had fallen to five hundred and fifty thousand bales. The weekly consumption was forty-five thousand bales and as a matter of precaution the mills resorted to short time. Several at Staleybridge, Oldham, Preston, Blackburn and Bromley limited operations to four days a week. So serious had matters become that a Manchester firm put out a circular stating that in all probability the cotton mills would soon be on short time; that many would be forced to close during the coming winter and urging the mill hands to economize and save. Reports from Lancashire told of mills working half time, of manufacturers reducing wages, of terrified operatives meeting to discuss what they should do.

Returns from seventeen towns in the Manchester district gave the number of mills as four hundred and seventy-three and the workers as eighty-seven thousand nine hundred. Such was the depressed state of the industry that six thousand were idle; sixty-three thousand six hundred on short time and but eighteen thousand three hundred worked six days a week. In Lancashire the distress was quite as great. There two hundred and ninety-five mills were working six days a week; seventy-five, five days; three hundred and four, four days; one hundred and eighteen three days, and forty-nine none at all.

In Lancashire distress and suffering grew more and more acute as week followed week. So acute did it become that in April a body of merchants and others waited on the Lord Mayor of London. They came, they said, to interest him in the widespread and constantly increasing distress among the operatives in Lancashire and invite him to become the

* London Times, September 5, 1861.
† London Shipping Gazette, September 6, 1861.

medium through whom the charitable might contribute. They read to him a letter from the Mayor of Blackburn stating that for months past the mills had been running on half time; that thousands of the laboring and manufacturing population had become dependent on poor rates and gifts for existence; and that neither Poor Law Guardians, nor any other body could grapple with the situation alone and unaided. Bread was distributed weekly; there had been soup kitchens since January giving out daily two thousand quarts; and not less than ten thousand people were receiving bread, meal or soup. The upshot was the formation of the Mansion House Committee to receive and forward clothing, food, money, whatever the charitable might contribute.* By the end of November three hundred and thirty thousand unemployed operatives in twenty-seven Unions were then receiving relief.

Such was the distress that the merchants in New York City were moved to seek relief for the sufferers and appointed a committee of fifteen to devise the best means of affording help, to collect subscriptions of money and food from all parts of the country, especially in the food-producing States, and forward their collections at once to England. Twenty-six thousand dollars were subscribed on the spot; an unknown contributor sent, in a letter, seven one-thousand-dollar bills with which to buy a thousand barrels of flour; and in a short time more than forty thousand dollars had been collected. British residents now started a fund and the Produce Exchange instructed a committee to solicit money, buy food, forward it to England and correspond with Boards of Trade in other cities. A member offered to carry in his ship *Hope,* without charge, a thousand barrels of flour if delivered before sailing day. Eighty-five hundred dollars and three hundred barrels of flour were at once subscribed. † An appeal from the Chamber of Commerce to the American people set forth that the blow struck at our national existence had fallen severely on the operatives of Europe and urged citizens of every city, town and village to

* London Times, April 26, 1862.

† New York Tribune, December 5, 8, 9, 11, 1862.

forward money and food. The firm of N. & G. Griswold now offered the use of its new eighteen-thousand-ton ship to carry the food; by mid-December the three funds amounted to one hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars; and in February, 1863, three relief ships loaded with flour and provisions reached Liverpool. The operatives of Blackburn in their letter of thanks assured the New York Committee and the subscribers they had done much more than relieve distress in Lancashire. In the midst of unhappy strife they had not forgotten the starving. This showed the state of feeling of the people of the United States towards their brethren in England, and went far to undeceive those misled by the enemies of popular government. But they begged to suggest that the benevolent object of their friends could have been better accomplished by giving distressed operatives free passage to the United States than by sending food to be distributed by the relief committees of England. Ten thousand families could be removed from Lancashire to America in six months. Were it done America would obtain a supply of every sort of labor, and remove from the seat of poverty and destitution those willing to seek a home under her free constitution.*

In the South the planters were determined that no captured cotton should reach the North if they could prevent it; but there was only one way to prevent it and that was to burn it. When, therefore, the Union forces entered Port Royal, occupied Beaufort and Port Royal Island and dominated the islands roundabout, the planters arranged with the military authorities that no plantation should be abandoned until the crops were burned, the gin houses and other buildings destroyed, and the livestock driven off. On the islands near Port Royal the work, said the Charleston correspondent of the Richmond *Examiner,* has already begun. During the past few days gangs of negroes from the seaboard with household effects and droves of mules and horses passed through Charleston on their way to the back country. Night before last the air in the city was hazy with the smoke of

* London Times, January 31, 1863.

cotton burning at Edisto and other islands between Charleston and Port Royal.* "We learn with gratification that the patriotic planters on the seaboard are hourly applying the torch to their cotton and other produce and effects. Those who have not had the heart to enter upon this praiseworthy, patriotic, work of destruction themselves have authorized the military authorities, before yielding anything that can in the least minister to Yankee lust and greed, to make the destruction complete before they leave. Parties from North Edisto and the neighborhood unite in asserting that cotton and valuables on the plantations, which could not be readily removed, were involved in one common flame and ruin." † A detachment of twenty-two men went to Paris Island, burned seven hundred bales of cotton on one plantation and some four thousand on a dozen others. ‡

A traveler on his way down the Mississippi River to Memphis came upon the burners sent out by the Confederate Government to destroy all cotton found anywhere along the river, and a dreary sight he beheld. Bales of smoking, blackened cotton floated by the steamer. For miles, in some places, the river was covered with bunches of raw cotton, and the thickets that fringed the bank were as white as if snowdrifts were piled against the green foliage. § Twenty thousand bales, it was reported, had been burned between Vicksburg and Greenville, and nine thousand between that town and Grand Gulf. All along the river as far as Napoleon cotton was burning. A quarter of a million bales, worth twelve million dollars, it was believed, had been destroyed along the Mississippi and its tributaries. ‖

The French Consul at New Orleans wrote home that he was sure that two hundred and fifty thousand bales had been burned, and that the burning had been continued as the Federal forces went up the Mississippi River and occupied

* Richmond Enquirer quoted by New York Herald, December 4, 1861.
† Charleston Courier, November 30, 1861.
‡ Ibid., December 9, 1861.
§ Little Rock True Democrat, April 30, 1862; New York Tribune, May 27, 1862.
‖ Vicksburg Citizen, Vicksburg Whig, Richmond Whig, May 21; New York Tribune, June 4, 1862.

the towns along its banks. Some planters had themselves set fire to their crop. Others had left the task to official incendiaries. All who had time had taken their bales far from the river and hidden them in the woods or piled them on the open ground inland ready to apply the torch on the approach of the Federals. He knew that all in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana was destined for the flames if the Federals came. It was gathered everywhere, in enormous piles, and committees existed everywhere to destroy it when necessary.*

* Count Mejan to Thouvenel, May 30, 1862. House Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, pp. 421–423.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS.

Scarcely was the Confederate Government under way at Montgomery than William Lowndes Yancey, Pierre Adolph Rost and Dudley Ambrose Mann were appointed Special Commissioners to the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Belgium, France and Russia.* Their instructions bade them go with all possible speed to London, seek an interview with Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, inform him that the several Commonwealths forming the Confederate States had severed all connection with the United States; had assumed the powers of government and had formed an independent Republic. It was not necessary to give all the reasons for this act. The Commissioners might refer to the chief causes for separation, might show how the act was not taken in haste, but after long, patient and mature deliberation, not until the people were convinced that their honor, their social and material welfare left them no other course to pursue.

The South in withdrawing violated no obligation of allegiance, impaired no public or private interests, merely used the sovereign rights the States possessed ever since they ceased to be colonies of Great Britain. The Confederacy, therefore, presented itself for admission into the family of nations, and asked recognition. In all intercourse with foreign functionaries the Commissioners were steadily to maintain that, happen what might, the Confederate States would be firm in their purpose to preserve and perpetuate their national independence.

As soon as officially received by Great Britain, a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation should be offered, based on the wise maxim of political economy, "buy where you can

* Pickett Papers, March 16, 1861.

buy cheapest; sell where you can sell dearest." Impost duties would be for revenue only, and so low as to closely approximate free trade. Great Britain should be reminded that nearly half the Atlantic Coast of what was once the United States, and all the gulf coast now belonged to the Confederate States; that nineteen-twentieths of the cotton manufactured by Great Britain came from the South and the value of goods made from the cotton was six hundred million dollars. All obligations of treaties between the United States and Britain would be assumed, but not the clause in the Webster-Ashburton treaty which bound the United States to keep a naval force on the African coast for suppression of the slave trade. Their work done at London, Yancey, Rost and Mann were to go to Paris, Brussels, St. Petersburg and such other places as President Davis might direct.*

Thus instructed they set forth as soon as their credentials were ready, and by the end of April all three were in London. Through the good offices of Mr. Gregory, member of Parliament and staunch friend of the South, an interview with Lord Russell was arranged, and on the third of May they met him informally. They were duly accredited, they said, to Her Majesty's Government, and would be ready at the proper time to ask for a formal interview that they might present their letters. At present their object was an interchange of views concerning America. Lord Russell was ready to hear their views, but told them, frankly, that he should have little to say. The Commissioners then explained at great length the causes of the secession of the seven States, the founding of the Confederate Government, its ability to act on the defensive, and its desire to cultivate peace and friendship with all the nations of the earth. They ended by expressing the hope that the Government of Great Britain would soon find it possible to recognize the independence of the new Republic. Lord Russell answered that the matter would be the subject of Cabinet consultation at an early day.

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* Pickett Papers, Instructions to Yancey, Rost and Mann, March 16, 1861.

Meanwhile they would see the propriety of his declining to express any opinion on the matter.*

Rost now went to Paris, secured an interview with the Count de Morney, confidential friend of the Emperor, and was assured that France and England had agreed to take the same course toward the Confederacy, but he need fear no unfriendly action on their part. Recognition was a mere question of time. Nobody in France believed in, or desired, the reconstruction of the Union on the old basis. Nevertheless, it would be a fatal mistake to insist on immediate recognition. Both countries had recognized the Confederate States as a belligerent power. Both, during the war, would be strictly neutral. This informal recognition, coupled with the rights of neutrals under the law of nations, would be fully as efficacious as treaties in protecting the Confederacy, and less embarrassing to European Governments. The Count would always be ready to receive, unofficially, any suggestions Mr. Rost might offer, provided strict secrecy was maintained. Meantime, so long as the Southern States produced cotton for sale, France and England would see to it that vessels reached the ports where cotton was to be obtained. † Yancey believed the Emperor considered European policy far more important than American policy, had no feeling on the question of Southern interests, was in perfect accord with the Government of Great Britain and would leave the decision of American questions in the hands of the British Cabinet. Both countries were firm and sincere in their position of neutrality. They would recognize the independence of the Confederate States as soon as the inability of the United States to subdue them became manifest. The South, the French believed, could never be subjugated. Therefore, they wished for peace, and thought England should offer mediation. ‡ In England the leading men of all parties looked on recognition as certain. Public opinion, however, was entirely opposed to the South on the question of slavery, and the sincerity and universality of

* Pickett Papers, Library of Congress.
† Pickett Papers.
‡ Ibid.

this feeling embarrassed the Government in dealing with recognition.* By the first of August the Commissioners reported that antislavery sentiment no longer interfered with a proper judgment of the contest, and recognition would depend on the ability of the South to maintain its Government. † Great was the sensation produced, therefore, in Paris and London when, on the seventh of August, the New York newspapers and the London *Times* announced the rout at Bull Run. That the South could never be brought back into the Union became a conviction, ‡ and so encouraged the Commissioners that Rost was called from Paris to join in a letter to Russell requesting another informal interview.

Russell desired that they put what they had to say in writing, and a few days later a long letter was sent him. § To this he replied that the British Government did not pretend to pass judgment on the question in debate between the United States and their adversaries; could only regret that these differences had been submitted to the arbitrament of arms, and considered the contest a civil war. Her Majesty, therefore, had, by Royal Proclamation, disclosed Her intention to observe strict neutrality between the parties in that war, would strictly perform the duties which belong to a neutral; could not undertake to determine in advance what might be the issue of the contest, nor acknowledge the independence of the nine States combined against the President and Congress of the United States until the fortunes of war, or the more peaceful mode of negotiations, had clearly defined the respective positions of the two belligerents. ||

Rost and Yancey now went back to Paris and were granted an informal interview with Thouvenel, Minister of Foreign Affairs. France, he told them, watched with lively interest the struggle in America. There was an agreement, he said, between France and Great Britain to make known to each other all facts concerning the war that came to the knowledge of either, and when they did act, to act together. Their Ministers in America had reported that at present the temper

* Pickett Papers. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ Mason Papers, Russell to Yancey and Mann, August 7, 1861.
|| Ibid., Russell to Yancey, Rost and Mann, August 24, 1861.

of the people of the two belligerent powers was such that action was not politic. When they did act they wished to do so at such a time, and in such a way, as to bring peace. An important military success by the South might determine the time of their action.

As to the blockade, M. Thouvenel said, the French and English admirals on the American coast reported that while it did not seal the ports, it was not so ineffective as to justify a protest against it. Though the Foreign Minister did not say so in words, the Commissioners were sure the French Government profoundly sympathized with the South, and expected that events would soon happen which would enable it to recognize the independence of the Confederate States.*

The three Commissioners now laid the matter of blockade before Lord Russell. The five great Powers in the Declaration of Paris, they reminded him, had agreed "that blockades to be binding must be effective, that is, maintained by a force really sufficient to prevent access to the enemy's coast." This declaration the Confederate States had accepted, and expected the Powers to abide by it, for the blockade of the Confederate ports was far from effective. In evidence of this, acting under instructions from President Davis, they submitted a list of four hundred vessels which had come into, or gone out from, Southern ports between the day whereon blockade was proclaimed and the twentieth of August, 1861.† Russell declined, "in the present state of affairs," to enter into any official communication. ‡ "What truckling," Yancey wrote home, "to the arrogant demands of Mr. Seward that England should forget her international privilege of hearing the case of a belligerent power. What a violation in fact of that impartial neutrality promised, a neutrality, indeed, which included the equal hearing of both sides, although on unequal terms, officially one side, unofficially the other." §

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* Pickett Papers, Yancey and Rost to Hunter, October 28, 1861.
† Ibid., Protest of Yancey, Rost and Mann, November 30, 1861.
‡ Ibid., Russell, December 7, 1861.
§ Ibid., Yancey to the Secretary of State, December 31, 1861.

When January came Confederate interests in England passed to the hands of James Murray Mason and those in France to John Slidell. Yancey, Rost and Mann had all three been commissioned to Great Britain, France, Belgium and such other powers as Davis might think proper. The plan had been hastily made, hastily adopted and had not worked well. A joint commission of three was too cumbersome. Yancey resigned in disgust, and in October the old plan was abolished. Mann was made commissioner to Belgium, Rost to Spain, Mason to Great Britain and Slidell to France.

The new commissioners, Mason and Slidell, were to sail from Charleston. But the blockading fleet had been strengthened, and fearing capture should they attempt to run through it, they thought, for a while, of going by way of Mexico. The privateer *Gordon* was finally chartered, renamed *Theodora,* and during the dark and rainy night of October eleventh ran the blockade and made direct for Nassau.*

Now it so happened that just at this time the *San Jacinto* touched at Cienfugos. During twenty months prior to August, 1861, she had been one of a squadron of United States vessels on the coast of Africa engaged in the attempts to suppress the trade in slaves. On the recall of the squadron at the opening of the war, she was ordered to Fernando Po, where Captain Charles Wilkes, well known for his explorations in the South Polar Seas, was given command. Cruising along the African coast he stopped at the Cape Verde Islands, was told that Confederate privateers were burning merchantmen in the West Indian waters, went direct to St. Thomas and found the *Powhatan* and *Iroquois* in port. A captain of a British merchantman came in the next day and reported that his vessel had been stopped by a mysterious steamer, clearly a vessel of war, whose name he could not learn. Shown a photograph of the *Sumter* he declared her to be the steamer in question, and the *Powhatan, Iroquois* and *San Jacinto* went in pursuit. Happening to put in at Cienfugos, Wilkes read in the newspapers that two

* Official Records, Navies, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 151-152.

Confederate Commissioners, Mason and Slidell, on their way to Europe, had reached Havana, had taken passage for St. Thomas on the British Packet *Trent,* would sail on November seventh, and that the *Theodora* had left for Charleston. He set off in pursuit, failed to overtake her, went to Key West, and then to Sagua la Grand, on the north coast of Cuba, endeavored to obtain from our Consul at Havana information as to the exact time when the *Trent* would leave, and failing, set off to await her in the old Bahama Channel.

About noon on the eighth of November she was seen approaching, was brought to by a shell fired across her bows, and boarded by a lieutenant from the *San Jacinto* bearing instructions to demand her papers, her clearance and the list of passengers and crew. Should Mason, Slidell and their secretaries, Eustis and McFarland, be on board, he was to make them prisoners and take possession of the ship. The orders were partly executed. The commissioners and their secretaries were brought on board the *San Jacinto,* but the *Trent* was not made a prize and went on her way to St. Thomas. The *San Jacinto* put in for coal at Hampton Roads, where Flag-Officer Goldsborough telegraphed her arrival to the Secretary of the Navy.*

When the report of the capture was posted on the bulletin board of the New York newspapers it was at first disbelieved. When confirmed by later and fuller reports men began to ask each other, what will the consequences be? Taken, it was said, off a British steamer, and a mail steamer at that! There will be war with England. The writings of Puffendorf, Vattel, Wheaton, Martens were consulted and a search made for precedents. There were plenty of cases, it was pointed out, in which Great Britain had done the very same thing. There was the famous case of the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake.* There was the case of the steamboat *Caroline.* There was the case of Terence Bellew McManus, who, in the days of the Irish Rebellion of 1848, was taken from the deck of an American brig in Cork harbor; and there was the case of Lucien Bonaparte. Wishing to come to America he took

* Official Records, Navies, Series 1, vol. i, p. 142.

passage on an American vessel, sailed from Sardinia, was overcome by seasickness and demanded to be put ashore in a Mediterranean port. The commander of a British warship, in the port to which he was taken, hearing that he was on the American ship, boarded her and made him a prisoner.* There was the seizure, in 1780, by Great Britain, of Henry Laurens from the deck of a Dutch ship.†

What is the use, said others, of studying Puffendorf to find out whether Wilkes did right or wrong? The thing is done. It is too late. This much, however, is certain: If the act be wrong and can only be atoned for by ample apology and the surrender of the prisoners, and the atonement is made it will raise such a breeze that the Administration will regret its act.‡ All the newspapers in New York City, save one, held that Wilkes did right and that England had always recognized the right of search by a belligerent, had never abandoned it, had always claimed it. The *Trent* was liable to capture, and England would find it hard to establish a claim for her owners after justifying McLeod for cutting out the *Caroline*. § What will Great Britain say, asked the New York *Tribune*, and answered: "We do not know and we do not greatly care." || The Queen's Proclamation warns her subjects against "conveying officers, soldiers, dispatches, arms

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* New York Herald, November 18, 1861.

† Under date of December 10, 1861, Moran wrote in his diary that Adams took up the case of the *Mercury* on board which Laurens was captured September 3, 1780. "George Sumner, brother of Charles Sumner has been writing on the subject and says she was a Dutch vessel from St. Eustace to Rotterdam." Moran went to the Doctors Commons to ask where the facts could be obtained. At the Admiralty Office in Whitehall he was told. On his way thither he saw for the first time the Confederate flag. It was flying from the top of the Adelphia Theater on the west side. On the east side was the Stars and Stripes. The flags had been raised by order of Boucicault. At the Admiralty Office Moran was shown the log of the *Vestal* and "a list of ships and vessels taken by His Majesty's Squadron under command of Rear Admiral Edwards at Newfoundland." In the last he found that the *Mercury* was a "Congress Packet."

‡ Philadelphia Public Ledger, November 17, 1861.

§ For the *Caroline* incident see History of the People of the U. S., vol. vi, pp. 439–441, 610–620.

|| New York Tribune, November 17, 1861.

for use in the service of either belligerent." The *Trent,* therefore, was doubly liable to capture. She was conveying enemies' dispatches, and her purser refused to show her papers.

From Fortress Monroe the *San Jacinto* went to New York, where Wilkes received orders to sail to Boston and deliver the prisoners and their baggage to the commanding officer at Fort Warren. The order was executed, and Mason, Slidell and their secretaries were held prisoners in the fort.

Wilkes was now the hero of the hour. To dine him, feast him, thank him, became a craze. At Boston a banquet was given in his honor. At New York there was a public reception in the City Hall, a formal welcome by the Mayor, and an address by the foreman of the Grand Jury. Secretary Welles in an official letter said: "Your conduct was marked by intelligence, ability, decision and firmness, and has the emphatic approval of this department." In his annual report, made a few days later, he again declared that the conduct of Wilkes merited and had received the emphatic approval of the department. On the day Congress met, the House thanked him for his "brave, adroit and patriotic conduct," and adopted two resolutions. One set forth that, whereas Colonel Michael Corcoran, taken prisoner at Bull Run, had been confined in the cell of a convicted felon, therefore, resolved that the President be requested to similarly confine James M. Mason. The other called on the President to confine John Slidell in the same sort of prison and subject him to the same treatment as was Colonel Alfred M. Wood, of 14th Regiment of New York militia, who, wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Bull Run, was then "by rebel authorities" confined in a felon's prison and treated as a prisoner convicted of infamous crimes.

The President in his message said not a word concerning the *Trent;* but to visitors who called at the White House on the evening of the day whereon the news of the act of Wilkes was made public, he spoke freely. He was, he said, afraid the traitors would "prove to be white elephants," and declared that we must "stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals," that we once fought Great Britain

for insisting on the right to do what Wilkes had done, and that, if she now protested, we must give up the prisoners, apologize for violating our own doctrines, and so bind her over to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and own that for sixty years she had been in the wrong.

Now it so happened that on November sixth the United States steamer *James Adger,* sent out in October to intercept the Confederate steamer *Nashville,* then supposed to have Mason and Slidell on board, entered Southampton harbor.* Her presence there gave such concern to Lord Palmerston that before a week went by "the Chancellor, Dr. Lushington, the three Law Officers, Sir G. Grey, the Duke of Somerset," met him at the Treasury to consider what should be done "about the American cruiser, come, no doubt, to search the West Indian Packet supposed to be bringing thither the two Southern envoys." What took place at the meeting was told by Palmerston in a private letter to Delane, editor of the *Times.* "Much to my regret, it appeared that, according to the principles of international law laid down in our courts by Lord Stowell, and practiced and enforced by us, a belligerent has a right to stop and search any neutral not being a ship of war, and being suspected of carrying enemy's dispatches; and that consequently this American cruiser might, by our own principles of international law, stop the West Indian Packet, search her, and if the Southern men and their dispatches and credentials were found on board, either take them out, or seize the Packet and carry her back to New York for trial." †

Now that the act they feared had been done, now that a Packet had been stopped, searched and men and dispatches taken out, this opinion of the law officers was in part suppressed, and the public assured by the *Times* that the opinion of the law officers of the Crown had been given that "the proceedings of the American frigate were not justified by the law of nations"; that the right "of the Federal Govern-

* Official Records, Navies, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 124–126, 128–129.

† Palmerston to Delane, November 11, 1861. The Trent Affair, C. F. Adams, Proceedings, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. xlv, pp. 54–55.

ment acting through its officers was confined to visiting and searching the Mail Packet"; that "if any men, or things, believed to be contraband" were found on board, they might "take her into a port and submit the question to a prize court." * If this were not so, then of what use were Prize Courts and Admiralty Judges, codes of law and libraries of admiralty decisions? If the lieutenant of a frigate or the coxswain of a boat's crew is to decide, while in possession of a rich merchantman, what he will take as contraband, and what leave, what need is there to erect tribunals to decide between the Queen's cruisers and the meanest foreigner who complains of injustice? †

Despite the opinion of the law officers of the Crown as told by Palmerston to Delane, his lordship wrote to the Queen that it was the opinion of the Cabinet that the Washington Government should be told that what had been done was a violation of international law, and of the rights of Great Britain; that it was hoped the act would be disavowed and the prisoners returned to British protection, and that, if the demand were refused, Lord Lyons should retire from the United States. ‡ With the note went a draft of the proposed dispatch to Lord Lyons which, after revision by Her Majesty and the Prince Consort, then ill and fast approaching his death, went back to Palmerston. In the opinion of the Queen, the Prince wrote, the draft was somewhat meager. Her Majesty would have liked to have seen in it the expression of a hope that Wilkes did not act under instructions, or had misunderstood them; that the United States must know that the British Government could not allow its flag to be insulted, and the security of its mail placed in jeopardy; that Her Majesty's Government is unwilling to believe that the United States intended wantonly to put an insult on Great Britain; and that it is glad to believe that, after full consideration of the circumstances of the undoubted breach of international law, the United States would spontaneously offer such redress as alone would satisfy

* London Times, November 29, 1861.
† Ibid., November 28, 1861.
‡ Life of the Prince Consort, Theodore Martin, vol. v, p. 420.

Great Britain, restoration of the passengers and a suitable apology.* All these suggested changes were made, and on Sunday, December first, a messenger bearing the dispatch to Lord Lyons was on his way to Queenstown.†

At the American Legation Moran wrote in his diary that the excitement was truly terrific; that the *Europa* had been detained at Queenstown to carry out an ultimatum; that its purport, as stated in the London newspapers, was, that the law officers of the Crown had decided that Wilkes had not insulted England enough, and the result was a demand for apology and return of the men. By harping on this, and asserting that the act of Wilkes was an authorized and deliberate insult by the United States, the English journals had lashed the nation into a most indecent rage. ‡ "The leading newspapers," wrote Adams, "roll out as much fiery lava as Vesuvius is doing daily. The clubs, and the army, and the navy, and the people on the streets generally, are raving for war. On the other side are the religious people, and a large number of stock jobbers and traders, together with the radical following of Messrs. Cobden and Bright." §

England was then, indeed, aflame. Men of importance, public meetings, the press, denounced the act of Wilkes as a wanton outrage and an insult, and violently abused the President, the Government and the people of the United States. Wilkes, said the London *Times,* "unfortunately is but too faithful a type of the people in whose foul mission he is engaged. He is an ideal Yankee. Swagger and ferocity, built on a foundation of vulgarity and cowardice, these are his characteristics, and these are the most prominent marks by which his countrymen, generally speaking, are known all over the world. To bully the weak, to triumph over the helpless, to trample on every law of country and custom, willfully to violate all the most sacred interests of human nature, to defy as long as danger does not appear, and, as soon as real peril shows itself, to sneak aside and

* Life of the Prince Consort, Theodore Martin, vol. v, p. 422.
† London Times, December 2, 1861.
‡ Moran's Diary, December 3, 1861. Library of Congress.
§ A Cycle of Adams' Letters, vol. i, p. 88.

run away—these are the virtues of the race which presumes to announce itself as the leader of civilization, and the prophet of human progress in these latter days. By Captain Wilkes let the Yankee breed be judged." *

Another journal was of the opinion that Wilkes had no right to arrest peaceful passengers sailing under the British flag; that the deed was a flagrant violation of the code of nations, a direct insult to Great Britain, and hoped the gentlemen would be released and amends made. Surely the United States would not risk a war with England. There were in American waters not far from a thousand British guns. In a month the British navy could sweep all the *San Jacintos* from the sea, blockade Northern ports, and turn to a direct and speedy issue the tide of war now raging. †

The Morning *Chronicle* did not like the President. "Abraham Lincoln, whose accession to power was generally welcomed on this side of the Atlantic, has proved himself a feeble, confused and little-minded mediocrity. Mr. Seward, the firebrand at his elbow, is exerting himself to provoke a quarrel with all Europe, in that spirit of senseless egotism which induces the Americans, with their dwarf fleet, and shapeless mass of incoherent squads, which they call an army, to fancy themselves the equal of France by land, and of Great Britain by sea. If the Federal States could be rid of these mischief-makers it might yet redeem itself in the sight of the world; but while they stagger on at the head of affairs, their only chance of fame consists in the probability that the navies of England will blow out of the water their blockading squadrons, and teach them how to respect the flag of a mightier supremacy beyond the Atlantic. ‡

"Unless Mr. Seward be simply out of his senses with rage, fear and helplessness, unless he be intoxicated with his own boastfulness until he believes his own statements, he must be aware that England can, before the present month is passed, destroy, or take possession of, every seaport in the Northern States, raise the blockade of the Southern coast,

* London Times, November 28, 1861.
† London Post quoted by the New York Tribune, December 16, 1861.
‡ Morning Chronicle, November 28, 1861.

and sweep the seas clear of the Federal flag. And yet, with this knowledge he has ventured on us an outrage which ought to be avenged by the immediate appearance of a British fleet in the Chesapeake, bringing the alternative of instant reparation or war. What we should do is sufficiently clear. It is the duty of our Government to demand the immediate return of the gentlemen stolen from under our flag, in honorable guise, together with an ample apology for a lawless act of piratical aggression, and to prepare for the rejection of such a demand by dispatching forthwith to the American coast such a naval force as may insure the total destruction of the Federal navy, and the instant blockade of all the chief Northern ports, if due satisfaction be not given without delay." *

The Government was preparing such a force. November thirtieth Lord Russell bade the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty instruct Vice-Admiral Milne to communicate with Lord Lyons at Washington, look to the safety of Her Majesty's possessions in North America, and see that no ships were so placed as to be commanded by land batteries of superior force. One royal proclamation forbade the export, or coastwise transport, of gunpowder, saltpeter, nitrate of soda and brimstone.† Another laid a like prohibition on the export of arms, ammunition, military stores and lead. ‡ Every dockyard, every arsenal, was the scene of warlike preparation. Armstrong and Whitworth cannon were purchased; Enfield rifles, ammunition and stores were hurried on board the *Melbourne* to be carried to Canada; twenty-five thousand muskets were taken from the Tower. The ironclad *Warrior* was made ready for service; the steam-packet *Persia* was taken over and with the *Adriatic* and the *Parana* were prepared for the transport of troops to Canada. The Volunteers of the Royal Naval Reserve in the port of London, having heard "that our flag has been grossly insulted by an American ship of war," declared, to the shipping master of Limehouse, their readiness to "protect the honor of our

* London Herald.
† London Gazette, November 30, 1861.
‡ Ibid., December 4, 1861.

flag, our good Queen and Country." Those of Liverpool, Hartlepool, Sunderland and North Shields sent similar addresses.*

In the midst of this preparation a dispatch reached Adams informing him that the arrest of Mason and Slidell was unforeseen and solely the act of Captain Wilkes; that Seward would wait for the demands of the British Government, and if they should be, as he hoped they would be, in the same spirit of good will as was his dispatch, they would be granted. Adams read the dispatch to Russell.†

The London *Times* rejoiced greatly over the preparations made by the Admiralty. Five weeks before the Commissioners were seized, it said, Admiral Milne had on the North Atlantic and West Indian stations line-of-battle ships, first-class frigates, well-armed corvettes and sloops, amounting in all to eight hundred and fifty guns. Now, such had been the speed shown by the Admiralty, he would soon have more than a thousand guns. Never before had such a fleet of picked cruisers been sent against an enemy. With these sixty-five sail the Admiral could blockade the whole Federal coast in a week. One vessel could close Portland; another Boston. Two off Cape May would be ample for the Delaware River and the Philadelphia trade, and with the *Warrior,* forty guns, off Sandy Hook, what could enter New York? What resistance could Fort Hamilton make to the four iron frigates should the Government decide to force the passage, lay the fleet broadside on to the streets of New York and dictate peace? ‡

The people of Canada did not want war with the people of the United States. Both are of the same race, it was said, speak the same language, and are bound by trade connections and social ties. But, should war break out between England and the United States, these bonds will be broken, and the Canadians will fight. There are plenty of loyal men ready to defend Canada when assailed; but they are not such madmen as to seek a quarrel with neighbors who have done them

* London Times, November 30, December 3, 1861.
† Moran's Diary, December 17, 19, 23, 1861.
‡ London Times, January 7, 1862.

no harm. Nevertheless, without waiting for further news from England, measures of defense were started at once. Guns were moved from Quebec to Toronto. Old Fort Chambly was put in repair. Port Dalhousie, it was announced, would be defended, and Collingswood made a naval depot on Lake Huron. Officers and clerks of the Montreal banks, men in the employ of the railways formed rifle corps; merchants enlisted in the City Guards. Towards the close of December a general order from Quebec required each of the five hundred battalions of Sedentary Militia to form one corps each and prepare for active service.

The demand of the British Government for the surrender of the envoys reached Washington on the eighteenth of December. After a brief statement of the manner of seizure of Mason and Slidell, Lord Russell declared that the act was "an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law"; that Her Majesty's government "are willing to believe" that Wilkes "was not acting in compliance with any authority from his Government"; "was unwilling to believe that it could be the deliberate intention of the Government to force into discussion between the two Governments a question of so grave a character"; and "trusted that when the matter was brought to the attention of the United States" that Government would, of its own accord, offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, "the liberation of the four gentlemen, and their delivery to your lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed." Should Mr. Seward not offer these terms Lord Lyons was to propose them to him.

A private letter to Lord Lyons, instructed him that "should Mr. Seward ask for delay in order that this grave and painful matter should be deliberately considered, you will consent to a delay not exceeding seven days." Should no answer be given before the end of that time, or any other answer given save "that of a compliance with the demands," Lord Lyons was to leave Washington with all the members of his legation. If, however, he was of the opinion that the demands

had been substantially complied with he was to report the fact and remain for further orders. It was the wish of Lord Russell that at the first interview with Seward he "should not take the dispatch," but should prepare Seward for it, "and ask him to settle with the President and Cabinet what course they will pursue. M. Thouvenel promises to send off a dispatch Thursday next giving our cause moral support." * "We want a plain yes, or a plain no, to our simple demands, and we want that plain yes or no within seven days after the communication of the dispatch." †

On the afternoon of the nineteenth his lordship called at the Department of State. As instructed he did not bring the dispatch, but stated its substance and expressed the hope that the United States, as of its own accord, would offer the reparation demanded. Seward then asked "informally" if any time was fixed within which the United States must reply. "I told him," said Lord Lyons, "I did not like to answer that question; that what of all things I wished to avoid was the slightest appearance of menace. He said I need not fear that; he only wished me to tell him privately and confidentially. I said that on that understanding I would tell him that the limit was seven days." ‡

Seward then asked for a copy of the instructions "unofficially and informally," said that much depended on the wording of it, and that much time would be lost if he did not have it at once. Lyons answered that the only reason he did not give it officially at once, was that from the moment he did the time limit began to run. § At a second interview, on the twenty-first, the dispatch was formally and officially delivered.

The Cabinet meeting to consider it was held on Christmas morning and was attended by Sumner who came on invitation. Seward presented the draft of his reply; Sumner read letters received from Bright and Cobden, and while

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* Lord Lyons, by Lord Newton, vol. 1, p. 62.

† Russell to Lyons, December 7, 1861. Lord Lyons, by Lord Newton, vol. 1, p. 64.

‡ Lord Lyons, by Lord Newton, vol. i, p. 65.

§ Ibid., pp. 65, 66.

they were under discussion, the dispatch from Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to M. Mercier, the French Minister to the United States, was brought to the door of the room wherein the Cabinet met.

The commander of the *San Jacinto,* M. Thouvenel said in his letter, must have seized Mason and Slidell as enemies, or because he only recognized them as rebels. But on what grounds could he seize them as enemies? The United States in treaties with France had admitted that freedom of the flag extends to persons found on board, even were they enemies of one of the treaty parties, save in the case of military men actually in service of the enemy. Mason and Slidell by this principle were perfectly free under the neutral flag of England. That they were contraband of war could not be pretended. True, what constitutes contraband of war had not been precisely determined. But, as to persons, the special stipulation concerning military men clearly defined the character of those who may be seized. Nothing remained, therefore, to explain their capture but the pretext that they were bearers of dispatches of the enemy. But the *Trent* was not bound to a port belonging to either belligerent. She had taken on her cargo and passengers at one neutral port, and was carrying them to another. If, under such circumstances, a neutral flag does not protect the goods and passengers on the ship, it never can do so. To deny this would be to return to the vexatious practice against which no Power has protested more energetically than the United States.

To seize Mason and Slidell as rebels would be a violation of the principle which constitutes a ship a portion of the country whose flag she bears. It was not necessary to recall the energy with which, on every occasion, the Government of the United States has defended this immunity, and the right of asylum which is a consequence of it. Nothing, therefore, remained for the United States to do, but to yield to the demands of the British Government, give up the men, and offer such explanations as would take from the act its offensive character towards the British flag.*

* Official Records, Series 2, vol. ii, pp. 1116–1118.

No decision was reached that day. The discussion of the reply of the Secretary was continued on the twenty-sixth. The President was for arbitration and would abide by the result. Indeed, he had prepared a draft of a reply containing such a proposal, but it was not discussed. Attorney-General Bates was for a surrender of the men. It was necessary. The country could not afford a war with England. Mr. Blair was of the same mind, Secretary Chase could not bear to give them up; it was wormwood and gall to him; but under the circumstances it was simply doing right, simply proving faithful to our traditions under strong temptation to violate them. He gave his approval of the draft. In the end it was approved unanimously, and under date of December twenty-sixth a note was delivered to Lord Lyons. It should have been brief, dignified, statesmanlike; a statement that the four prisoners would be surrendered because their seizure was not authorized; because it was in direct violation of the policy of the United States often stated and long upheld in many controversies with Great Britain, and because from this policy, the United States would not under any circumstances depart. It was long, verbose, written in the first person, and announced the surrender of the men because Captain Wilkes voluntarily released the *Trent* when he should have brought her into port for adjudication. It ended with the words: "The four persons in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them."

This was just what Lord Lyons had expected. Those, he wrote Russell, who had not seen the Americans at close quarters would probably be more surprised then he was at the surrender of the prisoners. He was sure, from the very first, that they would give in, if convinced that war was the only alternative. His difficulty had been to make them understand that it was surrender or fight, and yet do so in such wise as not to make the humiliation too great to be borne.* "The real cause of the yielding was nothing more nor less

* Lyons to Russell, December 27, 1861. Lord Lyons by Lord North, vol. i, p. 73.

than the military preparations made in England. They are horribly out of humor and looking out for some mode of annoying us without danger to themselves." *

Without waiting to hear from home Lord Lyons accepted the note as a full and satisfactory settlement of the matter, and on December thirtieth directed the commander of the British sloop-of-war, *Rinaldo,* to proceed to Provincetown, on the end of Cape Cod, and there await the delivery of the prisoners. He did not wait long, for late on the afternoon of the first day of the new year Mason, Slidell, their secretaries and their baggage were placed aboard the *Rinaldo* which at once got under way for Halifax. During the evening the Captain showed a letter from Lyons which bade him treat the Commissioners with all respect due to private gentlemen, and carry them to Halifax, or any other neutral port they might select. As the shortest way to England was by way of Halifax they chose that route. But during the night the *Rinaldo* ran into a gale which continued with increasing violence, thick weather, and snow for five days. No observations could be taken; the temperature fell to fifteen degrees Fahrenheit; ice covered the rigging, sails, and deck so thickly that hot water, and finally hatchets and pickaxes were used to clear the ropes and decks. Heavy cross seas broke over her. Two boats were swept from their davits; the wheel ropes were carried away; coal was running low; many sailors were badly frostbitten; the taffrail was stove in; and the only sail set was blown away. The Captain then decided to bear away for Bermuda, which was reached January ninth. From Bermuda they went to St. Thomas whence they sailed for Southampton. †

By noon on December twenty-seventh the Washington correspondents of the New York journals were aware of what had taken place in the Cabinet; of the strong opposition to surrendering the prisoners; of the final unanimous decision to give them up, and had attempted to so inform their journals. But the censor of the telegraph withheld their mes-

* Lyons to Russell, December 31, 1861, p. 74.

† Mason Papers, Library of Congress, Mason to Hunter, February 2, 1862.

sages for two days. Not until the thirtieth, when the correspondence between Lord Lyons and Seward was allowed to be published, did the people know exactly what were the demands of England and what was the action of the United States.*

December twenty-eighth the *City of Washington* and the *Tutonia* with copies of newspapers announcing that Mason and Slidell would be placed under the British flag, sailed from New York and the *Jura* from Portland with official dispatches from Lord Lyons. The *Jura* and the *City of Washington* reached Queenstown on the eighth of January, 1862, and that evening, before the curtain rose in Drury Lane Theater, London, the audience were informed from the stage that "the Americans had thought better of it," and given up the men. Those present received the news with every manifestation of exultation and delight, and sang the National Anthem. A like scene occurred at the Royal Olympic Theater. At the centers of American trade the news produced a sense of great relief. At Manchester the prices of cotton goods stiffened. Newcastle-on-Tyne read it with pride and satisfaction. At Nottingham, it was promptly posted on the Exchange. And when, toward evening, it reached Norwich, the bells of the Church of St. Peter were rung.

When Parliament, early in February, had listened to the reading of the Queen's Speech, Lord Dufferin in the House of Lords moved the address in reply. Following the usual custom he passed in review the topics touched on in the speech, and coming to the *Trent* Affair said: at all events the action of the Americans had been in accordance with the dictates of justice, law, and common sense, and England might well afford to ignore the ungracious commentaries by which it had been accompanied. It was enough that a sensitive, courageous and powerful people, having been betrayed into a false position by the folly of one of their unscrupulous citizens had acknowledged the error and offered the only satisfaction the nature of the case admitted.

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* New York Tribune, December 30, 1861.

Lord Derby thought "it greatly to be regretted that having made up his mind that reparation and apology were necessary, the American Secretary of State should have waited until the formal demand was made, not privately, but officially and formally, thus waiting not to consider how much reparation he should give, but how small a measure of reparation would satisfy the imperative demand of Great Britain. By the course which they pursued the Federal Government have placed themselves, and their people, in an undignified and unworthy position, and have shown that they apologized, not from a sense of justice, but on a demand backed by force.*

Disraeli believed the conduct of the Government in the matter of the *Trent* was such as he trusted only men responsible for the conduct of Government would have followed. On the other hand he was bound to say that the reparation offered seemed to him to have been influenced by sentiments as worthy. He did not propose to pry and peer into any possible motives that might have influenced the conduct of public men. When he considered the great difficulties which the statesmen of North America had to meet, when he considered the awful emergency they had been summoned to meet, and which they had so manfully met, he thought it became England to extend to all which they said a generous interpretation, and to that which they did a liberal construction.

Scarcely had the Commissioners been released from imprisonment when rumor said that Seward had offered the British Government the use of Portland, Maine, as a landing place for troops on their way to Canada. The story was false. On January fourth he received from the United States Marshal at Portland a dispatch. The sender stated that the Montreal Steamship Company's *Bohemian* which plied regularly between that port, Londonderry and Liverpool, was off Cape Race with British troops on board. She was due to arrive on the seventh, and he asked if any course of action different from that heretofore pursued was to be taken. Seward re-

* London Times, February 8, 1862.

plied that the Marshal and federal officials in Portland should give to the British agents all proper facilities for landing and conveying the troops to Canada. With this, he supposed the incident was closed. But the Senate of Maine hearing of the order, bade the Governor request Seward to send full information relative to the passage of British troops, if not incompatible with public interests, and report what steps, if any, had been taken to prevent such use of American soil within the State of Maine. The Governor made the request; but Seward gave reasons, not information. Passage of the troops and munitions across the territory of the United States by the Grank Trunk Railroad, would save the men from the risk and suffering to which they might be exposed were they left to find their way through the ice and snow of Canada. When humanity, or even convenience, rendered it desirable for one nation to have passage through the territory of another, it was a customary act of comity to grant it. On this principle the United States repeatedly had the right of passage of troops by the Panama Railroad across New Granada. Should the United States withhold this customary privilege from Great Britain, she must do so either capriciously, or from conviction that it would be injurious to public safety.

He was not ignorant that popular asperities had recently appeared in Canada, as well as in the British Isles, which seemed to show a growing alienation of sentiment among British peoples. But the British Government, in spite of all this, had held toward us its customary language of friendship and respect. It did not occur to him that Maine would feel aggrieved. Nevertheless, Maine had been so patriotic and loyal that the President would not wound any susceptibility she might feel. If, therefore, the Governor would advise him that the directions in question were likely to have that effect they would cheerfully be modified.*

* Israel Washburn, Jr., to Seward, January 13, 1862. Seward to Governor Washburn, January 17, 1862.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NORTH FEELS THE WAR.

THE President having entered on his term of office with the declaration that "no state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union," that he considered the Union unbroken; that it was his duty to take care "that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states," there was no such sudden breaking of the means of travel and communication as would have taken place had the war been waged against a foreign country. Travelers went back and forth between the North and the South with little trouble. Telegrams were sent as usual, express companies continued to do business in the South and newspapers and letters were carried in the mails. Indeed, Lincoln had promised that they should be. "The mails," he said, "unless repelled will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection."

On the Confederate side Postmaster-General Reagan announced, that his Government would not interfere with existing contracts between the United States and carriers of the mails; that until ready to take full control of the Post-Office, business would go on as usual, and bade the postmasters render accounts, and pay all money to the United States as heretofore. He could not have done otherwise, for his department was neither organized nor manned. To obtain men skilled in the administration of postal affairs a secret agent went to Washington and lured away the Chief Clerk to the Postmaster-General, the Chief Clerk in the Auditor's office, the chief of the bond division, the head of the dead letter office, the head of the finance bureau, and the third Assistant Postmaster-General. They came bringing with them copies

of all forms, and maps of the postal routes. With the help of these men the department was organized and Reagan made known, by proclamation, that on the last day of May postmasters must forward to Washington their final accounts, vouchers, postage stamps and stamped envelopes belonging to the United States, and thenceforth collect no postage on letters to or from the United States. Until stamps were provided Confederate postage must be prepaid in money.*

And now the Postmaster-General of the United States acted, and by an order, to take effect on May thirty-first, stopped postal service to the ten States then in the Confederacy. Letters addressed to persons in those States were to be forwarded to the dead letter office; those for persons in West Virginia, to Wheeling.†

A way around this obstacle was quickly provided by Adams Express Company which advertised to deliver letters in the Confederate States. Enclose, it said, each letter in a United States stamped envelope, an ordinary envelope with a stamp affixed will not do. Bring it to the Express Company which, for a fee of twenty-five cents, will deliver it at any point where there is a branch office, or will pay the Confederate postage and mail it as near as possible to the place of address. At places in the United States where the Adams Express has no office, letters should be mailed under cover to the Company at New York or Louisville. ‡

Against this means of communication with the Confederates, McClellan protested to the Postmaster-General. He replied that intercourse between the two sections was under military control; that whether the Express Company should, or should not, continue its business was not for him to decide. If it were continued, and letters were brought to Louisville or elsewhere in loyal States, and mailed, postage prepaid, he could not stop them. Indeed, he had no objection to the Express Company gathering letters in the South and bringing them to Louisville or Cincinnati to be

* W. F. McCaleb, The Origin of the Post Office Department of the Confederacy, American Historical Review, vol. xii, No. 1, October 1906.

† Executive Documents No. 4, 37th Congress, 1st Session.

‡ Advertised in New York Herald, August, 1861.

mailed to places in the North if stamps for postage were obtained from offices in loyal states, "nor *vice versa*." But if letters from the States where postal service had been discontinued came to Louisville with United States stamps on them they would be stopped, because stamps or stamped envelopes obtained from offices in such States where they had been fraudulently seized were not recognized.*

The practice was soon ended. The President, by authority of an Act of Congress, † issued a proclamation, declared the people of the ten States, save those in West Virginia, in a state of insurrection, forbade all commercial intercourse with them, and ordered that all goods and chattels, wares and merchandise coming from or going to any of the rebellious States, by land or by water, be seized, together with the vessels or vehicles in which they were carried. ‡ Then the Postmaster-General forbade the Express Company to carry letters to and from the South, ordered the arrest of its agents or other persons who received them for transmission, and directed that the letters be sent to Washington. §

Despite these orders, correspondence was still carried on by means of the American Letter Express Company, chartered by Tennessee to transmit letters and printed matter to and from all points North and South. Persons sending letters North were directed to use two envelopes. On the inner must be the name and address of the correspondent in the North; on the outer the words "American Letter Express Company, Nashville, Tennessee." On the outer envelope of letters sent from the North should be the words "American Letter Express Company, Louisville, Kentucky," and inside, each half ounce letter fifteen cents in cash. United States stamps, said the advertisement, will not do. "Our arrangements are such that we send and receive mails daily by special messenger." ‖

A lawful means of communication was by flag of truce

* Postmaster-General to General McClellan, Philadelphia Ledger, June 29, 1861.

† Act of July 13, 1861.

‡ August 16, 1861.

§ Order of August 21, 1861.

‖ Advertisement in Richmond Enquirer, August 23, 1861.

which left Norfolk for Fortress Monroe almost daily. General Huger, it was announced, had ordered that each letter must be written on one sheet of paper of ordinary letter size, must not contain any reference to military or political affairs, should have enclosed three or five cents, and be addressed via Norfolk and Flag of Truce. All would be examined by both United States and Confederate authorities and, if inoffensive, would go through.*

Mail for the Pacific Coast, in days before the war, was carried from Memphis and St. Louis to Fort Smith on the western boundary of Arkansas, and thence by the coaches of the Overland Mail Company to Preston in Texas, to El Paso, across New Mexico Territory to Fort Yuma near the mouth of the Gila River, and by way of Los Angeles to San Francisco. But Texas seceded, the route was blocked, and in the last days of Buchanan's term Congress empowered the President to discontinue the Overland Mail by the Great Southern Route and arrange for its conveyance six times a week over the Central Route from some place on the Missouri River to Placerville, California. Within ten days after the passage of the Act the arrangement was made, horses and coaches were transferred as quickly as possible, and on the first of July mail coaches left Placerville and St. Joseph. Important letters, important news printed on the thinnest of thin paper, were still carried across the plains in the pouches of the Pony Express riders. But a far speedier means of communication was soon provided. The Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, a branch of the Western Union, was stringing its wire from Omaha and Salt Lake City westward to the coast. Hundreds of oxen and wagons, hundreds of beeves for food, hundreds of men armed for defense against the Indians were needed to carry on the work, but such was the energy displayed that in less than four months after the first poles were set up in Omaha and Salt Lake City the first through message from California to the East was sent from Sacramento to Lincoln at Washington. †

* Savannah Republican, January 3, 1862.

† Philadelphia Inquirer, October 21, 1861, New York Tribune, July 27, 1861, October 26, 27, 1861.

Mingled with the matter carried by mail and express were bundles of disloyal newspapers published in many cities, towns and villages in the North. Before the battle of Bull Run the people tolerated these sheets with singular patience, for the liberty of the press must be respected. After the battle their seditious articles, their savage attacks on the Government, on the soldiers and what many of them called "the present unholy war," were looked on as treasonable, as giving aid and comfort to the enemy, and a vigorous campaign of suppression was waged by the Government and the people. All over the country from Maine to California mobs raided the offices of scores of "malignant little traitorous sheets," threw type and presses into the streets, and made bonfires with the furniture and paper. The Secretary of War suppressed some and imprisoned editors and owners in Fort Lafayette. Generals of the army forbade the circulation, distribution, sale, within their departments, of the most offensive and sent troops to seize type and paper and stop their publication. The Postmaster-General closed the mails to many because of their incendiary articles, their treasonable hostility to the Government. United States Marshals entered express offices and railroad depots and destroyed bundles of newspapers in transit. Grand Jury after Grand Jury presented lists of journals and asked for their suppression. The juries were aware that free governments allowed liberty of speech and of the press to the utmost limit. But there was a limit. If a person in a fortress, or an army, were to preach to the soldiers submission to the enemy would he be tolerated? Yet wherein would he be worse than a citizen who, in the midst of formidable rebellion, tells the conspirators they are right, encourages them to go on, and condemns all efforts to put down rebellion by what he calls "an unholy war?"

Far more troublesome than disloyal newspapers were disloyal citizens living in loyal States and giving aid and comfort in every way they could to the people and Government of the rebellious States. No sooner had the President issued his call for troops, and their movement to Washington begun, than the mob in Baltimore attacked them on their passage through that city, burned bridges and sought in every way to

hinder and prevent the gathering of an army for defense of the Capital. Such violence required summary treatment. The case was urgent, pressing, admitted of no delay. Therefore the President authorized General Scott to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* if at any point in, or near, any military line between Philadelphia and Washington he met with such resistance as made suspension necessary. Scott promptly invested General Patterson, commanding the Department of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, General Butler commanding the Department of Annapolis, and Colonel Mansfield that of Washington, with like authority, and summary arrests began.* The Constitution provides that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." Rebellion existed; public safety clearly required suspension; the Constitution was silent as to whether the legislative or executive power should order suspension; the legislative power was not in session, so the President took the responsibility. His right so to do was quickly tested.

One night in May, John Merryman, living near Cockeysville, was visited by an armed force acting under military orders, was taken into custody, conveyed to Fort McHenry and imprisoned without warrant from any lawful authority. General George Cadwalader, in command of the fort, was at once served with a writ of *habeas corpus,* issued by Chief Justice Taney, summoning him to appear at the United States Court House in Baltimore and have with him the body of John Merryman. The prisoner had been arrested because he was a lieutenant in a secession company which had in its possession arms belonging to the United States, because it intended to use them against the Government, because Merryman had been drilling his men, and because he had uttered

* Official Records, Series 2, vol. i, pp. 566, 567, 568. May 10, by proclamation, the commander of the Union forces on the Florida coast was authorized to suspend the writ on the Islands of Key West, Tortugas and Santa Rosa. July 2, Scott was empowered to suspend it on any military line between New York City and Washington, and October 14, between Bangor and Washington. Official Records, Series 2, vol. ii, pp. 19, 20, 111.

disloyal sentiments.* General Cadwalader in his return stated these charges, announced that he was duly authorized by the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus,* refused to bring Merryman before the Court, and wrote to Washington. † The Assistant Adjutant General replied that he must hold in secure confinement, when committed to his charge, all persons implicated in treasonable practices, and in making returns to writs of *habeas corpus* "by whomsoever issued," must respectfully decline to produce the prisoner. ‡

General Cadwalader having refused to produce his prisoner, Taney issued a writ of attachment which the Marshal attempted to serve. He went to the outer gate of the fort, sent in his name, was told that the General had no answer to make, was not allowed to serve the writ, and so reported to the Chief Justice who then wrote and filed an opinion in the office of the clerk of the Court. In substance it was that the President could not suspend the writ of *habeas corpus,* nor authorize any military officer to do so.

The arrest of Merryman was soon followed by that of the Baltimore Police Commissioners. Late in June General Scott wrote Banks, who had succeeded Cadwalader, that it was evident that the disloyal citizens of Baltimore, if not more numerous, were certainly far more active and effective than the Union men, that in the opinion of the Secretary of War such a blow should be struck as would carry consternation into the ranks of the secessionists, and that he should at once arrest the members of the Police Board, and the Marshal of Police and appoint a Provost Marshal to cause the police law to be duly executed. § At dawn on the morning of the twenty-seventh Marshal Kane was arrested and taken to Fort McHenry, and the act and the appointment of a Provost Marshal were duly made known by proclamation later in the day. ‖

Thereupon the Police Commissioners met, protested

* Official Records, Series 2, vol. i, pp. 574-575.
† Ibid., p. 576.
‡ Ibid., pp. 576-577.
§ Ibid., p. 621.
‖ Ibid., pp. 620, 624, 625.

against this arbitrary exercise of power not warranted by the Constitution of the United States, nor by the laws of Maryland, and put the officers and men of the police force off duty.* In short the force was disbanded. July first the four members of the Board, each an open and avowed secessionist, were arrested about break of day and taken to Fort McHenry. †

On the seventeenth of September the Maryland legislature was to assemble at Frederick. Convinced that its purpose was to pass an ordinance of secession and put the State out of the Union, General Banks was instructed by the Secretary of War to arrest all members suspected of disloyalty before the legislature met. Some were taken as they passed through Baltimore. Some were arrested in Frederick. ‡ The London *Saturday Review* declared their arrest, "before they had had time to meet, without any form of law or prospect of trial, merely because President Lincoln conceived they might, in their legislative capacity, do acts at variance with his interpretation of the American Constitution, was as perfect an act of despotism as can be conceived. It was a *coup d'état* in every essential feature." At the same time arrests were made of the editors of the Baltimore *Exchange* and the *South,* two violently disloyal newspapers. §

By the end of the month Fort Lafayette was crowded and an officer was sent to Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor, to prepare it for political prisoners. Should a writ of *habeas corpus* be served he was to answer he deeply regretted that, during the present political trouble he could not comply. Should an attempt be made to serve a writ of attachment he was to resist with all the force at his command. || Scores of others were then in confinement in the Old Capitol Prison at Washington, at Camp Chase in Ohio, at Cairo and in the Military Prisons at St. Louis and at Alton. Some were spies, some had forwarded recruits to the Confederate Army,

* Official Records, Series 2, vol. i, pp. 626-627.
† Ibid., pp. 622-623.
‡ Ibid., Series 1, vol. v, pp. 194, 195, 196, 197.
§ Ibid., Series 2, vol. i, p. 586.
|| Ibid., vol. ii, p. 111.

or corresponded with the rebels, or uttered disloyal sentiments, or displayed Confederate flags, or given information to the rebels, or assassinated Union pickets, or engaged in contraband trade, or edited disloyal newspapers.

In Fort Lafayette, if the statements made by the Baltimore Police Commissioners in a letter of complaint to the President were true, the prisoners were confined in four casemates and two small battery rooms. The casemates were fourteen by twenty-four feet, and eight feet high, and had wooden floors. In one, twenty-three prisoners, most of them in irons, were without beds, bedding or any convenient necessaries. In each of two other casemates ten, and in the fourth nine, were imprisoned. From six at night to six in the morning the doors were shut and though all the windows, which were small, were open, it was almost impossible to sleep because of the foul and unwholesome air. The battery rooms had brick floors and were much encumbered with guns and carriages. In one were thirty-four and in the other thirty-five prisoners. Food was the commonest and coarsest soldiers' rations and ill cooked. All water was salt save that for drinking and that was unfit to use.*

With the opening of 1862 the attitude of the Government towards its prisoners of State underwent a great change and a general jail delivery followed the issuing of Executive Order Number One relating to political prisoners. † Stanton drew it and began with a long review of conditions immediately following the attack on Sumter. The outbreak, he said, of the insurrection was attended with great confusion. Disloyalty, before unsuspected, became bold, and treason astonished the whole world by bringing into the field military forces greater in number than the standing army of the United States. Every department of government was paralyzed by treason. Defection appeared in the Senate and House of Representatives, in the Cabinet. Federal Judges and Ministers and Consuls, returned from foreign countries, entered the service of the Confederate States on land and

* Official Records, Series 2, vol. i, pp. 649–650. The letter is dated October 8, 1861.

† Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 221, 223. February 14, 1862.

sea. Officers high in command in the army and the navy deserted their posts to accept command in the insurrectionary forces. Treason was flagrant in the Revenue and Post-Office services, in the Territorial Governments, in the Indian Service. Not only generals, judges, legislators and officers but whole States rushed into rebellion. Even in loyal States political combinations and secret organizations furthered the work of disunion.

Congress had made no provision for such an emergency. Municipal authorities were powerless and inactive. Judicial machinery seemed to be organized to embarrass the Government. In this state of affairs the President felt in duty bound to use the extraordinary powers with which he is clothed, called into service the military and naval forces, directed measures to be taken to prevent the use of the Post-Office for treasonable correspondence, instituted a blockade, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* and caused persons represented to be engaged in treasonable practices to be arrested. But a favorable change in public opinion had since occurred. Apprehension of public danger and facilities for treasonable practices had diminished with the passions which prompted the heedless to adopt them, and in view of these facts the President now ordered that all prisoners of State, political prisoners in military custody, be released on subscribing a parole not to give aid or comfort to the enemy.

The outburst of patriotism which followed the defeat at Bull Run, which caused the suppression of newspapers and sent disloyal men to prison, was not without its effect on political parties. Never before had the men of that generation been so aroused, for never before in their time had the life of the Republic been at stake. In the presence of the one great issue before the country the differences which parted men into Democrats and Republicans seemed mean and trivial. When men of every sort of political faith, it was said, were hurrying to the front to fight for the Union it was time for every loyal citizen to forget party platforms, party allegiance and devote all his energy, if not his life, to the preservation of the Republic. The only platform on which loyal citizens could stand was the Union, now and

forever, one and indivisible. In the coming State elections the plain duty of voters was to elect not Democrats, not Republicans, but true Union men. The feeling was spontaneous in each loyal State and steps were quickly taken to act in accordance with it. Four days after the battle of Bull Run the Republican State Central Committee of Ohio resolved that it was the duty of good citizens to put aside party differences and unite in support of the Government; that it was not expedient, therefore, to call a State Convention of the Republican Party; and invited the Democratic State Committee to join in a delegate convention to nominate State officers and avoid a partisan contest.* Every Republican newspaper in Ohio, save Gidding's Ashtabula *Sentinel* approved the plan. † But the Democrats refused the invitation, held their own convention and made their own nominations; recommended to the legislatures of the several States to appoint delegates to a national convention to settle present difficulties, restore peace and preserve the Union; condemned the President for his late attempt to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus;* and were denounced as secessionists, traitors, tories by their political opponents. A citizen suggested the epithet Copperhead. "I see," he wrote, "that some of the editors supporting the ticket lately nominated at Columbus are not pleased with the names suggested, as secessionists, traitors, tories. The Confederacy at the outset symbolized itself in the figure of a rattlesnake. Would it not, therefore, be quite proper that its allies should select from the animal kingdom their heraldry and since the rattlesnake's mate, or copperhead, is in all respects a fitting representative we suggest that the term Copperhead be applied to the aforesaid party." ‡ Despite the rebuff, the Union Party went on with its work, nominated its candidates and held ratification meetings in Columbus, Sandusky, Toledo, in all the cities and towns of importance in the State.

In New York the people in county after county, without concerted action, demanded a Union Convention. Convinced,

* July 25, 1861. Cincinnati Commercial, August 14, 1861.
† Ibid., August 22, 1861.
‡ Ibid., August 17, 1861.

said the call for one of them, that our beloved country is to be saved from destruction by the people, not by parties, we suggest the importance of combining, irrespective of party, for action at the coming election.* Delegates should be appointed to meet in convention at Syracuse on the tenth of September and nominate a State ticket. As in Ohio, the Republicans invited the Democrats to join them in selecting Union candidates. † As in Ohio, the Democrats declined the invitation and held their own meeting. ‡ The Union State Committee resolved that a convention of the people having been called, solely with reference to the support and vindication of the Union, the Constitution and enforcement of the laws, and because in war, but most especially in civil war, all parties and factions should give place to united support of the Government, Union men of the State were invited to meet in convention at Syracuse and nominate State officers. § The convention disclaimed any intention to found a new party, to destroy the organization of any existing party, or alienate any man from his political faith. Its sole purpose was, in this hour of national peril, to proclaim devotion to the Constitution and the Union of the States, maintain and perpetuate them at all hazards, at whatever cost in blood and treasure, and prosecute the war with unabating vigor to the end. The Republican Convention met at the same place on the same days and adopted the Union ticket with the exception of one name.

Republicans in New Jersey declared they would abandon their organization and take up any good Union man. Partyism, it was said, was gone to seed. A great Union meeting at Newark attended by delegates from near-by towns opposed a party nomination as unpatriotic, harmful to public good, favored a People's Union movement in all the States and appointed a committee to start the ball rolling. ‖ County Conventions in Pennsylvania placed Union tickets in the

* New York Tribune, September 5, 1861.
† New York Herald, August 7, 1861.
‡ Ibid., August 9, 1861.
§ Ibid., September 5, 1861.
‖ Ibid., September 21, 1861.

field.* A People's Party pledged to support the Constitution and the flag of the Union against all enemies, open or covert, and give each of the old parties a fair share of offices, was organized in Philadelphia. To weaken or divide the support of Government by reviving party issues was as dangerous as to obstruct the Government by direct opposition. A Union ticket was elected at Wilmington, in Delaware, and Union no-party State conventions were held in Maryland, in Vermont and at St. Paul.

The weeks following the announcement by President Lincoln of his policy towards the South, and the seeming failure of the Administration to even attempt to carry it out were weeks of gloom in the business world. People of small means began to economize. Sales began to fall off in the shops and no one knew what was coming. Distrust of the future, it was said, paralyzes the stock market and business of every sort is depressed. The future is a blank. No one knows, or pretends to know, what a month will bring forth. Capitalists fear to use their money. Merchants curtail their credits. Shopkeepers are chary of increasing their indebtedness. Meantime the secession movement is steadily and fearfully advancing, and the Government is passive. Not a word is uttered concerning its policy and not a step is taken to stay the progress of the opposing power. †

Never before in this country has such a feeling of uncertainty, of alternate hope and fear, prevailed in the business community. The importer, looking at the needs of the country, sees a rich harvest of profits if only the usual laws of the trade prevail, but hesitates when the cry of disunion and civil war threatens ruin. Manufacturers, sure of a fine home trade if only the country can be pacified, halt and hesitate as the din of revolution greets their ears. No business man knows whether to contract or expand, to take credit or to give it, to buy or to sell. It would be a relief to know what is in store for us that business men may shape their course accordingly. ‡ If, in the opinion of moneyed

* Philadelphia Inquirer, September 16, 24, October 2, 1861.
† Philadelphia Ledger, March 26, 1861.
‡ New York Tribune, March 23, 1861.

men, the Border States did not secede, the war would be short. The Confederacy could not long contend against the power of the North backed by that of Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Missouri and Arkansas. If, on the other hand, the Border States did leave the Union, the war would be long, no interest would be paid on Southern bonds and all the Western banks whose circulation was secured by deposits of these bonds must go to the wall. No sooner, therefore, did the Governors of the Border States send forth their defiant answers to the President's call for troops than a panic began. Bonds of Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri were thrown on the market at New York to be sold at any price, and during the week which followed the fall of Sumter, Virginia sixes fell from sixty-eight to thirty-six; Tennessee sixes from seventy to forty-one; Missouri sixes from fifty-eight to thirty-nine, and no speculator would give more than fifty cents on the dollar for a note of any bank in the Confederacy.

Because of the cheapness at which these bonds had always sold banks in the Western States used them as security for the circulation of their notes. To found a bank under the free banking laws of the West it was but necessary to leave with the State Treasurer bonds of other States as security for the notes to be issued. No deposits, no reserve were required; but, without capital and without business a bank might put forth its notes provided they were secured by the deposit of some State bonds. Thus it came about that in Illinois, in 1861, there were one hundred and ten banks with a combined circulation of thirteen million three hundred thousand dollars secured by the deposit of thirteen million five hundred thousand dollars in State bonds. Nine million of this great sum was in bonds of Missouri, Tennessee, Virginia, Lousiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Kentucky.* When, therefore, after Arkansas seceded, after the people of North Carolina elected delegates to a convention that was sure to put her out of the Union, after Tennessee made her offensive and defensive league with the

* New York Tribune, June 14, 1861.

Confederacy, after Kentucky declared herself neutral and it was certain that the referendum about to be taken in Virginia would result in popular approval of the ordinance of secession, a currency panic swept over the West. Thirty-seven Illinois banks failed. Before another year went by the number reached eighty-nine. Four went out of business and the circulation of the few left in the State was but four hundred thousand dollars. The ruined banks having no funds with which to redeem their notes their bonds deposited with the State Treasurer were sold at auction for what they would bring and they brought but little. Those of thirty-eight went for sixty cents and those of twenty-five for prices ranging from sixty to seventy cents on the dollar.

Twenty-seven banks failed in Indiana and thirty-nine in Wisconsin. There the legislature, hoping to stop the slaughter of bonds held as security for bank notes, authorized the suspension of specie payment and the notes at once fell to a discount of twenty-five per cent. The best banks made haste to exchange deposits of bonds of Southern States for deposits of Northern State bonds; others withdrew a part of their bonds, reduced their circulation and in a few weeks the contraction amounted to over seven hundred thousand dollars, or more than one-sixth of the currency afloat. Her discredited bank notes then passed, if any one would take them, at a discount of sixty per cent.

To a people depressed by the opening of the war, to a financial world in confusion, to a commercial world which had suffered great losses, the Government now found it necessary to appeal for a sum of money larger than had ever before been asked at any one time, and nearly three times greater than the national debt.

Congress, having assembled on the fourth of July, was told by the Secretary of the Treasury that the Government would need for the current fiscal year at least three hundred and eighteen million dollars; that two hundred and forty millions should be raised by borrowing and not less than eighty millions by taxation; that of the eighty millions at least twenty should be obtained by a direct tax or by internal taxes or by both, and that the property of persons in insur-

rection, or giving aid and comfort to the enemy, should be made to contribute to the cost of the war. Congress acted with great promptness and before a fortnight had passed the Secretary was authorized to borrow two hundred and fifty millions on the credit of the United States.

As evidence of indebtedness he might offer coupon or registered bonds bearing not more than seven per cent interest, or Treasury notes of three kinds. Some, in denominations not less than fifty dollars, were to bear seven and three-tenths per cent interest. Some, in denominations under fifty dollars, were to bear no interest and be payable on demand. These were at once called "demand notes" and were limited in amount to not more than fifty millions of dollars. Some were to bear three and sixty-five one-hundredths per cent interest; be redeemed a year from date and could not be issued in denominations under ten dollars. Finally the Secretary might issue twenty million dollars in notes payable at any time, not exceeding one year from date, with six per cent interest. This was an additional grant to serve the pressing needs of the hour and raised the amount of Treasury notes which might be put out to two hundred and seventy millions. *

A revenue act provided for an increase of duties, for a direct tax of twenty millions of dollars and for a tax of three per cent on income in excess of eight hundred dollars, save so much as was derived from securities of the United States. This was taxed one and a half per cent. Americans living abroad must pay five per cent on incomes from stocks, securities and other property in our country owned by them.

No sooner did Congress adjourn than Chase hastened to New York and with much difficulty and some delay induced the banks to associate and, with those of Boston and Philadelphia, loan the government fifty million dollars to be repaid from the sale of Treasury notes. Should all go well another fifty millions was to be advanced in October and a third in December. They were not deposited with the banks, but were to be sold to the people. To the people, therefore,

* Act of July 17, 1861.

Chase made an earnest appeal to buy, and subscription agencies were established in all the large cities. On the August day when the books were opened in New York, sixteen thousand dollars' worth were sold. But day by day subscriptions grew and by the end of the month one million three hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of the seven-thirties had been taken. As the character of the loan became known people of every walk in life came forward until clergymen, women of means, merchants, draymen, mechanics, clerks, men and women of the humble sort stood in the line before the subtreasury.

No Government securities of any sort were then owned, or had ever been seen by men or women of scanty means. Now, when they were urged to buy at least one seven-thirty note, it seemed expedient that they should know what it looked like. One day in September, therefore, there appeared in several newspapers in New York City a facsimile of a hundred-dollar note with its five coupons.* Newspapers everywhere were informed that engraved blocks could be purchased from a certain firm in New York for two dollars and were urged to procure and use one for the information of the people. Few did so.

When the time came for the banks to use their option to subscribe for the second issue of fifty millions they took the notes, endeavored to sell them to the people over their own counters, and the Treasury agencies were closed. In November they agreed to advance a third fifty millions, but required Chase to give them six per cent bonds at such a price as would yield them seven per cent interest. †

It was now quite clear, and it was made clearer still by the Secretary's report to Congress when it met in December, that Chase had reached the end of his resources. That the Government must soon be forced to resort to an issue of Treasury notes, made legal tender and redeemable or convertible after the war, was a belief that grew stronger day after day. Such an issue would cause a general suspension

*New York Herald, September 14, 1861, New York Tribune, September 14, 1861, Philadelphia Inquirer, September 17, 1861.

† Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, vol. i, p. 166.

of specie payments. The question then became when should such a suspension take place. Should it be when the banks still had specie and before the people had taken alarm at the increase of paper money, or should it be deferred until the people had withdrawn their specie and begun to hoard it. Hoarding, indeed, had already begun and, unable to stand the strain, the New York City banks at a meeting on Saturday evening, December twenty-eighth, agreed to immediate suspension of specie payments and on Monday those of Boston, Albany, Philadelphia, Cleveland, a few in Pittsburgh and the Government followed, and demand notes were no longer paid in specie.

Congress, in February, met the crisis by directing Chase to issue demand notes to the amount of ten million dollars,* and by the passage of the first of the famous legal tender acts. † Under it the Secretary might issue one hundred and fifty million dollars of United States notes in denominations not under five dollars which should bear no interest, be lawful money and a legal tender for all private and public debts save duties on imports and interest on the national debt, which must be paid in coin and which might be exchanged for six per cent. bonds redeemable after five years and payable at the end of twenty years from the date of issue. The notes were called by the people greenbacks. The bonds, limited in amount to five hundred million dollars, were known as Five-Twenties.

In June dire necessity forced Chase to ask for another issue of one hundred and fifty millions of greenbacks. Daily receipts from customs, he said, were but two hundred and thirty thousand dollars and from the sale of Five-Twenties but one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, while the cost of the war was greater than one million dollars each day. There was great need, also, for notes of smaller denominations than five dollars. Payments to soldiers and to public creditors required a large amount of coin to satisfy fractional demands. To get the coin was not always possible. Even when obtained and paid to the soldiers it passed at once to

* Act of February 12, 1862.
† Act of February 25, 1862.

the hands of sutlers and disappeared from circulation. Congress granted the request, authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty million dollars of legal tenders and required thirty-five millions to be in denominations between one and five dollars.

Greatly to the regret of Chase the Five-Twenties were taken but very sparingly. The people took the greenbacks, but did not exchange them for the bonds. He turned, therefore, once more to Jay Cooke and made him sole agent for the sale of the bonds.* Cooke accepted the office and at once appealed to the great mass of the people. Men were sent over the country to distribute circulars, put up handbills in hotels, railroad depots, court houses, post-offices, on telegraph poles and on trunks of trees and to urge bankers, brokers and editors to do their best to sell the bonds. † Subagents were appointed to sell on commission, editors were induced to keep the loan constantly before the people and advertisements were inserted in newspapers telling why the bonds were called Five-Twenties, pointing out that, as the interest was payable in gold, the yield at the then premium on gold would be almost eight per cent, and showing that the ample provision made by customs dues, excise stamps and internal revenue for the payment of interest and principal made investment in the loan safe, profitable and wise. ‡

Gold, having ceased to circulate, became merchandise, was bought and sold, and in January, February and March the premium rose to one and a half. In June a report that Secretary Chase would ask for a further issue of one hundred and fifty millions of demand Treasury notes caused the price of gold to rise steadily until at the end of the month it reached one hundred and nine. Silver, which had followed it, then stood at one hundred and five, and the petty buying and selling of daily life was thrown into confusion. Small change disappeared as if by magic. Butchers and grocers and small

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* Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, vol. i, pp. 218–220.

† Ibid., p. 249.

‡ Ibid., pp. 235, 236. For the debate in Congress on the legal tender acts see Spaulding, Legal Tender Paper Money.

tradesmen could give no change when a purchase amounted to less than a dollar, and travelers in omnibuses and horse-cars paid their fares with nickel cents. To relieve the situation restaurants and eating-houses issued shin plasters, and five, ten, twenty-five, fifty and seventy-five cent tickets became common. July tenth gold rose suddenly to one hundred and seventeen, silver to one hundred and ten and nickel cents to one hundred and three. Cents then disappeared, stage and horse-car lines and the Union Ferry Company in New York issued tickets and refused to sell less than a dollar's worth. Restaurants by that time received each other's tickets. It was therefore suggested that stage and horse-car companies do the same and issue shin plasters good on any line, for it was a great hardship that a citizen who had occasion to travel on several lines should be forced to invest a dollar in the tickets of each. Postage stamps, pasted on a sheet of paper in suchwise that it could be folded, were now recommended. The time having come when some substitute for money must be used, it is better, it was said, to have something other than the shin plasters of a man who keeps a restaurant to-day and may be out of business to-morrow. Stamps have real value and cannot be overissued. Shin plasters have nothing but the credit of the issuers behind them. Acting on this suggestion a few shopkeepers posted in their windows notices which read: "Postage stamps received for goods and given in change for current money." Sometimes, if a customer paid in specie he was allowed the benefit of the premium. If he were given silver small change the shop took the benefit of the premium. Some one suggested that instead of charging so much a pound for coffee and tea, sugar and butter, meat and bacon, so much weight of coffee, so much of tea, so much of bacon should be sold for one dollar, thus doing away with the use of small change. Another proposed that business men agree to enhance the value of silver pieces. If they would receive half a dime for six cents, a ten-cent piece for twelve cents, a quarter for thirty cents, and a half for sixty cents, silver would come again into circulation. As things were, it was said, he who has no specie is poor. No matter how hot the

weather he must walk in the burning sun, because the omnibus driver will not change a bill. He may be parched by thirst, but he cannot buy a glass of soda water, because he lacks the change. In this city thousands and tens of thousands of persons have been forced to walk to and from their places of business because they will not pay the ruinous prices demanded by brokers and bankers for the specie with which to pay the fares.

Newark City Council ordered change notes to the amount of fifty thousand dollars to be issued in denominations of from ten to fifty cents. The Common Council of Albany authorized the Comptroller of the City to issue fifty thousand dollars in denominations of from ten to seventy-five cents and deposit the money received in exchange for the bills at four and a half per cent interest. Troy and Jersey City soon followed these examples.

Postage stamps, however, were the favorites because they could be had at once. Harnden's Express Company suggested that if stamps must be used in place of coins, they should be enclosed in small, neat envelopes especially made for the purpose and not in any sort of envelope as was then the custom.* The suggestion was taken up and printers in New York, Brooklyn and Jersey City soon had them for sale. Some bore the words "Uncle Sam's Change" or "Legal Currency" or "Government Currency." Usually they were marked "United States Postage Stamps" and designed to hold ten, thirteen, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, thirty, fifty, seventy-five cents in postage stamps. † The envelopes were convenient, but failed to keep the stamps clean, for no one ever failed to open the envelopes he received, count the stamps and see that none had once been canceled and "washed."

July seventeenth Congress passed the Currency Act, a clause of which provided that from and after August first,

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* New York Herald, July 19, 1862.

† H. R. Drowne, United States Postage Stamps as Necessity War Money. Simon Newton, Postage Stamp Currency used during the Civil War. Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, No. 24, January, 1918.

1862, the Secretary of the Treasury should furnish assistant treasurers and such designated depositories as he might select, postage and other stamps of the United States to be exchanged, on application, for United States notes, in sums not under five dollars. From and after that day they were to be legal tender in payment of all dues to the United States under five dollars, and redeemable in amounts of five dollars. After August first no private corporation, banking association, firm or individual could lawfully issue, circulate or pay out notes, checks, tokens, memoranda or obligations for less than a dollar, intended to circulate as money. Any one who did so might, on conviction, be fined five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned for six months, or both.

No sooner was the passage of the Act known than a rush for postage stamps began. In New York the usual daily sale of stamps amounted to three thousand dollars. During the day following the arrival of the news of the approval of the Act by the President the sales rose to ten thousand, and on the next to sixteen, and at the end of five days to twenty-four thousand dollars.* The Postmaster then gave notice that "Purchasers of postage stamps will only be supplied with such quantities as they require for use in the prepayment of postage, as the Post-Office Department is not to furnish stamps for currency." † Not the Postmaster-General, but the Secretary of the Treasury, it was explained, was to supply postage and other stamps to assistant treasurers to be exchanged for United States notes. In good time the Secretary of the Treasury would furnish postage stamps to be used as currency, and in such form that they could not be attached to letters.

Designs had already been adopted and the new money, in four denominations, finely engraved and printed on good paper would, in the course of a few weeks, come pouring from the Treasury. The five and twenty-five would be yellow in color; the ten and fifty green. In the center of the five would be a facsimile of a five-cent postage stamp with a

* New York Tribune, July 22, 1862.
† Ibid., July 24, 1862.

"5" in lathe work on either side; in the center of the ten a facsimile of a ten-cent stamp with a "10" on either side. The twenty-five would have a representation of five five-cent stamps partly overlapping beginning on the left and the fifty would be five ten-cent stamps arranged in like manner.

All cities suffered for lack of small change. At Hartford the Etna Bank marked each end of its one-dollar bills and promised to redeem each half, if any holder cut such a bill in two and passed each part for fifty cents. A single half would be redeemed in postage stamps; any two halves by a new note. The butchers of Allegheny City circulated shin plasters which read: "Pay bearer twenty-five cents in merchandise." They were prosecuted under a Pennsylvania law of 1817 which forbade any unincorporated body, public officer, association, partnership or individual to make or issue any promissory note or ticket for any amount whatever. In Covington, Kentucky, checks and tickets to be used as small change became so alarmingly plentiful that the question of the lawfulness of their issue was raised. It was then found that such makeshifts were forbidden by law.* The City Council of Cincinnati appointed a committee to report a plan whereby the city could issue notes or scrip. But no way of evading the Ohio law of 1845 forbidding such issues could be devised. †

In Philadelphia, early in July all cash, hand-to-hand business was suspended when small change was required. The banks refused to pay it out. If called for by a check they gave due bills. ‡ Shopkeepers and provision dealers in the markets could not afford to buy silver to use in making change and the whole community began to wonder where to seek relief. The Finance Committee of Councils considered issuing municipal notes in fractions of a dollar, but were advised that the law stood in the way. A few retail merchants offered to take postage stamps and bank bills at par, half dimes at six cents, dimes at twelve cents, quarters at thirty, half dollars at sixty and dollars at one hundred and

* Cincinnati Commercial, November 15, 1862.
† Ibid., November 5, 1862.
‡ Philadelphia Inquirer, July 18, 1863.

twenty cents, quarter eagles at three hundred and half eagles at six hundred cents, but it is not likely many were offered, for gold then sold at one hundred and twenty and silver at one hundred and fifteen. Driven to desperation, hotels, restaurants and shops issued checks good for certain amounts at some future time. These might be useful to their own customers, but were of no use, it was said, for general purposes. Suppose a woman buys three dollars' worth of "fixin's" at a store, offers in payment a five-dollar bill and receives two dollars in such checks. What on earth can she do with bits of paper said to be "good for a drink," "good for a shine," "good for a dinner," "good for three cigars"? Moreover, they are unlawful.

On certain days the Mint exchanged nickel cents for Treasury notes. On one of these a crowd began to gather before seven o'clock in the morning and by twelve o'clock, the hour fixed, two long lines, one of men and boys, the other of women and girls, stretched far up Juniper Street. Many carried baskets in which to take home the cents. But the supply was exhausted ere half the applicants were accommodated, though no one received more than five dollars' worth. Every time the Mints paid out cents the crowd assembled.

Early in September Assistant Treasurer Cisco announced that on the eighth of the month he would begin the issue of postage note currency; that five- and ten-cent notes would be in sheets of twenty; and twenty-five and fifty in sheets of sixteen, so perforated that the notes could be easily torn apart and that nobody could buy more than five dollars' worth at a time. Such was the rush on the appointed day that long before noon the stock of sheets was exhausted. During several weeks the rush continued. Sometimes no notes were to be had. At no time did the supply begin to equal the demand, and September was drawing to a close before as much as fifteen dollars' worth was sold to any buyer.

Again and again the people went to the subtreasury to find on its door a placard stating: "No postage currency to-day. It is hoped gentlemen will not interrupt the regular

business of the office by either verbal or written applications which are equally useless." * In Cincinnati where the money was disbursed at the Customhouse a notice read: "No more postal currency at present. Until more comes, no use making inquiry." The crowd was described as tumultuous and on one occasion became so disorderly that troops were sent for to restore order. †

As the year drew to a close and the postage currency began to circulate, the use of postage stamps came rapidly to an end. In New York stage and car lines refused to receive them and even shin plasters fell under the ban. So dire had been the need of small change that the law against the issue of such bills and tickets had not been enforced. Now the New York Superintendent of Banking called on the District Attorney at Albany to act, and in November he issued a warning. The fine was, he said, a thousand dollars, and any one hereafter issuing such notes would be prosecuted, as would all whose bills were in circulation after the first day of December. ‡

A great clamor arose for the redemption of stamps still in the hands of the people, but no longer taken as currency. To quell the outcry it was ordered that stamps used as currency, clean or soiled, if not taken from envelopes, would be redeemed after December fifteenth. Amounts under five dollars would be cashed when presented. If a greater sum was offered the stamps must be enclosed in envelopes to be counted and examined lest fraud be attempted. Persons for some time past had been buying canceled stamps under pretense of making papier mâché, or paying ridiculous wagers, with the intent, it was found, of presenting them as badly soiled. §

Postage currency gave little relief to the need of cents, for no piece under five cents in value was issued. New York and other cities, therefore, remained flooded with brass and

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* New York Herald, October 4, 1862.

† Cincinnati Commercial, November 5, 1862.

‡ New York Tribune, November 18, 1862.

§ New York Herald, November 25, December 15, 1862; Philadelphia Public Ledger, December 16, 1862.

copper token cents circulated by restaurants, by butchers, grocers, barbers, hackmen, newsmen, petty merchants. Some were the size of the nickel cent; others of the old coppers. Some were stamped Knickerbocker Currency; others Tradesmen's Currency; all were commonly called Copperhead Currency. Some bore the names and places of business of those who issued them, others did not. Not one half, it was well known, would ever be redeemed, but the loss the people would finally have to bear was more than compensated for by the great need they filled.

CHAPTER IX.

VICTORIES.

The defeat at Bull Run, the flight from the field, the scene of confusion and disorganization which followed, convinced Lincoln at once that a new commander must be found for what remained of the beaten, routed and disheartened army. The Government, the people and the troops had lost all faith in General McDowell, and while the fugitives from Bull Run were still straggling across the Long Bridge into Washington an urgent summons went forth to McClellan to make over his army to General Rosecranz and come with all speed to the Capital. * He was assigned to the Division of the Potomac and on the twenty-seventh of July assumed command. †

Never was a general given a harder task. Morale and discipline were gone. Disorder and confusion reigned supreme. Thousands of raw troops from the North were hurrying to the front. Thousands of three-months men just from the front were hurrying home. In the streets of Washington were crowds of loafing soldiers; in the hotels hundreds of officers enjoying their ease instead of reporting for duty or trying to rally their scattered and bewildered men. No provost guard, no patrol, no military authority was visible. The Grand Army of the Potomac seemed to be in the streets of Washington instead of on its way to Richmond. ‡ He found, McClellan said, no army to command, nothing but a collection of regiments cowering on the banks of the Potomac, some perfectly raw, others dispirited by defeat. § A new army must be created and organized for active operations. Works of defense capable of being held by small forces must be constructed. Equipment and material of war must be

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, p. 753, July 22, 1861.
† Ibid., p. 766.
‡ Ibid., vol. v, p. 42.
§ W. H. Russell, My Diary North and South, p. 470.

gathered and towards the accomplishment of all these things McClellan bent his energies for the next three months.

Meanwhile the enemy must be held in check. Could they be? Again and again during August, when writing to his wife, he gave expression to his fear that Beauregard would attack.* Beauregard did not attack and August was almost ended before he pushed forward his picket lines a mile and a half and took possession of Falls Church, Upton's Hill and Munson's Hill. The flag of the Confederacy could then be clearly seen from the White House and the Capitol.

The little advance Beauregard did make, and the failure of McClellan to meet it, gave the South great delight. For over a week, it was said, the glove of battle has been thrown down to McClellan. Yet he has not dared to pick it up. Five thousand Confederate troops, for ten days past, have been within sight of Washington. The Confederate flag has been flying in full view of the Lincoln Cabinet. Dixie has been played morning and evening within earshot of the Yankee troops. Yet they keep closely within their lines and dare not venture out. They have pocketed the insult and refused the challenge. The soul of the Yankee is cowed and his generals are afraid to trust him outside his breastworks. When the Confederates withdrew from Falls Church, Upton's Hill and Munson's Hill, late in September, there were found on Munson's Hill no signs of guns having been mounted, or tents having been pitched, or breastworks constructed; nothing but a few rifle pits and the remains of a few board shacks in which a small force had found shelter.

November first General Scott, by his own request, was placed on the retired list and McClellan became Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States. New reasons were found for remaining inactive and November went by with "all quiet on the Potomac." In December the roads were bad; he fell ill with typhoid fever, and it was January before he was able to resume his duties.

Despite failure to advance, the President and the country still had faith in the "Young Napoleon." Nevertheless,

* McClellan's My Own Story, pp. 84–89.

while the Union Army remained idle in the camps, the people grew restless. The baleful effects of this sloth, it was said, is clearly manifest in many ways. It is shown in the increased boldness of secession sympathizers; in the clamor of those who would change the object of the war from the saving of the Union to a crusade against slavery; in the growing belief abroad that the North could not succeed, and that it is high time to recognize the independence of the Confederacy. Nothing but military activity, nothing but a signal victory over the rebels, and this very soon, will save the country from depression, from despair. The essential thing for the army to do is to go forward. The essential thing for Congress to do is to provide the sinews of war. Conviction that the Confederacy will gain its independence is general in Europe.

As January drew to a close even the long-suffering President lost patience and ordered that, on February twenty-second, there be a general advance of all land and naval forces against the insurgents. The army in and about Fortress Monroe; the Army of the Potomac; the army in Western Virginia; the army near Mumfordsville, Kentucky; the army and flotilla at Cairo and the naval forces in the Gulf of Mexico must be ready to move on that day.*

The army against which McClellan was to move was fast falling to pieces. One hundred and forty-eight regiments would complete their terms of service in the course of a few months and showed little willingness to stay longer at the front. It was high time, men said, that those who had stayed at home should now come forward and do their part in defense of their country. Looking back on conditions as they were during the first three months of 1862, the Confederate Secretary of War recalled how large numbers of soldiers, yearning for home, weary of camp life, led by the inactivity of the enemy to believe that their services were no longer needed, declined to reënlist; how they proposed to turn over the hardship of army life to those who, as yet, had not carried a musket; how discipline relaxed; how efficiency was impaired

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. v, p. 41, January 31, 1862, General War Order No. 1.

and the army rendered unable to reap the fruits of Manassas.*

Reasons of many sorts were found for the demoralization of the Confederate Army so constantly a subject of complaint. There was a sad absence of enterprise, genius, energy in the conduct of affairs. There was much to disgust the private soldier. There was the stringent restriction of furloughs. Thousands of business men, at the first call, had hastened from their homes leaving wives and children unprovided for, and much important business unsettled. For eight months they had been idling in camp. During these months they might well have been allowed to visit their families. But no! For five months past furloughs were positively forbidden. Officers were not arrested, no matter what they did; but privates, who outranked them socially, were disgraced by arrest and punishment. No wonder reenlistments were few.

Those who could pay the price, one hundred dollars or more, sought substitutes. Such was the demand that a new sort of business man, the substitute broker, appeared and by advertising sought to supply the need. Meetings were held and speeches made to encourage enlistment and a bounty of fifty dollars was offered to each private and non-commissioned officer who would serve continuously for three years, or the war.

The same bounty was offered to twelve-month men then in service, if they enlisted for two more years, to all those in service for three years at the end of the first year, and to all who, in future, should enlist for the war, when they were mustered into service. The day of the short-term volunteer had gone. He had nobly sprung to arms to meet a pressing emergency. But it was idle to depend on him to meet the needs of a long war. † What then should be done? Some answered, let the Government draft, conscript, and keep in the army all now there, regardless of the time for

* Secretary of War to Davis, August 12, 1862, Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, pp. 42, 43.

† Richmond Enquirer, January 9, 1862; Norfolk Day Book, January 9, 1862; New York Herald, February 14, 1862.

which they volunteered, and so put an end to the feeling of unrest that is breaking down discipline and ruining the service.

Davis appealed to Congress. He asked that all men from eighteen to thirty-five, residing within the limits of the Confederacy, be made subject to military duty; that they be considered already in the service of the Confederacy, and that a simple plan for their enrollment and conscription be adopted.*

Congress acted promptly, and April sixteenth the Conscription Act became law. By it Davis was empowered to call out, and keep in the army for three years, all white men from eighteen to thirty-five, unless lawfully exempt. This would secure raw troops. But to pit them against the army McClellan had been training for months past would be folly. The Confederate veterans must be held. The Act, therefore, provided that men of conscriptive age in the army on April sixteenth should be held to service for three years dating from the day whereon they volunteered. All subject to conscription and not in the army were to be given a short time in which to enlist.

The Conscription Act was quickly followed by another which specified the offices, trades, occupations, businesses, duties which exempted men from conscription. Those whose labors put them in any one of the classes named in the act, and no others, were relieved from military service, unless substitutes were found. Even then exemption would hold only so long as the substitutes were not enrolled.

Before seeing the Exemption Act Governor Brown protested to Davis. Many members of the Georgia Assembly were between eighteen and thirty-five years of age, were white citizens, and as such, liable to conscription. At any special session of the legislature, or at the regular one in November they might be claimed as conscripts by a Confederate officer. He would allow no enrollment of members of the General Assembly. Judges, secretaries and clerks of executive departments, tax-collectors also fell under the law.

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* Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, p. 1031.

The Western and Alabama Railroad belonged to Georgia and was subject to control by the Governor. He had then an efficient force of officers and men; but were those between eighteen and thirty-five taken from him, the road could not be operated. The State owned the Georgia Military Institute. One hundred and twenty-five students were in attendance. If they were not exempt this fine institution would be broken up and so would the State University and the colleges. The Conscript Act gave authority to the President to enroll every man in the State militia between eighteen and thirty-five years of age; took from the State its constitutional right to appoint officers and train men, and put it in the power of the President to send a Major General of Militia to the Confederate States Army, place him under the command of a third lieutenant and treat him as a deserter if he refused to obey the call. Because of these things Governor Brown declined to use State officers as enrollers and reserved for future consideration the question of the constitutionality of the law.*

Davis replied there were but two ways of raising armies: volunteering, or by draft or conscription, and that the power to raise armies was not restricted as to the way. Was the act necessary? It was not only necessary but absolutely indispensable. Many regiments of twelve-months men were on the eve of being disbanded and their places could not be filled by raw troops. "I hold that when a specific power is granted by the Constitution, like that now in question, to 'raise armies,' Congress is the judge whether the law passed for the purpose of executing that power is 'necessary and proper.'" †

The Governor and Council of South Carolina requested that students in the State Military Academy be assigned, without pay, to the duties in which they were then engaged, subject to call when required, and that overseers on plantations be exempt. Owners of slaves were in the army. Should their overseers be conscripted, crops would not be planted and

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, pp. 1083–1085, April 22, 1862.
† Davis to Brown, May 20, 1862.

food would become short. Why not assign overseers, without pay, to the duties they were accustomed to perform? * Randolph answered that like appeals had come from Virginia, Georgia, Alabama; that he had no discretion as to exemptions, regretted the effect of conscription on military colleges and could not exempt overseers. †

Quite as necessary as the troops were their arms. Neither the North nor the South at the opening of the war could begin to make the quantity of rifles and muskets, pistols and percussion caps, ammunition and guns needed for the great armies it was certain they would soon have to put in the field. Both, therefore, turned at once to Europe. The very day after Sumter surrendered, the Confederate Ordnance Department dispatched Major Caleb Huse to England to buy supplies. He reached London in May to find the market poorly supplied and agents from the United States, Italy, Spain, Russia and Peru on the spot with unlimited means. Those from the United States gave him most concern, for their orders were to buy in any quantity at any price and they paid in cash. ‡ Nothing was to be had abroad. Offers of small arms, cannon, munitions came to him, but when the samples were examined he found them old and unserviceable. He heard that Dayton had bought thirty thousand old flintlocks that would have to be altered. § In Paris he was offered any quantity of the sort used by the French Army. Indeed, they were to come from French arsenals. Believing, if the Government had arms to sell, they could be purchased without the aid of a middleman, Huse applied to Judge Rost, who took up the matter and was told none were for sale. Nothing was left but to buy in small quantities from small manufacturers scattered over England, but chiefly in Birmingham. This he did with the help of commission houses. ||

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* Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, p. 1106, April 30, 1862.

† Ibid., p. 1121, May 13, 1862.

‡ Huse to Gorgas, May 21, 1861. Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, pp. 343, 344.

§ Ibid., Paris, July 22, 1861, pp. 565-567.

|| Ibid., August 11, 1864, pp. 538-542.

The day after Bull Run, Huse was instructed to buy arms enough for five hundred regiments, buy them anywhere, at any price and ship them at the earliest possible moment. If enough could not be had at once he was to contract for their manufacture, sparing no pains and taking any risks.* With a free hand and unlimited funds Huse now went to Vienna and bought from the Austrian Government one hundred thousand Austrian rifles, and ten field batteries of six guns each to be delivered at Hamburg. † Within a few months a small fleet of vessels was bringing his purchases to Wilmington, to Charleston, to Bermuda, whence blockade runners carried them to Southern ports. More than a hundred and thirty-one thousand rifles, a hundred and twenty-nine cannon, shells, powder, accouterments, clothing, medical supplies and ordnance stores costing more than eight hundred and nineteen thousand pounds sterling reached the South from England. In London, awaiting shipment at the end of 1861 were twenty-three thousand rifles, two million cartridges, three million percussion caps, thousands of pairs of trousers and thousands of great-coats and shoes, costing two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. In Vienna awaiting payment were more rifles and scabbards valued at a hundred and seventeen thousand pounds. His expenditures were one million one hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds sterling. ‡

Still larger purchases were made by the Federal Government. No sooner did the news of the surrender of Sumter reach London than Frémont, believing that small arms were greatly needed, proceeded to secure them. Without authority from the Government, without a cent at his disposal, he made conditional contracts in England and France and tried to persuade Adams and Dayton to pay for his purchases. Dayton hesitated, but Adams took the responsibility and drew on the Government for seventy-five thousand dollars

* Walker to Huse, July 22, 1861. Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, pp. 493, 494.

† The Supplies of the Confederate Army, Caleb Huse, p. 26.

‡ Gorgas, Chief of Ordnance to the Secretary of War, February 3, 1863. Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, pp. 382–384.

for cannon and shells ordered in England and one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars for ten thousand rifles bought in France.* Mr. Sanford, American Minister in Brussels, when he heard of the fall of Sumter became eager to buy arms. He had been expecting orders to do so and was tempted to purchase all he could get in Belgium without waiting for authority. †

After Bull Run, Colonel Schuyler was sent as official agent to visit Europe and buy one hundred thousand rifled muskets, ten thousand revolvers, ten thousand carbines and twenty thousand cavalry sabers. ‡ On his arrival he found that not an Enfield rifle, not a carbine, not a revolver could be had in England except by contract for future delivery three or four months away. All private shops in Birmingham and London, save the London Armory, were busy filling orders from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio. The London Armory was supposed to be working for the South. § England, as well as the Continent, was flooded with arms hawked about for sale. The same lot would frequently be offered by different agents. They were generally old discarded weapons furbished to look like new. ‖ At Paris he found Dayton contracting for clothing and accouterments, and himself contracted for ten thousand revolvers, twenty thousand swords and forty-five thousand rifles of the pattern used by the French Army. It was not so stated, but it was clearly understood they were to come from the French arsenals. ¶ Sanford, meantime, had been hunting down the sources of supplies for the rebels with great success. "I have now in my hands," he wrote, "complete control of the principal rebel contracts on the Continent. They include two hundred and sixty thousand yards of cloth ready for delivery and already being moved towards Havre. It is gray, but can be dyed blue

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* Adams to Seward, June 7, 1861. Official Records, Series 3, vol. i, p. 293.

† Sanford to Seward, May 12, 1861. Ibid., p. 247.

‡ Cameron to Schuyler, July 29, 1861. Ibid., pp. 355, 363.

§ Schuyler to Cameron, August 16, 1861. Ibid., pp. 418, 419.

‖ Schuyler, September 5, 1861. Ibid., pp. 485, 486.

¶ Official Records, Series 3, vol. i, p. 486.

in twenty days. If the whole operation could be carried out it would be the greatest victory over the enemy. The winter clothing for a hundred thousand men taken out of their hands when they cannot replace it would almost compensate for Bull Run." * By the end of June, 1862, more than seven hundred thousand muskets and rifles had been purchased. † Because, said the Ordnance Report, of the sudden and vast increase of our army, the demand for arms and ordnance stores was far greater than our public arsenals and private manufacturers could supply. Resort was, therefore, had to purchase in foreign countries. By this we were enabled to arm, equip and otherwise supply the large body of troops called into the field, but not always with the best of arms. ‡

While McClellan dallied on the Potomac other men were winning victories which greatly heartened the North. One October evening General Ambrose E. Burnside, late Colonel of the First Rhode Island Regiment, in conversation with McClellan unfolded a plan. He would organize a division of some fifteen thousand men from the Northern seacoast, fit out a fleet of light draft vessels, make a landing on the Southern coast, push into the interior, threaten the lines of transportation of the enemy in Virginia, and hold possession of the sounds and waters of the coast. McClellan approved. The Secretary of War approved, and Burnside was ordered to concentrate his troops at Annapolis. They soon came, and while they drilled a motley collection of vessels, barges and propellers from the Hudson River, sailing vessels once engaged in the coasting trade and old passenger steamers for transport service, tugs, ferryboats, brigs and schooners to carry stores, tools, coal and water assembled; some at Annapolis and some at Fortress Monroe. January eleventh the squadron put to sea under sealed orders and during two weeks nothing whatever was heard of it. Where it was to go, what it was to do was a profound secret until, late in the

* Sanford to Seward, November 12, 1861. Official Records, Series 3, vol. ii, pp. 631–632.

† Ordnance Report to June 30, 1862. Ibid., p. 855.

‡ Ibid., November 21, 1862, p. 852.

month, copies of Norfolk newspapers reached Fortress Monroe. Women and children, they announced, fleeing from Newbern, had reached Goldsboro, North Carolina.* A hundred vessels of the Burnside expedition were in Pamlico Sound and twenty-five large transports outside Hatteras Inlet. What would now happen became the subject of speculation by the Southern newspapers. One thought Newbern and Roanoke Island would be attacked. Another declared the report that a Union fleet was in Pamlico Sound was without foundation. If there at all, it must have put in for protection from the violence of the gale which for ten days had raged along the coast. The weather had been "perfectly awful." So awful had it been that February came before what was left of the fleet was over the bar and in the Sound and ready for action. Then the troops landed on Roanoke Island and wading, sometimes waist deep through the swamps and marshes, attacked and took the fort by assault and brought the Sound and the little villages along its shore under Federal control.

While the fleet lay stormbound ten miles off the island, Fort Henry surrendered to Flag-Officer Foote. Conditions in Kentucky had changed greatly since the spring of 1861. Elections in June, for members of the legislature, resulted in a victory for the Union men and, well aware that Kentucky could not be drawn into the Confederacy, General Leonidas Polk, then in command in Western Tennessee, on the night of September third sent a force under General Pillow and occupied Hickman and Columbus. Governor Harris of Tennessee at once telegraphed Davis that he regarded "the movement as unfortunate and calculated to injure our cause" in Kentucky. † Secretary of War Walker answered that "Polk has been ordered to withdraw force under Pillow. Movement was unauthorized." ‡ But Polk told Davis that he thought it wise to occupy the place and prevent the enemy securing a point so necessary to the safety

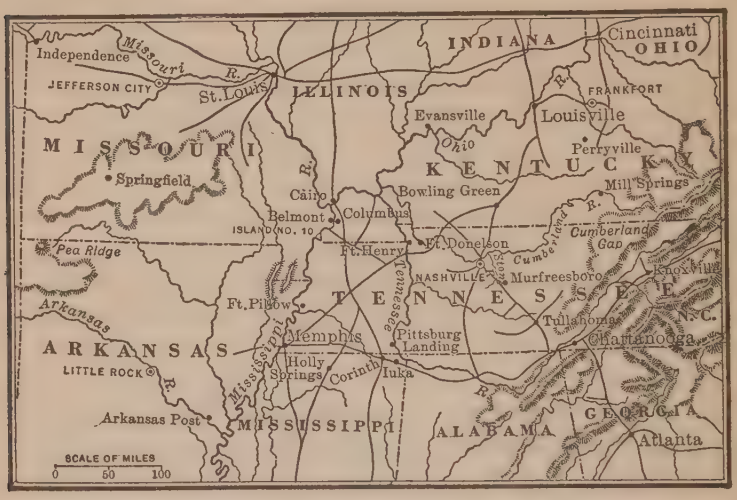
* Norfolk Day Book, January 22, 1862, quoted by New York Herald January 24, 25, 1862.

† Official Records, Series 1, vol. iv, pp. 188, 189.

‡ Ibid., p. 189.

of Tennessee.* Davis then declared "necessity justified the action," and the troops remained. †

The line of Confederate advance then ran from Cumberland Gap, in southeastern Kentucky, to Mill Springs, to Bowling Green, to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, to Fort Henry on the Tennessee, to Columbus on the Mississippi. To break this line General Thomas was sent to the



THE CAMPAIGN IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

eastern end and in the battle of Mill Springs, in which Zollicoffer was killed, beat the enemy and put them to flight. To break it at Fort Henry a joint land and naval expedition under General Grant and Flag-Officer Foote was fitted out at Cairo. The gunboats and transports went up the Tennessee; the troops landed some four miles from the fort and set off to attack it; but were so delayed by lack of roads, dense woods and high water in the streams that Foote arrived first, opened fire, and Tilghman surrendered. The garrison was then found to consist of Tilghman, his staff and some eighty men. The rest had fled to Fort Donelson. Though

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. iv, p. 181.
† Ibid.

but eleven miles away, a week passed ere Grant was able to reach it, and two days more before the fleet arrived and bombardment began. Two of the gunboats were disabled and floated helplessly down the river and it seemed to Grant that he would have to lay siege to the fort while they were under repair at Cairo. But the next morning the garrison sallied forth, beat back his right wing and were cutting their way through when, in the nick of time, they were checked and driven back and part of their line occupied. That night, at a council of officers within the fort, it was decided to make no further resistance. Before dawn Forrest with his cavalry rode off to Nashville. Floyd, who was in command, turned it over to Pillow, seized two steamers and with his troops escaped to Nashville. Pillow turned over the command to Buckner, and crossed the river in a skiff. Buckner asked for an armistice to arrange terms of surrender. "Yours of this date," was Grant's reply, "proposing armistice and appointment of commissioners to setttle terms of capitulation, is just received. No terms but unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." * Buckner accepted them and the first great victory of the war was won.

The fall of Fort Donelson left General Albert Sidney Johnston no choice but to evacuate Nashville or lose his little army. He chose to retreat and fell back to Murfreesboro, leaving Floyd with some troops to send away as much of the stores as he could before the Union Army entered.

Reports that Donelson had surrendered, that Johnston would not defend Nashville, that the enemy was coming, reached the city on Sunday the sixteenth. Dumbfounded by the news, hundreds of citizens closed their houses, and securing carriages, hacks, wagons, horses, fled southward. The legislature assembled in haste and adjourned to Memphis. The Governor fled with the State records. Supplies were burned, cannon were spiked, the mob took possession of the town and the citizens helped themselves to bacon, flour, sugar, coffee, shoes and clothing left unguarded by the commissary when he fled. Forrest, who arrived on Monday

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. vii, p. 161.

morning, found the mob in "possession of the city to that extent that every species of property was unsafe," and was forced to use his cavalry to drive the crowds away from the doors of the storehouses that wagons might be brought up for transportation.* While Forrest was engaged in this work of salvage Floyd destroyed the wire suspension and the railroad bridges and fled to Murfreesboro.

News of the great victory was brought to Cairo and quickly spread over the country, followed everywhere by demonstrations of great joy. At Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Springfield, Cleveland, Detroit, guns were fired, bells rung, flags displayed, and at night there were bonfires, rockets and a general illumination. Indianapolis sent a special train to Fort Donelson with physicians, nurses and hospital supplies. At Columbus the legislature adjourned with a shout, then listened to speeches by favorite orators and ordered the State House illuminated. Chicago claimed the victory for Illinois because she had twenty-five regiments in the fight. At Milwaukee stores and public offices were closed and the legislature adjourned. St. Louis went "wild with excitement and joy." Buffalo, Rochester, Utica, Geneva, Auburn were scenes of like outbursts. In Albany the victory of the Union armies kept the city in a whirl of excitement till long past midnight. The Capitol, State House, City Hall and private houses were brilliantly lighted. The legislature received the news with cheers, adopted a resolution congratulating the country and adjourned over Washington's Birthday. The villages of Vermont and New Hampshire, of all New England, devoted the day to expressions of patriotism and thanksgiving. At Boston, Governor Andrew ordered salutes fired on Bunker Hill and at Concord and Lexington and the legislature ordered that Washington's Farewell Address be read on the twenty-first and made the twenty-second a holiday. Lincoln, by proclamation, requested that the people assemble on that day "in their customary places, for public solemnities," and cause "to be read the immortal Farewell Address." † In every city, town and hamlet the country

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. vii, pp. 424–433.
† Proclamation of February 19, 1862.

over the day was celebrated with an enthusiasm such as it had never before called forth, for the people were really rejoicing over the victories at Hatteras, Roanoke Island, Mill Springs, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson.

While the people in the North were celebrating the birthday of Washington with bells and cannonading, parades, orations, music, bonfires, patriotic dinners and illuminations, the President of the Confederate States of America under its permanent Constitution was inaugurated in Richmond. As required by law the temporary Congress of one House closed its session and gave way to a Congress of two Houses on the eighteenth. The electoral vote was counted on the nineteenth, and on the twenty-second Davis, standing at the foot of Washington's Monument, in a pouring rain, looking into the faces of a wet, gloomy and disheartened crowd of fellow-citizens, delivered his inaugural address.

Reunion, he told his hearers, was not possible. Any hope entertained that a returning sense of justice would remove the dangers which threatened Southern rights and make it possible to preserve the Union of the Constitution must have been dispelled "by the malignity and barbarity of the United States" in waging the war, by the utter disregard shown for time-honored bulwarks of civil and religious liberty. Bastilles filled with prisoners arrested without civil process or indictment; the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended by executive mandate; a State legislature controlled by the imprisonment of members whose avowed principles suggested that one more might be added to the list of seceded States; elections held under threat of military power; civil officers, peaceful citizens, gentlewomen incarcerated for opinions' sake, showed the incapacity of their old associates to administer a government free, liberal and humane. No act of the South had impaired liberty of the person or freedom of thought, speech or the press. The Courts had been open, judicial functions fully executed, every right of the peaceful citizen maintained as carefully as if a war of invasion had not disturbed the land.* Before a week went by Congress

* Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, vol. i, pp. 184, 185.

authorized Davis to suspend the writ in cities in danger of attack by the enemy, and it was at once suspended in Norfolk, Portsmouth and the country ten miles around. Before the middle of March, the people of Richmond, Petersburg and the counties of Elizabeth City, York, Warwick, Gloucester and Mathews were deprived of its benefits, and before the first of April it was suspended in ten counties in western Virginia.*

The flight of the Governor and legislature to Memphis, the abandonment of Nashville, the retreat of Johnston and the occupation by the Union forces of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, were instantly followed by an attempt to reëstablish a loyal Government in the State of Tennessee by the nomination of Andrew Johnson to be Military Governor with the rank of brigadier general. † Such was the haste of Lincoln that before the Senate acted the Secretary of War signed the commission which invested Johnson with authority to exercise and perform all the powers, duties and functions belonging to the office he was appointed to fill. ‡

Andrew Johnson, thus started on his career of reconstructionist, was a native of Raleigh, North Carolina. His parents belonged to the class known in the Southern social scale as "poor whites," a class but one degree above the slaves. The father died when the boy was four years of age, the mother provided no education whatever so that, when, at the age of ten, "Andy" was apprenticed to a tailor, he had no knowledge whatever of reading or writing. Now it so happened that it was the custom of a patron of the tailor shop in Raleigh to read to the journeymen and apprentices speeches from a collection of masterpieces of British oratory. The speeches, read with some attempt at eloquence, made a deep impression on the active mind of young Johnson, and aroused a strong desire to read them himself. With the help of a fellow journeyman he soon learned the alphabet and in time began to read. His years of apprenticeship ended he went

* Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, vol. i, pp. 219, 224.

† February 23, 1862.

‡ March 3, 1865. House Miscellaneous Documents No. 55, 39th Congress, 1st Session, p. 5.

to South Carolina, worked as a journeyman tailor at Laurens Court House for two years, came back to Raleigh and set off to seek his fortune in the West. At Greenville, Tennessee, he stopped for a year, but again went on his wanderings, and meeting with no good fortune returned, settled down, opened a shop and married. His wife, a young woman of education and force, now took him in hand and taught him to write and to cipher. A man of strong will, sincerity of purpose, a ready speaker, a supporter of the democracy of the Jackson era, a friend of the poor and humble, he became a power in the little mountain village and was given office. For three years in succession he was elected alderman and then for three years in succession mayor, and was then sent to the legislature. During the Log Cabin, Hard Cider campaign, he was chosen a Democratic presidential elector. In 1841 he became a State senator; in 1843 a member of Congress, where he served for ten years; in 1853 and again in 1855 he was Governor of the State, and in 1857 took his seat in the Senate of the United States, where he stood out as a bitter foe of secession and a stout defender of the Union, and where he was when Lincoln made him Military Governor of Tennessee. Another result of the victories was the appointment of a Military Governor for North Carolina.

Had Lincoln's Special War Order Number One been carried out, the twenty-second of February would have been made still more memorable by the advance of the Army of the Potomac against the rebel Capital. Had it done so it would have found before it an army weakened by disease, reduced in numbers by desertions, withdrawals and absentees, and about to retreat, for, on that day Davis approved the plan of Johnston to fall back to the banks of the Rappahannock River. But the Army of the Potomac made no movement, remained in its camps, and Johnston was halfway to the river before McClellan was aware he had started. Hastening across the Potomac, McClellan that night issued orders for a general advance * the next morning. The men went joyfully forward, eager for battle, found Fairfax Court House and Centreville almost deserted by man and beast,

* McClellan's Report, Official Records, Series 1, vol. v, p. 51.

and in the fortifications their commander had feared to attack, a fine collection of "quakers," maple logs painted to resemble guns.*

On the same Sunday morning, March ninth, on which the last of the Confederate Army fell back from Centreville and Manassas, was fought, on the waters of Hampton Roads, the memorable duel between the ironclads, *Monitor* and *Merrimac.*

Among the vessels sunk when the Gosport Navy Yard was abandoned, in the spring of 1861, was the forty-gun steam frigate *Merrimac.* She was raised by the Confederates and cut down to the old berth deck. To her bow was attached a cast-iron ram. Amidships was a casemate. The four sides, sloping inwards, rose seven feet from the water's edge and were covered with four inches of iron plates. Her deck ends, fore and aft, were plated with iron and were two feet under water. † Renamed *Virginia,* she steamed down the Elizabeth River on the afternoon of March eighth and headed for Newport News, where, riding at anchor were the frigate *Congress* and the sailing sloop *Cumberland.* Passing the *Congress,* whose shots glanced from the iron sides of the *Virginia* like pebbles, she rammed the Cumberland, backed out leaving an immense hole, turned, and continuing her fire, steamed for the *Congress.* The *Cumberland* filled rapidly and listed to port; but the crew fought gallantly until the magazine was flooded and the water poured in the gun deck ports. Then the survivors took to the water and the boats and the ship went down with her ensign flying at the peak.

For more than an hour the *Congress* kept up the fight, but did no harm to the *Virginia.* Aground, her commander killed, her deck covered with dead and wounded and all hope of saving her gone, nothing but surrender remained and the white flag was raised to put an end to the useless slaughter. The *Minnesota* was next in the line towards Point Comfort, but the *Virginia* could get no nearer than a mile and finding her fire had little effect, the tide ebbing and darkness coming

* New York Tribune, March 13, 14, 1862.

† J. L. Porter, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. i, p. 715.

on, withdrew for the night to Sewell's Point. She would return in the morning and destroy the *Minnesota, St. Lawrence* and *Roanoke.* When morning came there lay beside the *Minnesota* such a craft as had never before been seen by the eyes of man, "a cheese box, on a raft."

Aware of what the Confederates were doing to the *Merrimac,* the Navy Department determined to be prepared and accepted the offer of John Ericsson to build an ironclad to meet her. Begun at Brooklyn in October, 1861, launched in January and commissioned in February, 1862, the *Monitor* left New York for Hampton Roads on the sixth of March commanded by Lieutenant John L. Worden. Twice she was almost wrecked in a rough sea, but reached Cape Henry on the eighth and by midnight anchored near the *Minnesota.* Bright and early on the morning of the ninth the *Virginia* returned to the Roads, stood for the *Minnesota,* opened fire and, to the astonishment of Buchanan, her commander, was attacked by the *Monitor.* In size, in armament, in weight of metal the two were most unequally matched. But it did not matter, for, after hours of fighting at close range neither had inflicted any serious damage on the other. About noon a shell from a gun whose muzzle was not thirty feet away struck the sight slit in the little pilot house on the *Monitor's* bow, exploded and partly lifted the top. Worden, who stood behind the slit, was slightly stunned by the blow and utterly blinded by the powder. That aid might be given the wounded commander the *Monitor* was withdrawn, temporarily, from the fight. Some time passed before Lieutenant Greene, on whom the command now devolved, returned to the pilot house to find that Buchanan, supposing the battle was over and because his ship was leaking badly, was on his way to Norfolk. So ended the famous battle that closed the era of wooden ships of war and changed the naval architecture of the world.

News of the sinking of the *Cumberland* and the capture and destruction of the *Congress* spread gloom over the North, and threw Washington into a panic. Every ship in the Navy, every port along the coast, the waters of Chesapeake Bay, the Potomac, the city of Washington seemed to be at the

mercy of the *Virginia.* On the morning of the ninth, Seward, Chase, Stanton and Welles in a state of great excitement hurried to the President to consider what should be done. "The *Merrimac,*" said Stanton, "will change the whole character of the war; she will destroy *seriatum* every naval vessel; she will lay all the cities on the seaboard under contributions. I shall immediately recall Burnside; Port Royal must be abandoned; I will notify the Governors and municipal authorities in the North to take instant measures to protect their harbors." Not unlikely "we shall have a shell or cannon ball from one of her guns in the White House before we leave this room."

So great was the alarm that canal boats loaded with stones were sent off to be sunk in the Potomac. Happily they were not used and in a few hours the whole country was rejoicing over a victory; the South because of the destruction wrought by the *Virginia;* the North because the little *Monitor* had withstood the giant *Virginia* and saved the ships in Hampton Roads from destruction.

England heard the news with great concern.* Facts like these may well induce us to reflect, said the *Times.* There is no longer any doubt that a wooden vessel matched against an iron one is as helpless as was predicted. The *Merrimac* "did actually knock the *Cumberland* into matches." But when she met a ship of her own class an action of five hours ensued with no great damage to either side. † What to all other nations is a matter of considerable importance is to us in these sea girt islands a matter of life and death. The battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* has shown that the British Channel has ceased to exist, and for all strategic purposes we are now a part of the continent. We must be ready at any time to meet and repel any power at sea. When sailing vessels gave way to steam, we formed a

* "This startling battle has dumbfounded and dismayed all England. After loud-mouthed exultation over their iron-armored *Warrior* and savage boasts of her power to destroy us and ours, the nation has awakened this morning to the agreeable fact that their navy is worthless. The battle is the one absorbing topic in the Clubs, in Parliament, in Society." Moran's Diary, March 26, 1862, also April 5, 1862.

† London Times, March 26, 1862.

steam navy superior to any. Now that proof has been given that steamships of wood are useless against steamships of iron, we must again start in a new competition and outstrip our rivals. We must abandon our wooden ships.* What we have been taught by the American example is not the relative efficiency of one type of iron ship over another, but the absolute superiority of iron ships, however imperfectly built, over any wooden ship, however powerful. If a mere makeshift like the *Merrimac,* rudely extemporized on the spur of the moment, can destroy the finest ship, and defy the strongest forts of the Federal Government, what may not be done by a first-rate specimen of the class? If a cheap, half-seaworthy battery like the *Monitor* can bring the *Merrimac* to bay, what may not be done on further trial? †

In the House of Commons a member called the attention of the Secretary for War to what had recently occurred in America, and asked if it would not be prudent to suspend work on the forts at Spithead until the value of iron-roofed gunboats had been considered. ‡ To another member the battle appeared "as a great and entire revolution in the art of naval architecture." He trusted the *Monitor* would indeed prove to be a monitor to the Lords of the Admiralty. It did so prove. While the debate was still going on, the *Royal Sovereign* was ordered cut down from a hundred and thirty-one gun three-decker to a twelve-gun shield ship; the line-of-battle ship *Bulwark,* on the stocks at Chatham, was ordered to be converted into an armor-plated ship and work on two smaller vessels was stopped until the Admiralty should decide what to do with them. Razeeing the two-screw three-deckers *Victoria* and *Duke of Wellington* to their middle decks, it was announced, would begin at once at Portsmouth, and all work on others was suspended at Woolwich and Deptford. §

The Toulon *Gazette de Médi* declared the action, in which the *Merrimac* had destroyed two frigates of fifty guns each,

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* London Times, April 4, 1862.
† Ibid., March 31, April 1, April 7, 1862.
‡ April 4, 1862.
§ London Times, April 5, 9, 10, 1862.

had given the *coup de grace* to wooden ships of war. At a meeting of French naval officers in Paris the meaning of the battle was discussed and the opinion reached that if France would build, each month, one ship of war equal in force to the *Monitor,* she would at the end of a year have an iron fleet sufficient to meet any power in Europe.

Lincoln and McClellan meanwhile were busy preparing for the advance of the Army of the Potomac. By one general War Order the President directed that the troops destined to engage in active operations be organized into four army corps, to be commanded by Generals McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes.* By another, McClellan was relieved of all command save that of the Department of the Potomac. † Organization was promptly made and March thirteenth the four commanders met at Fairfax Court House and gave it as their opinion that, the enemy having retreated from Manassas, Richmond should be attacked by way of Old Point Comfort and the Peninsula, provided the *Merrimac* could be held in check, provided transports could be had to move the troops down the Potomac River, provided a naval force silenced the batteries along the York River and provided men enough were left to defend the city of Washington. If these things could not be done the army should move against the enemy then behind the Rappahannock. ‡ Lincoln gave a reluctant consent; § the army was marched back to Alexandria; embarkation began and by the end of the month fifty-eight thousand men were assembled near Fortress Monroe. || Tents were struck at daylight on April fourth, and the march "to Richmond" began; but was halted by a continuous line of strong earthworks stretching across the Peninsula from the York to the James rivers, manned by eleven thousand men under Magruder.

Convinced that the works could not be carried by assault, McClellan settled down for a weary siege, and a month passed

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* General War Order No. 2, March 8, 1862.
† Ibid., No. 3, March 4, 1862.
‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, Part 3, p. 58.
§ Ibid., p. 59.
|| Ibid., Part 1, p. 10.

with the Confederates still behind their defenses. Elsewhere, other men won great victories. New Orleans had fallen and Shiloh had been won.

Since the victory at Donelson, Johnston had gathered his army at Corinth in Mississippi, and Halleck had sent Grant's up the river to Pittsburg Landing and ordered Buell to march from Nashville and join it. Though the enemy was but eighteen miles away, there were no earthworks, no line of defense at the Landing, nor any plan of action should an attack be made while Grant was at his headquarters at Savannah nine miles below the Landing. Well aware of the condition of the federal camp and of the march of Buell, Johnston decided to attack before he arrived, advanced slowly through the dense woods, and on the evening of the fifth of April bivouacked two miles from Sherman's camp near a log meeting-house called Shiloh. Neither Grant nor Sherman expected an attack in force; * but it came with suddenness soon after daylight on the morning of the sixth. By eight o'clock the Confederates had taken the camp of the Sixth Division; by ten those of Sherman and McClernand were in their hands. At two o'clock Johnston led a charge on a ridge, was shot and in a few minutes died. The command then passed to Beauregard. At half past five o'clock the Sixth Division was surrounded and twenty-two hundred men made prisoners. After twelve hours of fighting, as darkness came on, Beauregard gave the order to cease firing. That night his men slept in the Union camps.

With the fresh troops of Buell and Wallace, and such of his own army as had not skulked or run away, Grant attacked Beauregard on Monday morning. Another day of carnage followed before Beauregard gave up the fight and began his retreat to Corinth. Satisfied with the recovery of his lost camps Grant made no pursuit. Never before had so great a battle been fought on our soil. Nearly twenty-four thousand men were killed, wounded or captured. †

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* Official Records, Series 1, vol. x, Part 1, pp. 89, 331. Part 2, p. 93.

† The Confederate army numbered 40,000 men, and lost in killed 1728; in wounded 8012; in missing 959; in all 10,699. Grant on the first day had 33,000 men in action, and on the second some 26,000

While Grant was driving back, Beauregard, Pope and Flag-Officer Foote captured Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River. Two victories on the same day was a new experience to the North and called forth great rejoicings. Lincoln by proclamation appointed the following Sunday a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the signal triumphs on land and sea. Massachusetts requested her citizens to join in a general *Te Deum* and congratulated the Western States on the deeds of their valiant soldiers in the Mississippi Valley. Salutes of a hundred guns were fired at Boston, Providence and many other places.

Before the month ended Farragut was at New Orleans. At the suggestion of Fox an expedition to capture the city and open the lower Mississippi was made ready during the winter of 1861. Flag-Officer David G. Farragut was given command, and early in April he entered the Mississippi and steamed towards New Orleans. Seventy-five miles up the river, on the west bank, was Fort Jackson; half a mile further up on the east bank was Fort St. Philip. Stretching across the river was a heavy chain supported by anchored hulks. Above the forts were the ram *Manassas,* the ironclad *Louisiana,* converted tugs for river defense, armed steamboats, and fire rafts, flatboats piled high with pine knots, and shore batteries a few miles below the city. April sixteenth Farragut was within three miles of Fort Jackson. On the eighteenth, Porter began the bombardment, and continued it without interruption for five days. Satisfied that the forts could not be reduced Farragut determined to run by them, sent a force to break a way through the chain across the river, and towards daylight on the twenty-fourth made the attempt, and succeeded. One of his vessels was sunk; three were disabled; his own, the *Hartford,* was almost set on fire by a fire raft. But the run was made, the rebel fleet was destroyed, and the victorious squadron dropped anchor off New Orleans. The mob set fire to the cotton on the levee, broke up hogsheads of sugar and molasses and carried away their contents, and

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more. He lost in killed 1754; in wounded 8408; in captured and missing 2885; in all 13,047.

ships, steamers, flatboats were given to the flames,* Captain Bailey and Lieutenant Perkins were sent ashore, made their way to the City Hall and demanded the surrender of the city. The Mayor refused. General Lovell was in town and the demand should be made to him. He was sent for, and in turn refused. His troops had left, and he was going at once.

Three days were wasted in fruitless negotiations, then the patience of Farragut gave way, a strong force with cannon was landed, the rebel flag flying over the Customhouse was pulled down, and the flag of the Union raised in its place. Both forts were then held by Porter; the river was open to the sea; and May first General Butler arrived with twenty-five hundred men and the city was turned over to him.

The troops having landed, Butler prepared a proclamation and sent it to the office of the *True Delta*. The proprietor refused to print it. Thereupon the office was seized, printers obtained from the ranks and the proclamation appeared. Business of every sort was to go on as usual. Shops and places of amusement were to be kept open. Services were to be held in the churches. Circulation of Confederate bonds, scrip, or evidences of debt of any kind issued by the Confederate Government, was forbidden. The people having no substitute for money other than bank notes, their circulation was allowed "so long as any one will be inconsiderate enough to receive them." Publication of newspapers, pamphlets, handbills, reflecting in any way on the United States, or tending in any way to influence the public mind against the United States, would not be permitted. All war news, editorials, correspondence, making comment on the movements of the armies of the United States, must be submitted to examination by an officer detailed for that purpose. Ensigns, flags, devices, save the flags of the United States and foreign consuls, must not be exhibited.

Having issued the proclamation, Butler sent for the Mayor, City Council and Chief of Police, read the document, explained what it meant, and told them what they were to

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* New Orleans Crescent, April 28, 1862. Official Records, Navies, vol. xviii, p. 158.

do. A Provost Judge and Provost Marshal were then appointed, and Butler proceeded to regulate the food supply, the newspapers, the currency and the conduct of the women.

The women gave him a deal of trouble. Some, when they met an officer or soldier in the street drew aside their skirts. Some made grimaces, others left the sidewalk rather than pass a Yankee. To put a stop to this, Order No. 28 was issued, and "any female" who "by word, gesture or movement," should "insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States" was thereafter "to be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her vocation." Against this the Mayor protested, and declared he would never be responsible for the peace of New Orleans while such an edict, which infuriated the citizens, remained in force.* Butler at once announced that the Mayor was relieved from all responsibility for the peace of New Orleans, and placed him, his secretary, the chief of police, and several others under arrest, and lodged them all in Fort Jackson.

Copies of the order reached London in June, caused an outburst of wrath in Parliament, and brought from Lord Palmerston the most singular letter ever received by an American Minister † It was marked "Confidential," was addressed to Adams and read: "I cannot refrain from taking the liberty of saying to you that it is difficult if not impossible to express adequately the disgust which must be excited in the mind of every honorable man by the general order of General Butler given in the enclosed extract from yesterday's *Times*. Even when a town is taken by assault it is the practice of the commander of the conquering army to protect to his utmost the inhabitants and especially the female part of them, and I will venture to say that no example can be found in the history of civilized nations, till the publication of this order, of a general guilty in cold blood of so infamous an act as deliberately to hand over the female inhabitants of a conquered city to the unbridled license of an unrestrained soldiery.

* Monroe to Butler, May 16, 1862, New York Herald, May 30, 1862.

† Palmerston to Adams, June 11, 1862. Charles Francis Adams, by his son Charles Francis Adams, pp. 248-249.

"If the Federal Government chooses to be served by men capable of such revolting outrages, they must submit to abide by the deserved opinion which mankind will form of their conduct."

Doubtful whether or not he should receive such a letter, Adams wrote Palmerston and asked two questions. Was he to consider it addressed to him officially? Was he to consider it "purely as a private expression of sentiment between gentlemen?" * The next day the order was brought up in Parliament. In the Commons the under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was asked by a member if Her Majesty's Government had received official information of the authenticity of the proclamation attributed to Butler, "menacing the women" of New Orleans, "with the most degrading treatment as a punishment for any mark of disrespect to any officer or soldier of the United States, and if so, whether Her Majesty's Government has deemed it right to remonstrate with the American Government?" Did the language mean that the ladies of New Orleans, because they might happen to make some gesture which an officer or soldier might interpret as an insult, were to be dragged to the common jail and subjected to most degrading association with the vilest of their sex? Wherever this proclamation was spoken of in Europe it was sure to be visited with an outburst of execration, and it would be seen whether public opinion, which was said to be so powerful in controlling despots, had any power "over a rampant democracy."

Mr. Gregory said, that when a proclamation repugnant to decency, civilization and humanity is promulgated and put in force against a people endeared to us by every tie of family, language and religion, then he did think it was right to protest. The proclamation meant nothing less than that the ladies of New Orleans, if by movement or gesture, they showed contempt for a Northern soldier were to be subjected to the brutalities of Northern armies, and handed over to the tender mercies of the scum of the rowdyism of New York. Was the Prime Minister prepared to protest this, the greatest

* Adams' Charles Francis Adams, p. 251.

outrage ever perpetrated against decency in the age in which we live?

Palmerston rose amidst cheers and said no man could have read the proclamation without a feeling of deepest indignation. Cheers from both sides of the House interrupted him. A proclamation to which he did not hesitate to attach the epithet, infamous. Again the House cheered him. Sir, he continued, an Englishman must blush to think that such an act has been committed by one belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race. What course Her Majesty's Government may take must be a matter of consideration. The House ordered that copies of any letters from Lord Lyons be laid before it.*

In the House of Lords, that day, the Earl of Carnarvon questioned the Secretary for Foreign Affairs as to a proclamation said to have been issued by General Butler. Lest there should be any misunderstanding as to its language he read it, and said it was either a menace, or a reality. If a menace, it was a gross, a brutal insult. If a reality, it was without precedent or parallel. Has Her Majesty's Government any information as to its authenticity? Russell answered that Lord Lyons had sent him a newspaper copy. He believed it to be authentic, and thought it meant that the women would be sent to prison.

Palmerston now replied to Adams, gave reasons why he wrote the letter, answered neither of the questions, and offered some advice. He hoped the President would at once give peremptory orders for the withdrawal of Butler's order. The Government of the United States was making war in order to force the Southern States to reënter the Union, but the officers and soldiers of the Federal Government by their conduct at New Orleans were implanting undying hatred and sentiments of insatiable revenge in the breasts of those whom the Federal Government wished to win back to an equal participation in a free constitution.† Once more Adams wrote, called attention to the fact that his questions were not answered and said his Lordship would understand how im-

* House of Commons, June 13, 1862. London Times, June 14, 1862.

† Palmerston to Adams, June 15, 1862. Adams' Charles Francis Adams, p. 252.

possible it was for him, with any self-respect, to entertain as private any communication which contained offensive imputations against the Government he had the honor to represent. Therefore he must again ask whether the letter was in any way official, or simply a private communication of sentiment between gentlemen.*

If, said Palmerston in reply, I had been merely a private gentleman I should not have addressed the Minister of the United States upon a public matter. If you had been here merely as a private gentleman, I should not, as head of the Government, have thought it of any use to communicate with you on any matter bearing on the relations of our two countries. "So much for the first part of your question." As to the second part it was well known that the Secretary of State for Foreign ffairs was the official organ for communication between the British Government and the Governments of Foreign States. But it might sometimes be the duty of the first Minister of the Crown to communicate with representatives of Foreign States on matters bearing on the relation between Great Britain and those States. No great sagacity was needed to foresee that the feelings excited by General Butler's General Order would not be conducive to the maintenance of those sentiments of good will between the two countries so much to be desired by both. He believed he was doing good service by enabling Adams to inform his Government of the impression Butler's order had produced in England, and thought it better he should know that impression privately from a person competent to judge what the feelings of the British nation may be, than for the first time learn them in a more public manner. †

Davis, in a proclamation, declared the General was a felon deserving of capital punishment, an outlaw and a common enemy of mankind, and threatened that if caught he should be hanged at once. ‡ Because of his General Order

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* Adams to Palmerston, June 16, 1862, p. 253.

† Palmerston to Adams, June 19, 1862. Adams' Charles Francis Adams, pp. 248–260.

‡ Proclamation of December 23, 1862. New York Herald, December 28, 1862.

regarding the women, but chiefly because of his treatment of the Consul for the Netherlands and the protests from all the other Consuls in New Orleans and the Dutch Minister in Washington, Butler was stripped of all civil power and before the year ended was replaced by Banks.*

Further up the Valley the Union Army by this time had made some progress. Four days after the victory at Shiloh, Halleck reached Pittsburg Landing, summoned Pope to join him and soon had a force of a hundred thousand men. To Thomas he gave command of the right wing; to Buell the center; to Pope the left wing. Grant, left without command, thought seriously of resigning, but was induced by Sherman to remain and abide his time. Toward the end of April, Halleck began his advance on Corinth, defended by fifty thousand men under Beauregard. Moving slowly, cautiously, entrenching at every halt, he traversed twenty-three miles in the course of a month, came before the defenses of Corinth and found them deserted.

The advance towards Corinth made the forts on the bluffs along the Mississippi untenable. But the Union fleet, which for eight weeks had been idle, made no attempt to take them until a deserter reported that Fort Pillow was almost dismantled. Then the fleet, on the fifth of June, got under way, raised the flag at Fort Pillow and at Fort Randolph ten miles below, and passing by plantations where cotton was burning and through masses of cotton floating on the water, anchored at dusk within sight of the spires and buildings of Memphis. Early in the morning the rebel fleet attacked. A sharp fight followed, every enemy vessel save one was sunk, burned or captured and the city occupied. The Mississippi was open as far as Vicksburg.

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* Official Records, Series 3, vol. ii, pp. 115-142. Senate Executive Documents No. 16, 37th Congress, 3rd Session.

CHAPTER X.

DEFEATS.

While Halleck crept cautiously towards Corinth, McClellan moved with almost equal slowness towards Richmond. The Confederate defenses might easily have been carried by assault, but he preferred to lay siege and April closed with his army still in camp. Magruder's force meantime was raised to thirty-three thousand men, but so many were gathered at the James River end of the line that the remainder was far from enough to defend the thirteen miles of earthworks stretching across the Peninsula. Regiments in the trenches were rarely relieved, some artillery were never relieved. Rain fell almost incessantly; the trenches were filled with water; the weather was cold; no fires were allowed; no coffee, sugar or hard bread was served. The troops were forced to live on salt meat and flour.*

Aware that the siege guns were nearly in place, aware that the line could not be held, Johnston, who had been placed in command, quietly withdrew † and the Union forces entered the abandoned works. ‡

As the Confederates fell back, iron, guns, clothing, ammunition, troops, were ordered removed from Norfolk. § All cotton and tobacco at Petersburg was made ready for destruction. If they could be burned without danger to the city, fire was to be applied. If not, tobacco was to be housed in sheds ready to be rolled into the river, and the cotton placed where it could be safely burned. May tenth General Wool entered Norfolk without resistance to find the workshops and storehouses at the Navy Yard in ruins and the drydock partly destroyed. ‖ Early on the morning of the

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii.
† Ibid., Part 3, p. 473. To Lee, April 29, 1862.
‡ May 4, 1862.
§ Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, pp. 469, 476, 485, 490, 495.
‖ Ibid., Part 1, p. 634.

eleventh the *Merrimac* was set on fire and blew up and the James River was open to the Union fleet.

Having settled down for a long siege, the sudden evacuation of Yorktown took the Union Army by surprise and some hours were lost before pursuit of the enemy began. By noon the cavalry were off. A few hours later some infantry started. Towards sundown there was a skirmish with the enemy's rear guard. When morning came Hooker attacked, brought on the battle of Williamsburg and suffered heavy losses and a defeat. During the night the fall of Yorktown threw Richmond into a panic. The Secretary of War bade the presidents of the railroads prepare for removal of all rolling stock at once. If occupation by the enemy became imminent removal should be made without further orders.* The Adjutant General, Quartermaster General, Chief of Ordnance, were required to have all records not needed for daily use packed in boxes.† General Lee made ready to send off the army's food. ‡ Owners of tobacco were notified they might carry it away. All retained must be stored in certain warehouses that it might be destroyed should the Yankee vandals capture the city. § That it could be held, the press of the city was not at all sure. If, it was said, we are successful and hold Richmond there will be foreign intervention and peace before June. If we are beaten and lose Richmond the Confederacy will be launched on a sea of trouble. All depends on saving the city, which in turn depends on the stubbornness of the fighting on the Peninsula. Loss of lives, destruction of property should not be considered. No effort should be spared to inspire the troops with determination not to quit the ground between the York River and Richmond. ||

After the destruction of the *Merrimac,* the question arose what should be done if the Federal gunboats came? Should the city be surrendered to a few boats unbacked by land

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* Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, Part 3, pp. 501, 502.
† Ibid., p. 504.
‡ Ibid., p. 512–513.
§ Richmond Dispatch, May 7, 1862.
|| Richmond Examiner, May 8, 1862.

forces? Never! was the answer, never until the demand can be backed by such force as will make surrender an act that will not crimson the cheek with shame.* Five gunboats did go up the James to within eight miles of Richmond, caused great excitement in the city, engaged the batteries on Drewry's Bluff, were beaten, and withdrew. † The barriers could not be forced, but the alarm was great. The next few days, it was said, may decide the fate of Richmond. It is either to remain the Capital of the Confederacy or become a Yankee conquest, and with it Virginia. If, then, blood is to be shed, let it be shed here. Life, family, friends are nothing. Leave them all for the glorious hours to be devoted to the Republic. Life, death, wounds are nothing if we are saved the fate of a captured Capital and humiliated Confederacy. If the worst comes let the ruins of Richmond be its most lasting monument. Better that it share the fate of Moscow than become the dwelling place of the invaders. ‡ Nevertheless the alarm was very real. Women and children were hurried to Petersburg. Mrs. Davis and her children had already gone to Raleigh.

When Johnston heard of the fall of Norfolk and the destruction of the *Merrimac,* he feared an attack on Richmond by way of the James River, and sent his army across the Chickahominy to the chain of strong redoubts that compassed the city. McClellan was then moving slowly northward, calling for more men as he went. Now it was an appeal to Stanton for "all the disposable troops in eastern Virginia." § Now it was an appeal to Lincoln. Casualties, sickness, garrisons and guards had so weakened his army that he had not more than eighty thousand men with whom to attack an enemy perhaps, he said, double this number.

* Richmond Dispatch, May 15, 1862.

† May 16, 1862.

‡ Richmond Enquirer, May 21, 1862. Dispatch, May 16, "There is much manifestation of a determination that the ancient and honored Capital of Virginia, now the seat of the Confederate government, shall not fall into the hands of the enemy. Many say rather let it be a heap of ruins." Davis to Johnston, May 17, 1862, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xi, Part 3, p. 524.

§ To Stanton, May 10, 1862, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xi, Part 1, p. 26.

"I ask for every man that the War Department can send me." * Stanton answered that McDowell with some forty thousand men would be sent to aid in capturing Richmond, but must not, in so doing, uncover Washington. † McClellan had then gone so far northward that a permanent base was established on the Pamunkey and the army was in line along the Chickahominy from New Bridge to Bottoms Bridge facing Richmond. But McDowell was destined not to join it, for ere he was ready to start, Jackson, who after the withdrawal from Manassas went to the head of the Shenandoah Valley, gathered such troops as he could, came down the valley sweeping all before him, drove Banks out of Winchester and sent him in flight across the Potomac to Williamsport in Maryland. ‡ As disaster followed disaster, Lincoln grew more and more alarmed for the safety of Washington. Troops were hurried to Banks; McDowell was ordered not to join McClellan but send twenty thousand men up the valley to cut off the retreat of Jackson; Chase went to Fredericksburg to hasten their departure; Frémont, then commanding in West Virginia, was directed to help capture the rebel army and Lincoln took over the railroads and called on the Governors of twelve States for troops. "Intelligence from various quarters," Stanton telegraphed, "leaves no doubt that the enemy is advancing in great force on Washington. You will please organize and forward immediately all the militia and volunteer force in your State." § They were not needed. The enemy was not marching on Washington. Banks was safe in Williamsport; the alarm in Washington subsided and the Governors of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts thanked the troops that had assembled and sent them home. Jackson was not captured and early in June set off to join the army gathered around Richmond.

As the Union Army drew nearer and nearer to Richmond the citizens made ready for defense, for the care of the

* To Lincoln, May 14, 1862, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xi, p. 27.
† Ibid., vol. xi, Part 1, p. 27. May 18, 1862.
‡ Ibid., vol. xii, Part 1, pp. 551, 643, 703, Part 3, pp. 219, 222.
§ Ibid., Series 3, vol. ii, p. 70.

wounded and for a state of siege. The Confederate and State Governments, the city authorities and the people, it was said, were determined and agreed that it should be defended at every hazard and to the very end. No evil that could befall it could possibly equal domination by the detested invaders. Not a day should be lost in preparing. The repulse of the enemy at Drewry's Bluff was a fine achievement, but let no man suppose the enemy had made his last attempt. The river would soon be crammed with his ships of war and furious bombardment at long range was to be expected. Magazines must be trebly protected, lines of obstruction built and every eligible point on the river fortified. By authority of a recent act of the Virginia legislature * the Governor appealed to the citizens of each county not subject to service in the army to raise companies of from fifty to one hundred volunteers to act as home guards. They were not to be sent out of their counties without their consent, nor be required to serve for more than thirty days at a time. Under the heading "Citizens and Sojourners to the Rescue" the committee for enrolling citizens and others for defense of the city summoned all patriotic men to respond to the Governor's proclamation and leave their names with the Committee at the City Hall. The City Council offered twenty dollars a month to each man who would serve six months. The Governor ordered all stores and places of business in Richmond, save manufactories having Government or State contracts, to be closed each day at two o'clock that volunteers for home defense might drill. † The Secretary of the Treasury bade his chiefs of bureaus be ready should the army abandon Richmond, to move all archives not absolutely needed for use to one of the railroads, have the wagons ready at nine o'clock that night and have everything done quietly from the rear of the building lest a panic be caused. ‡ The women of the city were asked to visit Winder Hospital, provide the sick with much-needed food and send all the empty vials they could spare. The

* Act of May 14, 1862.
† Richmond Enquirer, May 19, 27, 28, 30, 31, 1862.
‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xi, Part 3, p. 557. May 28, 1862.

women in the country were appealed to for supplies of buttermilk, vegetables, any kind of food suitable for hospital use. The women of the churches were besought to meet daily in their lecture rooms and make beds and bedding for the wounded and the medical director of Longstreet's Corps asked that citizens willing to receive wounded soldiers in their homes send their names to him at once. A suggestion that the churches be used as hospitals met with vigorous opposition. They were not suitable. The cushioned pews were too narrow. Think of a wounded man rolling in pain on a narrow seat! Besides, the churches were needed for workshops where the women could gather to make uniforms, send bags, bandages. Private houses, even theaters were better adapted.

May twenty-ninth was a day of activity. The streets were full of marching soldiers, moving cannons, excited people. Lee left his office, rode to the front and offered his services to Johnston. All signs pointed to a battle on the thirtieth. No fight occurred that day; Lee returned to his office, the city quieted down, and that afternoon a storm of uncommon violence swept over the armies. Rain fell in torrents. The Chickahominy overflowed its banks. The marshes were flooded and a new obstacle was placed between the two divisions of the Union Army.

About ten days before, McClellan sent two corps across the Chickahominy to the south side and placed them, save Hooker's division, at Savage's Station, Seven Pines, a tavern on the Williamsburg road, and Fair Oaks Station. On the north side were the corps of Franklin, Sumner and, on the extreme right stretching to Mechanicsville, that of Porter. Aware that McDowell was on his way to join McClellan, Johnston decided to attack the corps on the north side before McDowell arrived; but hearing of his recall and favored by the unexpected flooding of the marshes, fell upon the two corps on the south side, brought on the battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines, drove them from one line of defense to another, from one camp to another, capturing guns, tents, camp equipage, until, the fighting over, they were a mile and more east of Seven Pines. Nothing but the arrival of

Sumner saved the army from a crushing defeat. During the afternoon, by order of McClellan, he crossed the Chickahominy with great difficulty, came upon the field of battle near Fair Oaks and stopped the enemy's advance. Scarcely had the fighting ended when Johnston was struck by a piece of a shell and the command passed to General G. W. Smith. On Sunday, June first, the battle began again: but this time the Confederates were driven back, the camp ground lost on Saturday was recovered and found strewn with rifles and muskets left by the enemy in his flight and with wounded men who had lain on the ground unattended since the fight on Saturday.* Sunday afternoon Lee, under orders from Davis, assumed command of the Army of Northern Virginia, and during the night withdrew it to its old position.

Three weeks now passed without fighting. During this time Lee strengthened his defenses, obtained reënforcements, called Jackson from the Shenandoah and sent Stuart to examine McClellan's line of communication with White House Landing. Without the slightest difficulty Stuart made his way to Old Church, put to flight a squadron of Union cavalry, went on to the Pamunkey, plundered and burned two schooners, destroyed a wagon train and drove off the mules, pushed on to Tunstall's Station, fired on a passing train, went to Baltimore Cross Roads and over the Chickahominy at Jones's Bridge. He had ridden entirely around the rear of the Union Army. †

McClellan spent the time building bridges, waiting for the weather to clear and calling for more men. By the middle of June twenty thousand reached him. The weather was fine, the roads were dry. The time had surely come for action. Indeed, McClellan began to prepare for an advance. He was too late. Lee took the offensive, crossed the Chickahominy on the afternoon of June twenty-sixth, attacked Porter's troops and drove them from their entrenchments at Mechanicsville to the east bank of Beaver Dam Creek a mile away. There, though greatly outnumbered,

* Report of General Sickles, June 7, 1862, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xi, pp. 823, 824. Part 1, also p. 828.

† Stuart's Report, ibid., vol. xi, Part 1, pp. 1030-1040.

the Union forces held their ground and when the fighting ended at nine o'clock at night the Confederates had suffered a bloody defeat. That night Porter was ordered to withdraw to a position near Gaines's Mill. The withdrawal began at three o'clock on the morning of the twenty-seventh. The rebels followed and at three in the afternoon opened the battle of Gaines's Mill. At first the Confederates were repulsed; but thirty-one thousand men could not withstand fifty-five thousand and towards evening the Federal line was broken and forced back to the banks of the Chickahominy. McClellan now ordered Porter to cross the Chickahominy and announced a change of base from the Pamunkey to the James, a movement even then under way.

Still believing McClellan would cross the Chickahominy by the lower bridges and retreat down the Peninsula, Lee sent a division of cavalry to watch; but when the day closed without any attempt to cross the river, though signs of a general movement were apparent, he decided that McClellan was retreating to the James and prepared to follow. Magruder was ordered to move towards Savage's Station and Jackson to cross the Chickahominy and join him that together they might crush the rear guard. Jackson did not arrive and Magruder, on June twenty-ninth, unsupported, attacked at Allen's Farm and Savage's Station and was repulsed. During the night the rest of the Union Army crossed the swamp and early in the morning destroyed the bridge.

While a portion of the Confederate Army was thus held on the north side of the swamp, Longstreet and Hill, moving by the Darbytown road, came on the troops of Heintzelman, and June thirtieth fought the battle of Glendale, or Frayser's Farm, or Melrose Farm. Neither side won and during the night the Federal troops fell back to Malvern Hill. The Confederates followed, attacked July first and were badly beaten. This ended the "Seven Days' Battles." McClellan fell back to Harrison's Landing. Lee retired to the defenses around Richmond.*

* Federal loss in the "Seven Days' Battles" was—killed, 1734; wounded, 8062; missing, 6053; in all, 15,859. Confederate loss, killed, 3286; wounded, 15,909; missing, 940; total, 20,135.

So strict was the censorship of the press that the people knew nothing of what was happening. The first hint of serious fighting was the receipt of two telegrams from staff officers to relatives in Philadelphia, the one announcing that "all our friends are well"; * the other that, "I am all right." † A dispatch from the Associated Press agent at Baltimore stated that a correspondent had come from the front with particulars of a three days' fight and probable capture of Richmond and that his story would be sent to Northern journals at once. Unhappily, the Secretary of War did not think it prudent to allow the news to go over the wires. That a battle, or several battles, had been fought was now so certain that all day long, June thirtieth, excitement in Philadelphia and New York was intense. Not since the capture of Sumter, said a New York journal, had there been such a fever of excitement. Only those who mingled with the crowds could have any idea of its intensity. Reports of the fights at Mechanicsville and Gaines's Mill were published July first; but it was not until the people read their newspapers on the fourth that they knew what had happened during McClellan's change of base.

During his retreat, as during his advance, McClellan called earnestly for troops. June twenty-fifth, the day he pushed forward his picket lines in front of Seven Pines, the day Stanton informed him that Jackson was moving towards Richmond, he telegraphed that the rebel army numbered at least two hundred thousand; that he would have to fight vastly superior numbers, but would do the best he could to hold his position. He regretted his inferiority in numbers, but felt "in no way responsible for it," as he had "not failed to represent repeatedly the necessity of reënforcements." ‡

Just after midnight on the twenty-seventh, reporting his defeat at Gaines's Mill, he again blames the President. "Had I twenty thousand or even ten thousand fresh troops

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* To Dr. John McClellan from Arthur McClellan, Philadelphia Inquirer, June 30, 1862.

† Ibid.

‡ McClellan to Stanton, June 25, 6:15 P.M., 1862, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xi, Part 1, p. 51.

to use to-morrow I could take Richmond, but I have not a man in reserve and shall be glad to cover my retreat." "I have lost this battle because my force was too small." "I again repeat that I am not responsible for this." "I only wish to say to the President that I think he is wrong in regarding me as ungenerous when I said that my force was too weak. I merely intimated a truth which to-day has been too plainly proved. If, at this instant I could dispose of ten thousand fresh men, I could gain a victory to-morrow." "If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any other person in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army." *

During three days nothing was heard from McClellan. Then came more disheartening news and calls for men. He might have to abandon material to save the army. He must have very large reënforcements very promptly.† He must have fifty thousand more men. ‡ When at last he was safe at Harrison's Landing, Lincoln replied. "Allow me," he said, "to reason with you a moment. When you ask for fifty thousand men to be promptly sent you, you surely labor under some gross mistake of facts. All of Frémont's men in the Valley, all of Banks's, all of McDowell's not with you, and all in Washington taken together, do not exceed, if they reach, sixty thousand. Thus the idea of sending fifty thousand or any other considerable force, promptly, is simply absurd." "Save the army, material and personnel and I will strengthen it for the offensive again as fast as I can. The Governors of eighteen States offer me a new levy of three hundred thousand which I accept."

Troops, it was plain, must be had. On the day Lincoln received McClellan's impudent dispatch he decided therefore to call for at least one hundred and fifty thousand men to serve for three years or the war. To have done so by proclamation when the Army of the Potomac was beaten and fall-

* McClellan to Stanton, June 28, 12:20 A.M., 1862, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xi, Part 1, p. 61.

† Ibid., Turkey Bridge, June 30, 7 P.M., Part 3, p. 280.

‡ To Adjutant General, Turkey Island, July 1, 2:45 A.M., ibid., p. 281.

ing back would have caused panic, or at least serious alarm. Far better to have it seem as if the Governors of the loyal States by their own free will had made a tender. To accomplish this Seward was chosen as his agent, was provided with a letter and sent to New York City. Addressed to Seward it set forth that the evacuation of Corinth and the delay caused by flood in the Chickahominy had enabled the enemy to concentrate about Richmond too great a force for McClellan to attack. Were all the troops around Washington sent him, the enemy would hurry from Richmond and take Washington. Were a large part of the Western Army sent him, the enemy would give up Richmond and retake Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri. But the West must be held, the Mississippi opened and Chattanooga taken. Let the country, then, give a hundred thousand men in the shortest possible time. Sent to McClellan they would enable him to capture Richmond without endangering any other place and end the war. "I expect," he wrote, "to maintain this contest until successful, or till I die, or am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress, or the Country forsakes me; and I would publicly appeal to the country for the new force were it not that I fear a general panic and stampede would follow, so hard is it to have a thing understood as it really is.

Rather than hazard the misapprehension of the military situation and cause a groundless alarm by a call for troops by proclamation, he deemed it best to appeal to the Governors and to say that one hundred and fifty thousand men, including those lately called for by the Secretary of War, are needed without delay.*

Seward telegraphed Governor Morgan of New York and Thurlow Weed to meet him at the Astor House the next night,† hurried by special train to New York and found them waiting. Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania soon joined them and by afternoon of Monday, June thirtieth, it was arranged that the Governors of the loyal States should be asked to sign a joint letter to Lincoln, urging him to call

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. ii, pp. 179–180.
† Ibid., June 28, 1862, p. 181.

for troops, that he should agree to do so, and a copy of the proposed letter from the Governors, and the reply Lincoln was to make were telegraphed Stanton.* Morgan and Curtin then appealed by telegraph to the Governor of each loyal State to authorize them to put his name to the letter and late in the evening Stanton telegraphed his approval of the plan. Lincoln had gone to the country very tired, his answer would come on the morrow. † At ten o'clock that night Seward telegraphed for information bearing on a question under discussion. Would Stanton authorize a promise to advance each recruit twenty-five dollars of his one-hundred-dollar bounty? It was thought "in New York and in Massachusetts that without such payment recruiting will be difficult and with it probably entirely successful." ‡

The morrow, July first, brought the approval of Lincoln. § and the reply of Stanton. He could not lawfully give such authority, but would see the Military Committee. || Seward answered that the advance of twenty-five dollars was most important, that he could not wait for debate, that he was going to Boston that night. ¶ Lincoln now received word from McClellan that the army had fallen back to Turkey Island, that it was hard pressed by superior numbers and that large reënforcements must be sent at once.** Stanton then gave way, took the responsibility and issued an order to pay the twenty-five dollars in advance. †† By afternoon most of the Governors had been heard from and Seward telegraphed, "The Governors respond and the Union Committee approve earnestly and unanimously. . . . Let the President make the order and let both papers come out in to-morrow morning's papers if possible. The number of troops is left for the President to fix. No one proposes less

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. ii, June 30, 1862, pp. 181-182, 183.
† Ibid., p. 182.
‡ Ibid., p. 182.
§ Ibid., p. 186.
|| Ibid.
¶ Ibid.
** Ibid., Series 1, vol. ii, Part 3, p. 289.
†† Ibid., Series 3, vol. ii, p. 187.

than two hundred thousand; make it three hundred thousand if you wish." *

The President did so wish and July second there appeared in the newspapers in the Eastern States what seemed to be a tender and acceptance of troops. One by one the Governors issued proclamations calling for volunteers to fill regiments in the field and to form such new ones as might be necessary. Recruiting offices were reopened, another uprising of the people followed and everything that could be done was done to stimulate enlistment. But despite war meetings, patriotic resolutions and great bounties, the response to the call was not what had been expected. The thinned ranks were not filled up, nor were all the new regiments needed obtained. Excuses of many sorts were made for this failure. It was harvest time; business which had been poor since the war opened was reviving rapidly; wages were rising; the demand for men in occupations of all sorts was great. A quick response could not be expected. Nevertheless the need for men was pressing and to get them the Secretary of War announced on August fourth that there would be a draft of three hundred thousand militia to serve for nine months, and that, if by August fifteenth any State had not filled its quota of volunteers the deficit would be made up by drawing from the enrolled militia, or in other words, men of military age. There were thus two separate calls. One for three hundred thousand volunteers for the war and one for three hundred thousand militia to serve nine months. If the quota of a State was twenty-five thousand under the first call, it would be the same under the second, making a total of fifty thousand. From this was to be deducted all volunteers for the war enlisted in the State and mustered into old and new regiments between July second and September first. What remained was to be obtained by draft. †

No sooner was the announcement made than a stampede began. Natives hurried by thousands to file exemption claims, or prepared to go overseas, or to Canada. Within

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. ii, p. 187.

† Ibid., p. 478.

ten days, fourteen thousand claims were filed with the County Clerk in New York City, and the passport bureau, which in ordinary times employed one clerk, took on two more and received in fees as much as three hundred dollars a day.

Aliens went to the nearest Consulate of their country. Day after day the office of the British Consul at New York was besieged by men clamoring for certificates of alienage. Such as had not made a declaration of intention to become citizens were told to file their names with the County Clerk. What should be done with those who had made declarations the Consul did not know. Seward soon informed the British Chargé that such persons had never been considered citizens, never treated as such, never granted passports and were therefore exempt.* In Baltimore disloyal persons were accused of sending their sons away and the British Consulate was crowded with men seeking exemption.† And so it was in St. Louis. Everywhere this rush of aliens excited deep disgust. That men who had lived long in our country, and prospered greatly, should now refuse their help, was declared cowardly. In Cincinnati this feeling ran so high that the Irish summoned their countrymen to raise a regiment; the Germans in public meeting denounced all aliens who, having lived five years in the country, sought exemption, and the *Commercial* published the names of nearly five hundred who had filed claims. ‡

To put an end to the exodus, citizens of the United States, liable to be drafted, were forbidden to go to a foreign land. Marshals, deputy Marshals and military officers were directed, and police authorities at the seaports and on the frontier were requested to put the order into effect, arrest and detain any person about to depart, and report to the Judge Advocate General at Washington. Any one liable to draft who left his State or county before the drawing was made might be arrested by any Provost Marshal, taken to the nearest military post and assigned to military duty for

* Cincinnati Commercial, August 26, and September 1, 1862. Also advertisement of British Attachés, August 26, 1862.

† Baltimore American, August 3, 1862.

‡ Cincinnati Commercial, August 27, 1862.

nine months. All so arrested, and all taken into custody for disloyal practices were denied the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Governors might issue passes or permits to travel to citizens of their States, for it was not intended to stop their going from State to State. But any one a Marshal thought had left his State, county or military district to evade the draft, must be arrested.*

At New York City on sailing day none were allowed to depart save men over sixty, women and children, and not even these unless they had passage tickets. One vessel was overtaken at sea and all male passengers removed. Another was stopped off the Lightship and a hundred and twenty brought back. Four hundred were not permitted to board the *Etna,* and two hundred were prevented entering the *Saxonia.* At Detroit, before the order issued, trains came in loaded with men from the West fleeing to Canada. August eighth five hundred crossed the river. Windsor was full. Every bed, bench and plank, it was said, had an occupant from the United States. During four days the rush was "perfectly tremendous." † Chicago "presented the disgraceful spectacle of full-grown, able-bodied men slinking off to Canada." ‡ The Superintendent of Police stopped an eastbound train and took twenty-six men on their way to Detroit. In Milwaukee conditions were the same. Many were taken from the propellers; but a "great crowd" made their way to Canada.

How conscription should be conducted was now made known by the Adjutant General at Washington. Governors must prepare at once to furnish the quotas of their States, designate rendezvous for drafted men and order the enrollment of all able-bodied men from eighteen to forty-five years of age. When enrollment was finished, lists must be filed with Sheriffs of the counties. For each city and county a Commissioner must be appointed to hear claims for exemption and give notice of the hearings by handbills. On the day named for the drawing the Sheriff, or some one chosen

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. ii, p. 370.
† Detroit Free Press, August 9, 1862.
‡ Chicago Tribune, August 9, 1862.

by the Commissioner, must publicly put into a wheel, or box, such as was used for selecting jurors, a folded ballot on which was written the name of a man subject to draft, and continue to do so until the names of all on the enrollment list were in the wheel. This done a blindfolded man must draw a number of names equal to the quota of the county or city. Anybody so drawn might offer a substitute, but he must act quickly, for five days after the drawing the conscript must report at the county seat and go to camp.

A new sort of commission business sprang up at once, and men calling themselves brokers advertised to furnish substitutes for those who could afford to pay the price. This was held to be a hindrance to volunteering and fell under an order lately issued by Stanton that anybody who by act, speech or writing discouraged volunteering should be arrested and imprisoned. The Provost Marshal in New York City, therefore, warned the newspapers that procuring substitutes in advance of the draft, or publishing advertisements to procure them, was discouraging volunteering and made both brokers and editors liable to arrest.

That a draft should be necessary was felt in many places to be such a mark of shame that earnest efforts were made to avoid it by securing volunteers. In Boston, during a week, at the sound of the City Hall bell shops were closed each day at two o'clock to enable employees to go forth and aid in encouraging enlistment.* The Mayor of Jersey City called a public meeting to take action to avoid a draft. A meeting at Hoboken raised a fund to pay one hundred and fifty dollars, over and above the State and Federal bounties, to each volunteer under the call for nine months' men.†

In New York City the Postmaster reminded his clerks that, while not allowed to bear arms, they could do much by personal exertion and influence, and that he expected each to secure at least one recruit before the fifteenth of August. They promptly raised five thousand dollars to aid recruiting. Customhouse clerks gave a festival for the benefit of Sickles'

* Chicago Tribune, August 11 and 12, 1862.
† Ibid., August 22, 1862.

Brigade, and the Aldermen voted to borrow two hundred and fifty thousand dollars that the Mayor might give fifty dollars' bounty, in addition to all others, to each able-bodied man who, within twenty days, enlisted in any of the city regiments then at the front.* In Iowa opposition to enlisting was so great that Stanton authorized the Governor to begin drafting whenever he pleased. † Under order from the Secretary the editor of the Dubuque *Herald* was arrested for obstructing volunteering. ‡

Governor Sprague of Rhode Island called the Legislature in special session, because, he said, the large bounties offered by cities and towns in order to raise their quotas caused discontent among the State troops in the field and because the overbidding among the towns was rolling up a large debt unequally distributed among the people. In Cincinnati the bidding for volunteers by recruiting officers and by individuals who sought to raise a company and get a commission became worse than ever. The Superintendent of the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad offered twenty dollars for each recruit, up to two hundred, who, before August eighteenth, joined the Eighty-third Regiment. A firm offered forty dollars' bounty and two loaves of bread a day for one year to the families of each of four new recruits who joined any regiment. If the recruit were unmarried he should have ten dollars extra in lieu of bread. The Cincinnati *Times* pledged itself to pay five dollars per week to the families of its married employees who enlisted and to continue payments so long as they remained in the service, and to hold their positions till they returned. Single men were to get two dollars a week. Despairing of raising a bounty fund by subscription the Military Committee appealed to the Board of Commissioners of Hamilton County to issue bonds. § The best they could do was to agree to ask the legislature for authority to refund to subscribers the amount they gave. ‖ Thereupon the Military Committee

* New York Herald, August 7, 1862.
† Cincinnati Commercial, August 1, 1862.
‡ Ibid., August 15, 1862.
§ Ibid., August 2, 1862.
‖ Ibid., August 4, 1862.

announced that each recruit should have fifty dollars; but, if he received any money from recruiting officers or individuals the amount would be subtracted from the fifty dollars.*

As the day when conscription was to begin drew near, a dispatch was sent to the Governors of the loyal States asking if they would be ready on September third. † Seven answered that they hoped to be, eight that they could not be and four that they would be. ‡ Thereupon they were informed they might postpone the draft if they chose, but responsibility for delay would rest with those who did. § Thirteen at once announced postponement. || Slowness of assessors in enrolling men of military age; slowness of hearing claims for exemption; inability of Governors to assign quotas to counties, cities, towns; dread of the consequences if conscription were made before the autumn elections caused it to be put off in many of the Eastern States in the hope that volunteering would supply the men required and efforts to obtain them were redoubled. Rallies were held, bounties increased, appeals renewed. Resisting enrollment and discouraging volunteering became so common that Lincoln made them subjects of a proclamation in which he declared that during the existing insurrection all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abbettors and persons discouraging enlistment, resisting draft or guilty of any disloyal practice should be subject to martial law and be denied the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*. ¶ Nevertheless, resistance continued. In Cleveland, when the draft was about to begin, crowds gathered before two offices and sought to destroy the enrollment sheets and break the revolving boxes. Five men chosen by the crowd were allowed to examine the lists and

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* Cincinnati Commercial, August 11, 1862.

† Official Records, Series 3, vol. ii, p. 440, August 23, 1862.

‡ Ibid., pp. 446-456, 472.

§ Ibid., p. 471, August 27, 1862.

|| Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island to September 10; New Hampshire, New York, Maryland, Indiana, Wisconsin, Missouri to September 15; Ohio to September 16; Massachusetts to September 17; Kentucky to the 30th and Minnesota to October 3.

¶ Richardson, Messages and Papers of the President, vol. vi, p. 98.

the drawings were made. At Bucyrus, Ohio, drafted men, on the day on which they were to go to camp, marched to the town square and gave three cheers for "the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was," and "three cheers that we don't fight to free the niggers." * At Hartford, Indiana, Copperheads, on draft day, destroyed the rolls and boxes and forced the Commissioner to resign. When the boxes were put upon the table in the Court House in Port Washington, Wisconsin, the crowd rushed forward, smashed them, chased the Commissioner from one place of refuge to another and did so much damage to property that troops were sent to restore order. In several counties in Maryland the rolls were torn to pieces and the Marshals and their helpers put to flight.

Having driven McClellan away, Lee was soon forced to meet a new army preparing to advance on Richmond. On the day he began the turning movement which sent McClellan to Harrison's Landing, Lincoln, seeing no further use for the corps of Banks and Frémont in the Shenandoah Valley, joined them with that of McDowell at Manassas, formed the Army of Virginia and placed General Pope in command. † Frémont outranked Pope, refused to serve, and resigned. His corps was given to Sigel. Pope's duty was to defend Washington and by a demonstration draw troops away from Richmond and relieve the pressure on McClellan. After the retreat to the James, Halleck was called from the West and placed in command of all the land forces of the United States ‡ and by his advice Lincoln ordered McClellan § to bring his army to Aquia Creek and join the Army of Virginia.

No sooner did Pope take command than he proceeded to gather his scattered corps, and by mid-July Banks was at Sperryville, Sigel at Little Washington and McDowell at Manassas. To the army thus assembled he issued an address. "I have come to you," he said, "from the West, where

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* Cleveland Leader, October 11, 1862.
† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xii, Part 3, p. 568.
‡ Ibid., vol. ii, Part 3, p. 313, July 11, 1862.
§ Ibid., vol. ii, Part 3, p. 80.

we have always seen the backs of our enemies, from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary and to beat him when he was found. . . . I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so and that speedily." * August first Pope joined his army and by the middle of the month moved it to Culpeper. Lee, aware that McClellan's army was slipping away to join Pope determined to attack him before the two armies joined, moved to Gordonsville and prepared his plan. Pope, informed of this by a captured dispatch, fell back across the Rappahannock. Lee followed, and, retaining a force to occupy Pope, sent off Jackson to get in the rear of the Union Army. By quick marching he reached Manassas Junction, tore up the railroad, cut the telegraph wires and captured large supplies of food, clothing and shoes, and raided the country between Bull Run and Alexandria. Pope set off to catch him and brought on a sharp fight late on the afternoon of August twenty-eighth. On the morrow the fight was renewed. The battle was desperately fought from early morning until nine at night, when the Confederates withdrew. Sure that he had won a victory Pope that night informed Halleck that a battle lasting from daylight to dark had been fought, that the enemy was driven from the field, that his men were too exhausted to follow, but would do so in the morning, and that the fight was on the identical field of Bull Run, which greatly increased the enthusiasm of his men. † McDowell also thought it was a victory and telegraphed Chase to "Please telegraph Mrs. McDowell that I have gone through a second battle of Bull Run on the identical field of last year, and unhurt. The victory is undoubtedly ours."

On the morning of Saturday, the thirtieth, accordingly, the battle was renewed and Pope, who had come out of the West to seek his adversary and beat him, saw his crushed and routed army flee from the field. Pope telegraphed that

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* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xii, Part 3, p. 474, July 14, 1862.
† Pope to Halleck, August 29, 1862. Ibid., p. 741.

both officers and men were badly demoralized and were possessed with the idea that they "must get behind the entrenchment." "The straggling is awful in the regiments from the Peninsula. Unless something can be done to restore tone to this army it will melt away before you know it." * He was at once ordered to bring his forces within or near the fortifications.†

On receipt of the news of the battle of the twenty-ninth every possible effort was made to care for the wounded. The College at Georgetown, the upper story of the Patent Office, parts of the Capitol, were turned into hospitals; citizens were asked to open their homes to the wounded, and the Surgeon-General appealed to the women and children the country over to scrape lint. None was to be had in market; nevertheless it was an absolutely indispensable article and must be obtained. Any one could make it.‡ At his urgent request three thousand convalescent soldiers were sent to Philadelphia or New York, and by order of Stanton stages, hacks, carriages were impressed to carry them from the hospitals to the depot. Their cots were needed for the wounded. Colonel Thomas A. Scott at Philadelphia was informed that a great battle had been fought "on the very ground of Bull Run," that volunteer surgeons were needed, that all that could be obtained should be sent at once to report to the Surgeon-General at Washington, § and during the afternoon placards were posted about the streets calling for volunteer nurses to bury the dead and aid the wounded. Each was to bring a bucket and tin cup that he might serve water to the wounded, bring a bottle of brandy, and, if possible, find transportation. If he could not, the Government would provide it. Within a couple of hours a great crowd, some said a thousand men, gathered before the War Office. Many were sent by railroad, many found places in the hundreds of improvised ambulances that were rushed to the field of battle; many crossed by Long Bridge, went to Alexandria

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xii, Part 3, p. 777.
† Ibid., pp. 777, 778.
‡ National Intelligencer, September 3, 1862.
§ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xiii, Part 3, p. 766.

and clamored for transportation. On the following morning the officer in charge of Military Railroads complained to Marcy of "the drunken rabble who came out as nurses." Large numbers "were drunk and disorderly," and of no use whatever.

Nevertheless he sent them off to Fairfax Station and bade the officer there in charge arrest all who arrived drunk and send them back by the next train. Large numbers he understood were returning satisfied with the experiences of one night.* Many went with no preparation and little food, and when they reached Fairfax Station in a pouring rain, and were told they must walk some twelve miles to Fairfax Court House, lost heart and returned. Not more than seventy-five of the thousand reached the battlefield. Among them were a few clerks from the Auditor's and Adjutant General's offices. They seized on a conveyance, forced the driver to take them to Fairfax Court House, went on to Centreville and found the church full of wounded, begging for food and water. The battlefield was then in the hands of the enemy, who would allow neither nurse nor surgeon to come upon it under flag of truce until Monday morning, when two hundred ambulances went out to a hill beyond the stone bridge. There the surgeons were lined up on one hand and the nurses on the other, divided into squads and sent to the field. The dead they found stripped of shoes, coats and trousers. The wounded were in shocking condition, but by evening as many as possible were packed into the ambulances, and after a delay caused by the rebels exacting a parole from each, started on Tuesday for Centreville, which was found in possession of the enemy. There the train was stopped and nurses and wounded sent over the worst of roads to Jackson's headquarters fifteen miles away. After much persuasion Jackson gave a written pass and by ten o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the train again reached Centreville. The day was spent in redressing wounds and late in the afternoon the journey to Washington was resumed. Those who went by ambulance found the road to Centreville

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xii, Part 3, p. 776.

crowded all day Sunday with vehicles of every sort carrying food, medical supplies and surgeons.*

Heads of departments requested their clerks and employees to go as nurses and made Maryland Avenue and Eighth Street the gathering place. Almost to a man they volunteered and after nine at night in two hundred stages, wagons, hacks and all sorts of vehicles on springs set off on their errand of mercy. Most of the vehicles had been all day in service carrying convalescents to the depots. The horses were tired and quite unfit for the journey before them. Nevertheless the start was made and the long line of conveyances wound its way through Georgetown, passed over the Aqueduct Bridge and went on towards Falls Church. Long ere that place was reached horses had given out, axles had broken and the roadside was strewn with abandoned vehicles whose occupants went back on foot to Alexandria.† At daybreak such as pushed on arrived at Fairfax Court House in a drenching rain. From there to Centreville the road was full of troops, stragglers, paroled prisoners. As the hacks went up the heights at Centreville but sixteen of the two hundred were present. A few nurses pushed on, were taken prisoners, sent to Libby Prison and finally paroled. On Monday thirty civilians and some unwounded soldiers whose duty it was to bury the dead went out to the battlefield. The rebels seized the negro drivers of the ambulances, but the civilians were suffered to gather up the wounded and carry them to the orchard where the surgeons were at work. The dead they found stripped of coats, trousers and shoes. ‡

It may have been the ignorance of the drivers; it may have been the darkness of the night; it may have been the brandy each was requested to carry; it may have been all combined that brought to naught the patriotic undertaking of others who went in the hacks, for to naught it came. All

* The experiences of several who went to the field are given in the New York Herald, September 6, 8, 15, 1862.

† New York Herald, September 2, 1862.

‡ New York Tribune, September 12, 1862. Also National Intelligencer, September 1, 1862.

night they jolted over roads and byroads and at dawn entered what they supposed was Centreville to find themselves in Alexandria. Stanton promptly ordered them home.

The call for lint, linen, bandages, liquor, hospital supplies was instantly met. By Sunday evening surgeons had left Philadelphia. In New York Mayor Opdyke summoned physicians to meet in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where thirty offered to go. In Brooklyn each policeman notified all physicians living within his beat to attend a meeting. Over one hundred came, forty offered and seven started at once. The call for twenty surgeons and hospital supplies reached Boston on Saturday night, was published in the Sunday newspapers, was spread by the war committees of the wards and read from the pulpits. In some of the churches the congregations were dismissed after prayers. In a little while contributions began to pour into Tremont Temple. Men and women came by scores to sort the packages and pack them in cases. In the Young Men's Christian Association, the rooms, the halls leading to the auditorium, the auditorium and the galleries were crowded with women scraping lint and tearing sheets to make bandages. In the street before the Temple were tables where money was collected and fifty-two hundred dollars were paid down. Adams Express Company took charge of the cases when packed and delivered them without cost at Washington. When the train left at six o'clock that night it carried away twenty-one hundred cases. In the passenger train which followed were surgeons, the Mayor, several aldermen and a score of policemen to see that the supplies were properly cared for on their arrival at the Capital and on the way.

September first brought no heartening news. No one could go to the battlefields, nor by bridge or ferry to Alexandria without a pass. The sale of liquor was forbidden lest the people become excited should more bad news come. Washington was in a panic. A gunboat was anchored off the White House for the use of the President should it become necessary for him to flee. The Treasury and the banks made ready to send off their money. Long trains of army wagons and hundreds of men who had lost their regi-

ments and officers who had lost their men poured into the city.* On the second McClellan was placed in command of all the troops for the defense of Washington. A war steamer was sent to the Navy Yard; some gunboats were anchored in the river; Halleck asked that all available troops be sent on at once; and by order of Lincoln the clerks and employees in the civil department were required to enroll in companies and drill.

In the midst of this commotion, anxiety and depression which now spread over the North, came news of the invasion of Kentucky by Kirby Smith. After Shiloh the Confederates fell back some sixty miles to Tupelo, where Beauregard was succeeded by Bragg. Early in June Buell set off for Chattanooga, but moved so slowly that Bragg got there first. At Knoxville was another Confederate army under Kirby Smith. Encouraged by the failures of McClellan on the Peninsula he proposed to Bragg that they invade Kentucky and enable the people to bring that State into the Confederacy. With this purpose in view Smith left Knoxville, late in August, crossed the mountains, defeated a little force of Union men near Richmond, pushed on to Lexington, demanded and received its surrender, and drove the Union forces back towards Covington, a town on the bank of the Ohio opposite Cincinnati. The legislature, then in session at Frankfort, fled to Louisville; the Governor declared the State invaded by an insolent foe, her honor insulted, her peace destroyed and called loyal men to arms. Cincinnati was thrown into great excitement. General Wright, who commanded the department, put Lew Wallace in charge of the defense of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, and Wallace at once ordered business suspended and shops closed at nine o'clock on the morning of September second, proclaimed martial law, forbade the sale of liquor, stopped the ferryboats and required all able-bodied men to meet at some convenient place in their wards at ten o'clock, drill and be ready for orders. "Citizens for labor, soldiers for battle." On that day no horse cars ran in the streets, steamboats, coal

* Washington under Banks. Lieutenant Colonel R. B. Irwin, Battles and Leaders, vol. ii, p. 541–543.

boats, flats, water craft large and small, were towed from the Kentucky to the Ohio side of the river, the women were asked to make bandages and tents, and fortifications were begun. The police walked their beats armed with muskets and bayonets. Hotels, eating-houses, coffeehouses, places of amusement were closed, for every able-bodied man must dig or drill. Physicians might tend the sick. Butchers and bakers, grocers, milkmen and druggists might keep open their shops; undertakers, telegraphers, newspapermen might go on with their work; banks and bankers might open their offices for one hour; but all other forms of business and labor must cease. Until a bridge of boats was built across the river, communication with Covington was cut off. Even when built no one could cross it or indeed leave the city without a pass. The Governor called for men from all the river counties to hasten to Cincinnati. If possible, they were to bring their own arms. About a thousand brought squirrel guns, were organized as a regiment and became known as the "Squirrel Hunters." Before a week ended, as the enemy did not advance, the excitement quieted down and business was resumed each day until four o'clock, when drilling began. The ringing of all the church bells was to be the signal for the men to gather at the rendezvous prepared to fight.* At Louisville preparations were made for defense, men drilled and cotton and valuables were sent across the river to Indiana.

Bragg, who left Chattanooga late in August, was then nearing the Cumberland River on his way north to Louisville. Buell, expecting Bragg to attack Nashville, had gathered his army at Murfreesboro; but hearing of the defeat at Richmond, started in pursuit of Bragg and the two armies began a race across Tennessee and Kentucky with Louisville the goal. At the end of a week Buell was at Bowling Green and Bragg at Glasgow. He was then in Kentucky, and misled by the assurances that once his army was in the State the people would rise and rally around him, he issued a proclamation and summoned them to do so.

* Cincinnati Commercial, September 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 1862.

Much to his chagrin no rising of the people, no rush of young men to his army followed the appeal. The plan to capture Louisville was now abandoned. He knew Buell was in hot pursuit; yet he rested two days at Glasgow and wasted two more on the capture of a little garrison at Munfordsville and then awaited the coming Buell. During three days the two armies faced each other, neither daring to attack. Bragg then moved northeastward to Bardstown and Buell went direct to Louisville.*

* September 14, 1862. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xvi, Part 2, p. 822.

CHAPTER XI.

EMANCIPATION.

That Lee should threaten Washington and Baltimore, and Kirby Smith Cincinnati and Louisville, at the same time, was alarming and humiliating. But more alarming still were the rumors that Lee was on his way to Maryland. He had never intended to attack Washington. Having beaten Pope and driven him within the fortifications Lee must go on or go back. To go on and enter Maryland was most alluring. The people he believed would rise, rally round him and put their State in the Confederacy. If successful he might enter Pennsylvania, or perhaps destroy McClellan's weakened and demoralized army and conquer a peace. Full of such hopes he left Chantilly on September third, crossed the Potomac at the fords above and below Point of Rock and camped near Frederick.

As the enemy advanced towards Frederick neither cattle, horses, grain nor vegetables remained on any farm over which the army passed. Scouting parties swept the country clean for twenty miles each side of the line of march of horses, cattle, food. Even telegraph instruments were carried away from stations on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Payment was offered in Confederate money. If the farmer would not take it, the loss was his. At Frederick tradesmen closed their shops and men, women and children fled away in the night to Baltimore and Pennsylvania. The Provost Marshal, after loading such Government stores as he could and leaving ample supplies for the sick and wounded, burned the rest and joined the fugitives.

About noon on the sixth Jackson's men entered the town. A halt was made, a Provost Marshal appointed and a proclamation read. The troops then passed through the town and camped in the fields without. All, says one who saw them,

were ragged; the cavalry and artillery nearly barefoot. Some of the infantry marched with their feet wrapped in rags or rawhide. The shoes of such as had them were badly broken. Once in the town the enemy crowded the shops where boots, clothing, groceries, drugs, tobacco, candy were for sale, took what they wanted and paid, some in Confederate notes, some in United States Treasury notes which it was believed they found on the bodies of the dead that lay so thick on Bull Run field. Angered by the contemplated draft in Maryland which they still considered Southern soil, they sacked the office of the draft officials and tore into pieces the enrollment lists.* Save an attack on the *Examiner* office no private property was injured. No citizen was insulted or molested, no house was robbed.

Having come to rescue Maryland, Lee now issued a proclamation. It was right, he said, that the people of Maryland should know the purpose which brought the army into their State. The people of the South had long beheld with the deepest sympathy the wrongs and outrages inflicted on the citizens of a State allied with them by the strongest social, political, commercial ties, and had seen with profound indignation their sister State reduced to the condition of a conquered province. Your citizens have been arrested and imprisoned contrary to the forms of law; the government of your chief city usurped by armed strangers, your legislature dissolved by the unlawful arrest of members and freedom of speech and of the press destroyed. The people of the South have long wished to aid you in throwing off a foreign yoke. In obedience to this wish the army has come among you to assist in regaining rights of which you have been despoiled. This is our mission so far as you are concerned. It is for you to decide your destiny freely and without constraint. †

Before pushing on into Pennsylvania Lee decided to change his line of communication to the Shenandoah Valley. The one then open was too near the Potomac. A force of Federal cavalry might cut it at any time. But the route

* Frederick Citizen, September 12, 1862.

† September 8, 1862, National Intelligencer, September 12.

down the valley was threatened by Federal troops at Harpers Ferry. They must be captured or driven out. September ninth, therefore, Lee issued an order directing Jackson to cross the Potomac and take position south of Harpers Ferry; McLaws to go by Middletown and seize Maryland Heights, and Walker to cross below the Ferry and occupy Loudon Heights. Jackson set off, on the tenth, and Lee with the rest of his army marched to Boonsboro and Hagerstown near the border line of Pennsylvania.

The farmers in Pennsylvania now went off with their livestock; women and children and Union men left the towns and the surrounding country and fled towards Harrisburg; and the Governor summoned all able-bodied men in the Commonwealth to organize and be ready for marching orders. The call might be sudden; each, therefore, must provide himself with stout clothes, boots, blankets, haversack, the best arms he could procure and sixty rounds of ammunition.

The call was sudden, for, on the following day, fifty thousand men were summoned to come with all speed to Harrisburg. Reliable information, the Governor telegraphed the Mayor of Philadelphia, has come this evening that the rebel generals have moved their army from Frederick to the Cumberland Valley. Their destination is now Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Every available man needed at once. Stir up your population to-night. Form them in companies and send us twenty thousand men to-morrow.* The response was immediate and all day and all night for a week long trains loaded with volunteers, some in uniform, some in civilian clothes, some with squirrel guns and some with no guns at all, rolled into Harrisburg. There all were properly armed and in time thousands were sent to Chambersburg and to Hagerstown after Lee had gone.

McClellan for five days past had been moving cautiously between the rebel army and Washington. He now ordered a general advance and entered Frederick a few hours after Lee's rear guard left. There was brought to him a copy of

* Philadelphia Inquirer, September 12, 1862.

Lee's order of the ninth. A private in an Indiana regiment, camped on the ground occupied by Hill's troops, found it wrapped around three cigars.* McClellan was thus made aware that Lee had divided his army, had sent part to capture the garrisons at Harpers Ferry and Middletown and had gone with the rest to Boonsboro and Hagerstown to await the return of those sent to the Ferry. A great opportunity lay before him. By a quick advance he might get in between the two parts of the Army of Northern Virginia and destroy them. But it was daylight on the morning of the fourteenth before his troops set off for South Mountain in the passes of which, that day, they fought and won the battle of South Mountain and came down into the valley through which flowed Antietam Creek. That night the Confederates fell back to Sharpsburg and on the morning of the fifteenth the Army of the Potomac moved leisurely towards them. Had McClellan moved quickly and attacked he would have found Lee without Jackson and the men sent to Harpers Ferry. But he did not attack and the garrison at the Ferry having surrendered early on the morning of the fifteenth, Jackson with a large part of the detached troops rejoined Lee early on the sixteenth.

Late in the afternoon Hooker was sent across the creek and opened the fight; but the great battle, one of the bloodiest of the war, was fought till sundown on the morrow with no decisive result. Both armies bivouacked on the field and watched each other all of the following day. After dusk Lee's army began slipping away, and by morning was safe in Virginia.

To Lincoln the result of the battle afforded an opportunity for which he had long waited, an opportunity to strike a blow for the emancipation of the slaves. Early in 1861, as soon as the Union armies entered the slaveholding States, established camps and occupied the country, commanding officers found themselves called on to enforce the law for the return of fugitives from labor. Just what was their duty was hard

* Officers who left Frederick on the morning of September 14 told of the finding and described the contents. New York Herald, September 15, 1862.

to decide. From the viewpoint of the President the troops were there to put down insurrection and enforce the Constitution and the laws. One of these laws required the return of fugitives from labor. But was it the duty of officers in the field to return them? Must they do so if the slaves had been forced to aid and assist the enemy? Must they do so if the owner, though disloyal, had not borne arms against the United States? Scarcely had Mr. Lincoln been inaugurated when eight fugitives came to Fort Pickens thinking they were free. They were promptly delivered to the civil authorities.*

A citizen of St. Louis having written to General Harney asking if he were right in denying that the Federal Government intended to interfere with slavery in Missouri, the General answered yes.† About the same time McClellan in a proclamation to the Union men of western Virginia announced that he had ordered troops to cross the river, that they came as friends and brothers and would not in any way interfere with their slaves. ‡

Towards the close of May three fugitives belonging to an officer in the Confederate Army appeared before the pickets at the camp of General Benjamin F. Butler and were detained. The next day Butler was visited by an agent of the owner and asked what he intended to do with the fugitives. Hold them, was the reply. Do you mean to set aside your constitutional obligation to return them? asked the agent. I mean, Butler answered, to take Virginia at her word. I have no constitutional obligation to a foreign country which Virginia now claims to be. But you say we cannot secede. You cannot, therefore, consistently detain them. But you say you have seceded, so you cannot consistently claim them. I shall hold them as contraband of war since they have been engaged in erecting a battery. §

Well aware that the arrival within the Union lines of

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* Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 2, vol. i, p. 750.

† Ibid., p. 751, May 14.

‡ Ibid., p. 753, May 26.

§ Butler's Book, by Benjamin F. Butler, pp. 256-257.

negro slaves of Southern owners must sooner or later call for the adoption of a policy as to their treatment, Butler now asked for instructions from Scott. Negroes in the neighborhood, he said, were being used by the Confederates to erect batteries and for other military purposes. Should the enemy be suffered to use this property against the United States, and Union officers not allowed to use it in defense of the United States?

Every day brought fugitives in such numbers that Butler wrote again for instructions. Men, women and their children, entire families, each family belonging to the same owner had come within his lines. He had, therefore, determined to employ the able-bodied, issue food for the support of all, charge against the labor of the workers the cost of caring for the idle, and keep a strict account as well of the services as of the costs. As a political question, and a question of humanity, could he make use of the services of the father and the mother and not take the children? Of the humanitarian aspect he had no doubt; as to the political, he had no right to judge.*

The Secretary of War approved of all that Butler had done.† The Government, he said, cannot recognize the rejection by any State of its Federal obligations, nor refuse to carry out the obligations resting on itself. Butler, therefore, must not permit interference by persons under his command with the relations of persons held to service. But so long as any State, within which his military operations were conducted, remained under control of armed combinations he should refrain from surrendering fugitives to their alleged masters.

Because of the defeat at Bull Run and the consequent fear for the safety of Washington, General Butler was deprived of a considerable number of troops. Forced to contract his lines he withdrew from the village of Hampton, where dwelt near a thousand negroes abandoned by their owners, or fugitives who had there found a refuge. What to do with

* Butler to Scott, May 27, 1861. Official Records, Series 2, vol. i, p. 752.

† Cameron to Butler, May 30, 1861. Ibid., p. 755.

them, as they fled from Hampton to within his new lines, he was at a loss to know and applied to the Secretary of War for instructions. Because of this state of affairs he had within his lines nine hundred men, women and children. What should he do with them? What was their status? Were they slaves? Were they free? Was their condition that of men, women and children, or were they property, or was it a mixture of both relations? Their status under the Constitution and the law before the war was clear enough. But what had been the effect of rebellion and a state of war on that old status? When he adopted the theory treating able-bodied negroes fit to work in the trenches as property, liable to be used in aid of rebellion and contraband of war, the condition of things was met in a legal and constitutional manner. But now new questions arose. Children certainly could not be treated on that basis. If property they must be considered the incumbrance rather than the auxiliary of an army and, of course, in no possible legal relation could be treated as contraband. Were they property? If so, they had been left by their masters and owners, deserted, thrown away, abandoned. If abandoned did they not become the property of the salvors? But the salvors did not need and would not hold such property. Therefore, had not all property relations ceased? Had they not become men, women and children? *

Before Cameron replied Congress passed the Confiscation Act. One section provided that, if any person, claimed to be held to labor, or service, under the law of any State, shall be required or permitted by the owner to take up arms against the United States, or work, or be employed in any fort, navy yard, dock, armory, ship or entrenchment against the United States, the owner shall forfeit his claim to such labor. Two days later, with this act before him, Cameron replied to Butler.

It was, he said, the desire of the President that all existing rights in all the States be fully maintained. The war was for the Union, and for the preservation of all constitutional

* Butler to Cameron, July 30, 1861. New York Tribune, August 5, 1861.

rights of States and citizens. No question, therefore, as to fugitive slaves could arise in States and Territories in which the authority of the Union was acknowledged. But in States held by insurgents, where the laws of the United States were opposed and could not be enforced, rights dependent on their enforcement must fall, and rights dependent on the laws of the States in insurrection must be subordinated to military exigencies created by the insurrection. Both loyal and disloyal masters would be best protected by taking the fugitives into the service of the United States, employing them, keeping a record of the name and a description of each fugitive, and of the name and character, as loyal or disloyal, of the owners. On the return of peace Congress would provide for compensation.* Having adopted Butler's contraband plan the Secretary instructed the commander of the Port Royal expedition to be governed in his treatment of runaway slaves by the letter to Butler.† Elsewhere the generals did much as they pleased. Dix directed that they should not be suffered to come within the lines. Sherman, in Kentucky, held that they should not be given a refuge in camp, but must be surrendered to their owners on demand. ‡ McClellan declared that the people of Kentucky might depend upon it that their domestic institutions would in no manner be disturbed. § Frémont, in Missouri, proposed to set them free.

In a proclamation establishing martial law in Missouri and defining the bounds of the occupied territory, he ordered all persons taken with arms in their hands, within these bounds, to be tried, and if found guilty, to be shot; the real and personal property of those who took up arms against the United States, or took an active part with its enemies in the field was declared confiscated and their slaves, if any they had, were made free men. ||

No sooner did the President read the proclamation, as

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* Official Records, Series 2, vol. i, pp. 761–762.
† Ibid., p. 773, Cameron to Gen. T. W. Sherman, October 14, 1861.
‡ Ibid., p. 776, 777.
§ Ibid., p. 776. To Buell, November 7, 1861.
|| Ibid., p. 221. Proclamation of August 30, 1861.

printed in the newspapers, than he at once requested Frémont to make some changes. Two points, he wrote, "give me some anxiety." Should a man be shot, as threatened in the proclamation, the Confederates would certainly shoot "our best man in their hands in retaliation and so man for man indefinitely." Therefore, he ordered that no man "be shot under the proclamation without" his approbation or consent. The paragraph concerning the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves of traitorous owners would, he feared, alarm "our Southern Union friends and turn them against us, and perhaps ruin our rather fair prospects for Kentucky. Allow me therefore to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the Confiscation Act of August, 1861." * This, Frémont replied, he could not do. Were he to retract of his own accord it would imply he had acted without reflection. He must ask the President to openly direct him to make the change. Lincoln promptly did so. †

In Missouri every officer in command acted as he thought fit. General Lane never allowed any fugitive, man, woman or child, who came within the lines of the Kansas Brigade to be given up if the negro was unwilling to go back to slavery. General Hunter allowed his camp to be searched for fugitives, but the soldiers interfered. Colonel Dodge ordered the property and slaves of persons in the rebel army seized; but the captors must "be careful, in taking the contraband negroes, that their owners are aiding the enemy." ‡ General Halleck, when he took command of the Department of the Missouri in November, found a reason for excluding fugitives from all posts. Important information had been carried to the enemy by fugitive slaves admitted within the Union lines. Therefore no such persons were to be allowed to enter the lines of any camp whatever. Fugitives then within such lines must be at once excluded. § The

* Proclamation of August 30, 1861. Official Records, Series 2, vol. i, p. 766.

† Official Records, Series 2, vol. i, pp. 767, 768.

‡ Ibid., p. 776.

§ General Order No. 3, November 20, 1861. Ibid., p. 778.

issue would not down. Wherever the Union Army went there were the fugitive slaves. Clearly they should not be left to be dealt with according to the opinions of each commander. Some general policy should be adopted. What policy?

The President announced his to Congress in the Annual Message. Under the Confiscation Act, he said, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor of others had been forfeited. Numbers thus liberated were dependent on the United States and must be provided for in some way. Congress, he thought, should accept them from the States, according to some mode of valuation, set them free and colonize them in a climate congenial to such persons. Perhaps the already free colored people might be included in such colonization.*

On the sixth of March, in a message to Congress, he requested the adoption of a Joint Resolution he had carefully prepared. It reads: "Resolved: That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to each State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system." If, he said, the proposition does not meet the approval of Congress, that is the end of it. If it does, then the States and people interested ought to be notified that they may begin to consider whether they will, or will not, accept the offer. Financially the offer was a wise one. The money saved by shortening the war would more than meet the cost of emancipation. Any member of Congress with the census tables and treasury reports before him could see for himself how soon the current expense of war would buy all the slaves in any State. †

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* Richardson's Messages of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 54.

† Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, vol. vii, p. 119. March 9, 1862.

Cost of freeing the slaves in Delaware	$719,200
One day's cost of war	2,000,000
Cost of slaves in the five Border States and the District of Columbia	173,043,000
Eighty-seven days' cost of the war	174,000,000

Lincoln to James A. McDougall, March 14, 1862. Complete Works, vol. vii, p. 132.

The day after Lincoln wrote his letter a member of Congress from Maryland, on return from church, found the Postmaster-General in his room writing a note. It was an invitation to come to the White House on the morrow and bring such of his colleagues as were in town. A like request went to the members from the other loyal slave States. When they were gathered together Lincoln said he believed his message had been misunderstood, was looked on as hostile to the interests they represented. He had no intention to injure the interests, or wound the feelings of the slave States. On the contrary he would protect the one and respect the other. The country was engaged in a terrible, wasting, tedious war. Great armies were in the field. As they advanced they must, of necessity, come in contact with slaves. Fugitives came into the camps and caused irritation. He was constantly annoyed by conflicting complaints. There were those who found fault if the slaves were not protected by the army. There were those who complained if they were protected. These complaints kept alive, in the loyal slaveholding States, a spirit hostile to the Government, strengthened the hopes of the Confederates that the Border States would join them and so tended to prolong the war. Emancipation was exclusively under control of the States. There could be no coercion. He did not expect an answer on the spot, but he did hope they would take the matter under serious consideration. After some conversation, the Congressmen assured him they believed he was moved solely by high patriotism, and sincere devotion to the country, and would respectfully consider the suggestions he had made.*

Congress adopted a new article of war, forbidding officers in command of naval and military forces to use them to return fugitives from labor; † prohibited slavery in the territories; ‡ set free all persons in the District of Columbia then held to service or labor because of African descent; abolished slavery in the District, awarded loyal

* Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, vol. vii, pp. 120–128. March 10, 1862.

† March 13, 1862.

‡ Act of June 19, 1862.

slave owners three hundred dollars for each slave set free, and appropriated one million dollars to carry out the provisions of the act, and one hundred thousand dollars for colonization,* and adopted the resolution submitted by the President in March; but not a cent would it appropriate towards making the resolution effective.

Though Congress was unwilling to touch slavery save where its jurisdiction was sole and absolute; though the President did not venture to ask for more than emancipation with compensation, General Hunter did not hesitate to declare slavery abolished within his military jurisdiction by the easy process of general orders. By one order all "persons of color lately held to involuntary servitude" in Fort Pulaski and on Cockspur Island were confiscated and set free and thereafter were to "receive the fruits of their labor." † By another he put in force martial law, ‡ and then declared that, as slavery and martial law "in a free country were altogether incompatible, all persons hitherto held as slaves" in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida were "forever free." §

A week passed before Lincoln was made aware of Hunter's act by the publication of the order in the newspapers. Chase urged him to let it stand. He would not. "No commanding general," he declared, "shall do such a thing upon my responsibility without consulting me," || and, by proclamation, revoked the order. In the proclamation he called attention to his message of March sixth, to the joint resolution of Congress offering pecuniary aid to any State which would adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, and once more appealed to the people of the States concerned. "I do not argue," he said, "I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves; you cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times." The change contemplated "would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending, or wrecking any-

* Act of April 16, 1862.

† April 13, 1862. General Order No. 7, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xiv, p. 333.

‡ April 25, 1862.

§ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xiv, p. 341.

|| Indorsement, Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, vol. vii, p. 167.

thing. Will you not embrace it?" * Neither the Border States, nor their people, nor their representatives in Congress, showed any intention to embrace it. In the last days of the session, therefore, he again invited the representatives of the loyal slaveholding States to the White House, read to them a carefully prepared paper and urged them to at least recommend the plan to the consideration of their States and their people. On the following day he sent to Congress a draft of a bill providing for compensation, in bonds, to any State which should abolish slavery gradually or at once.† Both appeals were in vain. No such bill was passed by Congress. The majority of the representatives from the loyal slave States declined to recommend the plan to their States and people; only the minority, seven in number, promised to ask their people to give it calm and deliberate consideration. ‡

Abandoning all hope of aid from Congress and the Border States, Lincoln determined to act alone and read to his Cabinet a proclamation of emancipation. It began by warning all persons aiding or abetting the existing rebellion to return to their allegiance, or suffer the forfeitures and seizures provided by an act to "seize and confiscate property of rebels," § went on to declare his intention to urge Congress, when it met again, to tender pecuniary aid to such States as might have then adopted, or should thereafter adopt gradual emancipation and ended by declaring that on January first, 1863, all persons held as slaves in any State, or States, in rebellion should be "then, thenceforth and forever free." Seward advised delay. To issue it at that particular time would be most unwise. Coming on the heels of the defeats around Richmond, coming in the midst of the period of gloom and depression through which the country was then passing, it might "be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted Government, a cry for help, the Government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, . . . a last shriek on

* Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, pp. 9, 91. May 19, 1862.

† Lincoln's Complete Works, vol. vii, pp. 270–274.

‡ Ibid., p. 276. McPherson, History of the Rebellion, pp. 213–220.

§ Act of July 17, 1862.

the retreat." He would wait until it could be given "to the country supported by military success" and not "as would be the case now, upon the greatest disaster of the war." * Struck by the soundness of Seward's advice, Lincoln put by his proclamation and awaited a victory. From that day the matter had rarely been absent from his thoughts. Indeed, neither radical men nor the radical press would suffer it to be absent. To their attacks, to their threats that there could be no reunion with slaveholding States, to their insistence that slavery be at once abolished, he made no public reply until, in August, Greeley published, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions." †

A great proportion, he wrote, of those who triumphed in your election, and all who desire the unqualified suppression of the rebellion, are sorely disappointed and deeply pained by the policy you seem to be pursuing with regard to the slaves of the rebels. I wish, therefore, to set out succinctly and clearly what we require, what we think we have a right to expect, and of what we complain. We require that you execute the laws. We think you are strangely and disastrously remiss in the discharge of your official duty, with regard to the emancipation provisions of the Confiscation Act. We think you are unduly influenced by councils, representatives, menaces of certain fossil politicians from the Border Slave States. We think timid counsels in the present crisis likely to be perilous and disastrous. A government so wickedly assailed by rebellion cannot afford to temporize with traitors. We complain that the Union cause has suffered from mistaken deference to rebel slavery. Had you in your inaugural address given notice that, were the rebellion persisted in and your efforts to save the Union met with force, you would recognize no loyal person as rightfully held in slavery by a traitor, we believe the rebellion would have received a stunning, if not a fatal, blow. We complain that the Confiscation Act is disregarded by your generals, and no word of rebuke from you has reached the public ears.

* Six Months at the White House, F. B. Carpenter, p. 22.
† New York Tribune, August 20, 1862.

"I would save the Union," was Lincoln's reply. "I would save it in the shortest way, under the Constitution. If there be any who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in the struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without the freeing any slaves, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it. And if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union. And what I forbear, I forbear, because I do not believe it would help to save this Union." *

We have no doubt, wrote Henry Ward Beecher, that Mr. Lincoln means well, and tasks himself to do well for the country. But he is an overmatched man. He cannot carry the Government in its great emergency. We are being worsted on every side by an inferior foe. How comes that? Blame him? Does any man believe Mr. Lincoln less than honest? But affairs are too mighty for him. He wishes, he almost resolves, he turns back. He inaugurates a policy. Like snow it melts in handling. His advisers clash. His generals quarrel. He is half crazed with persuasion on this side and counter-persuasion on that. One exhorts; the other warns. He is threatened by Radicals, and threatened by Conservatives. What shall he do? So he does nothing. Every prudent man foresees the utter exhaustion of the country if we have one more year such as the last, yet we have the same Cabinet, the same floating expedients, the same stationary generals. It is notorious that the generals in charge of the military affairs of the army are pro-slavery in their beliefs and sympathies.†

Early in September a meeting of Christians of all denominations was held in Chicago, a memorial adopted and a committee sent to Washington to deliver it to Lincoln.

* Lincoln to Greeley, August 22, 1862.

† New York Independent, September 11, 1862.

The memorial urged national emancipation. They came, they said, to discharge their solemn obligations as Christians, but with no desire to dictate to their Chief Magistrate who had his own responsibilities to God, the country and the world. Recent disasters might make the time seem inauspicious. But they believed these disasters to be tokens of Divine displeasure.

Speaking "in an earnest and often solemn manner," Lincoln said the subject of the memorial was one on which he had thought much for weeks, for months past. He was approached by men of the most opposite opinions, by religious men who were equally certain that they represented the Divine will. "I am sure that one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps in some respects both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that, if it is probable that God would reveal His will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me. What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document which the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative like the Pope's Bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of such a proclamation as you desire they should go over to the rebels." *

Four days after this interview Antietam was fought, and as soon as Lincoln was sure Lee had been driven out of Maryland, the long-deferred proclamation was brought forth and read to the Cabinet.† "I have got you together," he said, "to hear what I have written down. I do not invite your advice about the main matter; for that I have determined for myself." He was fulfilling a promise made to God and himself. He then read the document. It promised that hereafter, as heretofore, the war should be prosecuted for the restoration of the Union; that he would again ask

* New York Herald, September 26, 1862. The interview was on September 13, 1862.

† September 22, 1862.

Congress to offer pecuniary aid to any loyal slave State that should adopt gradual or immediate abolition; that the effort to colonize the freed negroes on this continent or elsewhere would be continued, and that "on the first day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free," and that on the first of January, by another proclamation, he would designate the States and parts of States the people whereof were in rebellion. The Cabinet approved and on September twenty-third the proclamation was made public.

Neither party was entirely satisfied. Conservative leaders held he had gone over to the Radicals, that the proclamation would amount to nothing, that it was not worth the paper on which it was written. Greeley did indeed write at the foot of a summary of the proclamation "God Bless Abraham Lincoln." But Garrison in the *Liberator* was "not so jubilant over it as many others." It was a step in the right direction, an act of uncommon historical importance; but not all the exigency required. It called for the emancipation of three-fourths of the slave population as fast as they became accessible. It forbade the return of fugitive slaves. But it was objectionable because it returned to "bloody stripes, horrible torture and lifelong slavery any hunted bondsman on the mere oath of the villain claiming him, that he is loyal"; because it proposed to make a new offer to the slave States to sell their slave system at a bargain; and because of its mean, absurd, proscriptive device to expatriate the colored people from this, their native land. Lincoln, said another journal, has often resisted the Radicals of his party, but his resistance seems to be giving way. The abolitionists have pressed him into their service, not entirely, but virtually. Those who desire the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was, can expect little aid from President Lincoln.*

The President's unconstitutional proclamation provokes

* Louisville Democrat, September 24, 1862.

the question, among business men, when is this war to end and how is it to end? The proclamation provides for the destruction of slave labor, and the deportation of slaves to some foreign country. Commercial men see in this the destruction of their ships and shipping; of Northern cotton and tobacco manufactories; the profits of the interchange of Northern manufactures for Southern negro labor. What interest then has commerce in prosecuting a war on such destructive and revolutionary principles? If the Southern States are to be black, negro States, is a Union with such States worth fighting for on commercial principles? Which is more profitable for us, a Hayti, or a Louisiana? *

It is useless to discuss it. It is proclaimed and cannot be recalled. Of course it is not law for we have not reached a point where the President makes laws by proclamation.† It converts every inhabitant of the South into a zealot whose all is embarked in the success of the rebellion. The idea that they will succumb to threats, will feel terror or misgivings, or anything but increased indignation at such a proclamation shows little knowledge of human nature or of the temper of the Southern mind. ‡

Lincoln was sorely disappointed. "It is six days old," he wrote Vice-President Hamlin, "and while commendation in the newspapers and by distinguished individuals is all that a vain man could wish, the stocks have declined and troops come forward more slowly than ever." This, "looked soberly in the face, is not very satisfactory. . . . The North responds to the proclamation sufficiently in breath; but breath alone kills no rebels." § To a party which serenaded him on the evening of the day on which the proclamation was issued he said: "It is now for the country and the world to pass judgment and, maybe, take action upon it." ‖ Within a few weeks his political opponents were loudly de-

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* New York Express.

† New York Journal of Commerce.

‡ New York World.

§ To Hamlin, September 28, 1862. Lincoln's Complete Works, vol. ii, p. 242.

‖ Ibid., p. 240.

claring his countrymen had passed judgment and condemned not only the proclamation but many other acts of his administration. Signs of the coming reaction had not been wanting. In September a Republican Governor was elected in Maine; but his majority was not much more than half that rolled up by his party at the previous election. In October members of Congress were chosen in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, all of which had been carried by Lincoln in 1860. They now turned against his party and gave a majority of their Congressmen to the Conservatives. Suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus,* summary arrests and arbitrary imprisonment without trial, the program of universal emancipation, the abolitionizing of the Republican Party and the breakdown of the financial system were assigned as the causes. The people had declared for a vigorous prosecution of the war; not for the negro, but for the Union. But the strength of the reaction, of the political revolution as it was called, was not apparent until the fourth of November when elections were held from Massachusetts to Kansas, and great gains made by the Democrats. Indeed, it seemed as if control of the next House of Representatives would pass into their hands. From New York to Illinois, the people, it was said, have spoken with a voice which cannot be misunderstood. It is the same voice which a year ago so emphatically endorsed the party of the Administration. That party is now rebuked and repudiated while the original wise and patriotic policy of Lincoln is approved. The people call on him to hold to that policy, demand that the war shall be prosecuted for the restoration of the Union, demand that the faction seeking to turn it into a war for the bloody extermination of slavery shall, by him, be henceforth rejected and turned adrift.* What means this singular revulsion in political sentiment in all the Middle States? Are Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania and New York weary of the war? Are they willing to say, "Wayward sisters, go in peace"? Not at all, not at all. But they do say, in emphatic terms, they are dissatisfied with the conduct of the

* New York Herald, November 6, 1862.

war. Minor causes there are. Agents of secession have used every means to pervert public opinion; men have been frightened by threats of a draft; the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of soldiers has produced local changes. But the effect of all these is as nothing in comparison with that produced by the depression, amounting almost to despair, caused by the inactive policy of the Government. The people after their gigantic preparations and sacrifices have looked for an adequate return, and looked in vain. They have seen armies unused in the field perish in pestilential swamps. They have seen their money wasted in long winter encampments, or frittered away on fruitless expeditions along the coast. They have seen a huge debt roll up, yet no prospect of greater military results.* Never before has a great and patriotic party been doomed to bear up under such a combination of adverse influences, said the *Tribune,* when accounting for the great defeat in New York. It was forced to meet at the polls every partisan of slavery, every sympathizer with rebellion, every coward who feared the draft; the depressing effects of the October elections; the absence at the front of a hundred thousand of our best, three-fourths of them ardent Republicans; great dissatisfaction with the slow progress, or no progress, of the armies; and a widespread feeling that through the incapacity, inefficiency, insincerity of our military leaders, the blood and treasure of loyal millions are being sacrificed in vain.† The three points on which the opposition laid stress were the slow progress of the war, arrests arbitrarily made and the emancipation proclamation.

On the day after the elections Lord Lyons on his way from London to Washington landed at New York City and was at once interviewed by several leaders of the Democratic Party. He found them, he wrote Lord Russell, exulting over the coming success of their party in New York, convinced that personal liberty and freedom of speech had been secured for their State, that the Government must desist

* New York Evening Post, quoted by the Tribune, November 6, 1862.

† New York Tribune, November 6, 1862.

from using the extraordinary illegal and unconstitutional powers it had assumed, and that, after the first of January when Seymour became Governor, suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* would no longer be maintained. They called loudly for a more vigorous prosecution of the war; reproached the Government with slackness and want of military success; repudiated the idea of meddling with slavery and held that the object of the war should be to place the North in position to demand an armistice with honor and effect. After the armistice should come a convention to amend the Constitution, make slave property safe and restore the Union. But the subject uppermost in their minds when conversing with Lord Lyons was foreign mediation. They were afraid it might come too soon, for come, they were sure, it must. The present moment they thought peculiarly unfavorable for such a proposal from abroad. "All hope of the reconstruction of the Union appears to be fading away, even from the minds of those who ardently desire it." The obvious interest of Great Britain as well as of all Europe was that peace should be restored as soon as possible. The only question to be considered by Her Majesty's Government was whether separation or reunion was the more likely to bring peace.*

In the Confederate Congress a member moved a resolution declaring that Lincoln's proclamation was directed against the citizens of the Confederate States, was a gross violation of the usages of civilized warfare, an outrage on the rights of private property, an invitation to a servile war and should be met by such retaliation as President Davis thought would force a recall. Another member wished for a law providing that on the first attempt to execute the provisions of the proclamation the black flag should be hoisted and a war of extermination proclaimed against all invaders of Southern soil. Another believed if the black flag had been raised in 1861 after Manassas the war would have ended very quickly.† Beauregard, when he heard of

* Lyons to Russell, November 17, 1862. McPherson's History of the Rebellion, pp. 247, 248.

† September 29, 1862.

this, telegraphed to a member of the Confederate Congress that it was high time to proclaim the black flag and that he hoped all abolition prisoners taken after the first of January, 1863, would be garroted.* Governor Vance told the legislature of North Carolina that "our abolition foes have shown a determination to reënact the horrors of San Domingo and let loose the hellish passions of servile insurrection to revel in the desolation of our homes." † Governor Brown of Georgia asked for the return of powder loaned the Confederate Government. He feared trouble with the slaves during the holidays and might need the powder. ‡ Judge Campbell wrote: "Our enemy is seeking an ally among those of our own household and to add a servile insurrection to the horrors of a civil war." § A Richmond newspaper recalled the horrors of Nat. Turner's insurrection in 1831 and said this is the kind of work Lincoln desires. Butler, by common consent, is called the Beast; but, bad as he is, he is a saint compared with his Master. What shall we call him? Coward, assassin, savage, murderer of women and babies? Or shall we consider them all as embodied in the word fiend, and call him Lincoln, The Fiend? ||

Mr. Lincoln by this proclamation makes himself a sort of moral American Pope. He claims to sell indulgences to his own votaries and he offers them with full hands to all who will fall down and worship him. It is his to bind and his to loose. What will the South think of this? The South will answer with a hiss of scorn. What will the North think of it? It would not answer the purposes of her great commercial centers to have the South made a howling wilderness. They want the handling of the millions produced by the labor of the black man. Pennsylvania wants to sell her manufactories in the South. New York would be again the banker, broker, merchant of the South. This is what the Union means to them. They would rather have a live inde-

* Official Records, Series 2, vol. iv, p. 910, October 13, 1862.
† Ibid., Series 4, vol. ii, p. 190, November 17, 1862.
‡ Ibid., Series 4, vol. ii, p. 208.
§ Ibid., Series 1, vol. xvi, Part 2, p. 980, October 27, 1862.
|| Richmond Enquirer, October 1, 1862.

pendent South than a dead dependency where nothing could be earned.*

Two weeks had now passed away since Antietam; yet McClellan was still in Maryland. Failure promptly to pursue Lee, to fight him again if necessary, to seek by all means possible to destroy his army, had greatly disappointed Lincoln. The commander of the Army of the Potomac seemed to be suffering from what the President called "the slows." Day followed day, but no movement was made. Losing patience Lincoln visited the army, spent three days with McClellan, went over the battlefields of South Mountain and Antietam, and on his return to Washington bade him, through Halleck, cross the river, fight the enemy, or drive him southward. If McClellan crossed the Potomac between the enemy and Washington, covering the city by his line of operations, thirty thousand men could be sent him; if he went up the Shenandoah, but twelve or fifteen thousand. Lincoln favored the line between Washington and the enemy, but did not order it to be taken.† No movement followed. The Quartermaster's Department, or the Commissary Department, had not performed its duty. The army needed shoes and clothes. The river was so low that it was not safe to withdraw the army lest raids into Pennsylvania followed its departure. Indeed, one day in October, Stuart, with a force of cavalry, crossed the Potomac and, avoiding Hagerstown, rode on to Mercersburg, demanded and received the surrender of Chambersburg, destroyed the machine shop, station and rolling stock of the railroad, seized five hundred horses and government uniforms, all the shoes and clothing in the shops, paying for them in Confederate money, and bivouacked in the streets. On the following day the enemy passed down the valley of the Monocacy and crossed the Potomac near Poolesville. Stuart had ridden entirely around the Army of the Potomac. Then the President wrote to McClellan urging him to act. "Are you not," he asked, "overcautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Change positions with

* London Times, October 7, 1862.

† October 6, 1862. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xix, Part 1, p. 10.

Lee and think you not he would break your communications with Richmond in twenty-four hours? Why cannot you reach Richmond before him, unless you admit that he is more than your equal on a march? His route is the arc of a circle; yours the chord. Should he move towards Richmond why not press him closely, fight him if a favorable opportunity presents and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track? If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can, he again being within the intrenchments of Richmond." * But McClellan would not move and five weeks after the battle of Antietam the army was still in camp. "The country groans," Welles wrote in his diary, "but nothing is done." † At last the crossing began. ‡ Lee fell back, and early in November McClellan occupied the old camp ground of Pope's Army of Virginia before the retreat, Warrenton, Waterloo, Gainesville, Thoroughfare Gap, Manassas Junction, Warrenton Junction. Headquarters were near Salem and there, one evening, a messenger from the War Department delivered to McClellan an order removing him from command and bestowing it on Burnside. § For such Burnside was utterly unfit, knew he was unfit and did not wish it. But the post was not tendered. He was ordered to assume it and reluctantly did so. || For political reasons Lincoln had again yielded to the Radicals.

By the end of November Burnside on his way to Richmond reached the bluffs bordering the north bank of the Rappahannock River. Across it lay the city of Fredericksburg, and a range of hills on the crests and slopes of which Lee gathered his army while Burnside waited a week and more for pontoons with which to make the crossing. They came in the course of time and the work of laying them began, but was stopped by sharpshooters in the cellars of the houses along the river front and behind brick walls.

* To McClellan, October 13, 1862. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xix, Part 1, p. 13.

† Welles' Diary, vol. i, p. 176.

‡ October 26, 1862.

§ November 7, 1862.

|| November 9, 1862.

Burnside ordered the city shelled. The guns on top of the high bluffs opposite the city could not be depressed enough to reach the sharpshooters. They merely set fire to some houses. Three regiments, which volunteered, were sent over in boats, drove off the enemy and took one hundred prisoners. Then the bridge laying was finished and one division went into Fredericksburg and another crossed some two miles further down. The rest of the army went over on the twelfth. Burnside had organized it in three grand divisions under Franklin, Sumner and Hooker. Franklin was along the river bank at the left of the line; Sumner came next, Hooker was on the right at Fredericksburg. The battle opened on the thirteenth. Franklin was to take the ridge in his front. The attempt was made. Meade's division gained the crest, was poorly supported and driven down. When afternoon came Franklin's men were still on the plains at the base of the ridge. Behind Fredericksburg, a mile away, the ridge was known as Marye's Heights. Between the city and the Heights was a wide ditch used to carry off waste water from a canal. A road which led out from the city skirted the base of the Heights passing through a cut the sides of which were protected by stone walls. That towards the city was breast high. This sunken road, or cut, was crowded with Confederates. Burnside ordered Marye's Heights to be carried by storm. French's division in column formation started to make the assault, crossed the bridge over the ditch, deployed behind its bank and charged the enemy in the sunken road, while the rebel guns on the top of the Heights swept every foot of the way. So dreadful was the fire from behind the wall that the division got no nearer to it than sixty yards. Hancock's division then made a second attempt and when within thirty yards was driven back. A third attempt served but to add to the number of killed and wounded men.

Untaught by the awful slaughter of his men Burnside, that afternoon, ordered Franklin to make a general advance. Most happily it was not made. He also bade Hooker carry Marye's Heights. The rebels by that time were so heavily reënforced that they stood four and even six ranks deep

behind the wall. Hooker met with slaughter and defeat. Of five thousand men who went with him more than two thousand were killed or wounded.

It was dusk of a short December day when the battle ended and the living went back to Fredericksburg. Sixty-three hundred Union soldiers lay dead or wounded at the base of Marye's Heights.*

Burnside, we are told, was beside himself with grief. "Oh, those men, those men over there. I am thinking of them all the time." He thought seriously of leading in person still another attack on the rebels in the sunken road. His officers finally dissuaded him and during a heavy storm of wind and rain on the night of December fifteenth the army withdrew across the river.

Grief because of the useless slaughter of so many thousands of brave men, gloom and despondency over renewed defeat, wrath because of what seemed endless mismanagement of military affairs, spread over the North. Some victims were needed as atonement and were quickly found by the opposition press. It was Lincoln, Stanton, Halleck who "sent to death thousands on thousands of our brothers and friends." It was the strategists Lincoln and Halleck "who sent thousands of men from time into eternity by tumbling them over the Rappahannock into the pit of Fredericksburg Valley." Even supporters of Lincoln admonished him that the country was in danger, not because of what the enemy might do, but because of the total loss of confidence of loyal people in the ability of the Administration to carry on the war successfully. The public mind, he was told, was excited to a degree of despondency and indignation so appalling that Mr. Lincoln could not safely disregard it. Able men must take the place of the bungling fanatics who distracted the councils of the Cabinet.

The Senate instructed its Committee on the Conduct of the War to find out who was responsible for the assaults on the enemy's works, and who for the delay in furnishing the pontoons. In New York citizens "in favor of correctly

* The total loss, killed, wounded and missing, on the Union side was 12,653; on the Confederate 5,309.

informing the Administration in regard to the people's sense of their misconduct of the war" were requested to meet at Cooper Institute.* But the meeting was postponed until the Senate committee had reported.† Roused by the public indignation the Republican Senators twice met in caucus, found the cause of the many military failures in bad advisers of the President and the evil influence of Seward, and appointed a committee of nine to tell Lincoln exactly what they thought. The first intimation he received of the coming storm was brought by Senator King of New York, who called one evening about six o'clock and delivered Seward's resignation. It then appeared that at the first caucus the Senators could come to no agreement on a resolution requesting the President to dispense with the services of the Secretary of State; that at a second caucus all but one agreed to a resolution containing no names but asking in general terms for a remodeling of the Cabinet; that King, an old colleague and old friend of Seward's, promptly informed him of this and that the Secretary instantly wrote his resignation and sent it by King to Lincoln. On the following day, at seven o'clock in the evening, the committee of nine came to the White House and delivered the resolution. They charged Seward with indifference, want of sympathy with the country in its great struggle and too great ascendency over, and control of, the President and measures of administration.

Lincoln told them their uncalled-for action shocked and grieved him, spoke warmly of his Cabinet, said it must not be broken up.

At a special meeting of the Cabinet on the following morning the President reported what had happened and proposed that the Secretaries meet the committee face to face. Chase objected; but finally all agreed and the time was fixed for half past seven that evening and the committee requested to attend. Lincoln then read the resolution and defended his Cabinet. Chase, the leader of the Radicals, approved of all the President said. Grimes, Sumner, Trum-

* New York Herald, December 19, 1862.
† Ibid., December 20, 1862.

bull attacked Seward. After the discussion had gone on for several hours Lincoln requested each Senator to say if he still thought Seward should go. Grimes, Sumner, Trumbull, Pomeroy said yes. Collamer declined to answer. Fessenden did the same.* He objected to discuss Seward in the presence of his colleagues. Thereupon near midnight the Secretaries left.

Lincoln was greatly distressed and the next morning sent for Chase, the Radical member of his Cabinet, and said: "This matter is giving me great trouble." Chase answered that he, too, was "painfully affected by the meeting last evening," and had prepared his resignation. "Let me have it," said the President, "reaching his long arm and fingers towards Chase, who held on seemingly reluctant to part with the letter. . . ." † Taking and reading it hastily Lincoln said: "This cuts the Gordian knot. . . . I can dispose of the subject now without difficulty; I see my way clear." ‡ If he must part with Seward, the Conservative, he must also part with Chase the Radical. This, he knew, the Radical Senators did not wish. Nor did he. The resignations were not accepted; both Secretaries were requested to return to their Departments and did so.

The year was now fast drawing to a close. Mindful of his promise to designate the States and parts of States in which on January first all slaves should be declared free, Lincoln wrote his proclamation and at a Cabinet meeting, December twenty-ninth, gave a copy to each member present. Each was requested to take it home, read it, and make such criticism as he saw fit. On the thirty-first, at another Cabinet meeting, the sheets were returned. Taking them to his office the President spent the day in bringing the proclamation to its final form. Those, wrote a Washington correspondent, who lay down the *Tribune* to-morrow disappointed because they do not find in it the New Year's Proclamation of Freedom, may be assured of reading it before sunset. The matter was considered by the Cabinet this morning.

* Welles' Diary, vol. i, pp. 194–198.
† Ibid., p. 201.
‡ Ibid., p. 201.

After adjournment the President denied himself to all callers and set about composing it.*

New Year's Day from eleven in the morning until well into the afternoon the President was in the East Room shaking hands with hundreds of visitors. It was late in the afternoon, therefore, when Seward and his son brought the engrossed copy for signature. Sitting at the desk with the broad sheet spread out before him, Lincoln dipped his pen in the ink and holding it in his hands for a few moments said: "I never in my life felt more certain that I was doing right than I do in signing this paper. But I have been receiving calls and shaking hands since eleven o'clock this morning until my arm is still and numb. Now this signature will be closely examined, and if they find my hand trembled they will say 'he had some compunctions.' But, anyway, it is going to be done." He then, with great care, signed his name.

Press copies had undoubtedly been already sent out, for the proclamation appeared that afternoon in the Washington *Evening Star* and was read at night in Tremont Temple, Boston, before a meeting of the Union Progressive Association composed of negroes.†

Redeeming the promise made in September, a promise that he would on the first of January, 1863, designate the States and parts of States the inhabitants of which were in armed rebellion against the United States, Lincoln now proceeded so to do and declared all persons held as slaves therein to be "then and thenceforth forever free." The States and parts of States were, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, all of Virginia save the eight and forty counties of West Virginia, the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth and seven counties ‡ nearby, and all of Louisiana save New Orleans and thirteen parishes then under the Union flag. The Executive Government of the United States, and all military

* New York Tribune, January 1, 1863.

† New York Herald, January 3, 1863.

‡ Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, Norfolk.

and naval authorities he promised would recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and enjoined them to labor faithfully for reasonable wages. They would be received into the army to garrison forts, stations and other places, and into the navy to man vessels in all sorts of service.

One hundred guns greeted its publication in some of the large cities; there was a jubilee by negroes and their friends at New York; but the country received it coldly, with doubt, and open denunciation. If it answers the purpose of the Executive, the lukewarm would say, and aids in the restoration of the Union, all loyal men surely will rejoice. We care little about the means necessary for that end. We are as willing to sacrifice slavery as we certainly are willing to sacrifice anti-slavery, to preserve the Union. If this proclamation is acted on in the spirit in which it is framed, it will undoubtedly do mischief to the slave interests; but how far it will help the efforts to put down the rebellion is yet to be tested by experience.* While the President leaves slavery untouched where his decree can be enforced, he emancipates slaves where his decree cannot be enforced. Friends of human rights will be at a loss to understand this discrimination. As a war measure it is unnecessary, unwise, ill-timed, impracticable, outside the Constitution and full of mischief.† Governor Parker of New Jersey in his message to the legislature denounced arbitrary arrests, suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and emancipation as among the illegal acts committed under the new principle of "the war power"; and thought the scheme of emancipation impracticable and likely to prolong the war. Our energies should be used to save the Union, leaving emancipation to the legislatures of the States. ‡ A Copperhead journal remarked, "we publish in another column the emancipation proclamation issued January first, 1863, by the tyrant and usurper, Lincoln." §

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* Philadelphia Public Ledger, January 2, 1863.

† New York Herald, January 3, 1863.

‡ Philadelphia Public Ledger, January 21, 1863.

§ New York Tribune, January 21, 1863. The Ashland Journal, Ohio.

A Democratic mass meeting at Springfield resolved that it was as unwarranted in military as in civil law; was a gigantic usurpation converting the war, properly begun for the vindication of the authority of the Constitution, into a crusade for the sudden, violent liberation of three millions of negro slaves. Such a result would overthrow the Federal Union and revolutionize the social organization of the Southern States.*

A Southern journal described it as a Pope's Bull against the comet, not worth the paper on which it was written so far as "the Rebellion" was concerned.† Another found it hard to decide whether wickedness or folly predominated. It was the most startling political crime, the most stupid political blunder in American history and would meet with universal condemnation and contempt in Europe. ‡ The South had given her answer at Fredericksburg and Murfreesboro. She need not answer his proclamation by words. §

By the proclamation of September Lincoln pledged himself to again appeal to Congress to offer to the loyal slave States some practical plan of emancipation, with compensation. True to his promise he therefore, in the annual message, presented what he considered a practical plan and argued long and earnestly for its adoption. Neither Congress nor the press gave his appeal any heed. The day for emancipation with compensation had gone. An attempt was, indeed, made to compensate Missouri if she would abolish slavery: but it came to naught. The autumn election in that State had been carried by Union men. The legislature was soon to meet and steps, it was well known, would be taken to make Missouri free. Bills providing aid for her, in the form of bonds, were therefore introduced in both Houses of Congress. That in the House was the first to pass and promised Missouri ten million dollars in bonds if she abolished slavery. || The Senate sent back a substitute which offered her twenty millions, if, within eighteen months after

* New York Tribune, January 10, 1863.
† Richmond Enquirer, January 8, 1863.
‡ Richmond Examiner, January 7, 1863.
§ Richmond Dispatch, January 6, 1863.
|| Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, Part 1, pp. 207-208.

the passage of the Congressional Act, she provided for emancipation before the fourth of July, 1865, and but ten millions if she postponed it until the fourth of July, 1876.* The House Committee on Emancipation reported a compromise offering Missouri fifteen millions if, by a valid and constitutional act, she set free all slaves within her bounds on or before the fourth of July, 1865. In the last days of the session it was killed by a filibuster.†

To the people in the North the prospect at the end of 1862 was indeed gloomy, for they were then in the darkest period of the war. Everything had gone wrong. The high hopes raised in the opening of the year by the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson and the victories along the coast had been dashed by the defeat of McClellan in the Peninsula, by the defeat of Pope at Bull Run, by Lee's invasion of the North, by his escape from McClellan, by failure to take Vicksburg and open the Mississippi and by the defeat and slaughter of Burnside's army on the heights behind Fredericksburg. Business was still depressed. The currency was still in disorder. The national debt had grown in twelve months from less than ninety-one millions to more than five hundred millions of dollars; the cost of the war was two and a half millions each day, and, despite heavy taxation, duties, sale of bonds and the inflation of the currency, the pay of the troops was five months in arrear. Nearly all had been paid to the end of June and some to the end of August. But Rosecrans reported that many regiments in his army had received no money for six months past, that men were driven to desert in order to care for their families and that officers were without the means of subsistence. Sixty million dollars, Chase said, were needed to discharge the indebtedness to the army and navy. To enable him to do so Congress authorized an issue of one hundred million dollars in United States legal tender notes and by the end of February the eight hundred thousand men on the rolls were paid in full.

No sooner had Lincoln signed the joint resolution than by a special message he so informed Congress. He was

* Globe, p. 903.

† Ibid., Part 2, p. 1294. Appendix, p. 148.

sorry, he said, that it had been found necessary to make another, and so large, issue of United States notes at a time when those already in circulation together with the notes of State banks had so inflated the currency as to raise prices beyond real values and increase the cost of living. It was plain that to go on printing United States notes without putting a check on the issue of bank notes must soon produce disastrous results. A uniform currency in which taxes, public dues, subscriptions to loans and private debts could be paid had become almost indispensable and such a currency could be supplied by banking associations organized under a general act of Congress as suggested in his annual message. The President, in short, asked for a national banking law.*

Chase, a year before, in his first annual report, strenuously urged the adoption of a national paper currency. The notes which the people of that day carried in their pockets and with which they paid the little expenses of daily life amounted to some two hundred and two million dollars and were issued by some thirteen hundred banks, not counting branches nor those in the South, chartered by the several States. Each put forth bills in denominations of from one to a thousand dollars, save in the West, where those above one hundred dollars were rarely seen. Each bill differed in appearance from its fellows and from those of other banks. Taking six as the average number of denominations in popular use, there are, said a writer describing the bank currency of 1863, more than eight thousand three hundred different sorts of paper money in circulation. But to these must be added the issues of fraudulent, broken, worthless banks of which eight hundred and fifty-four are mentioned in the "Descriptive List" for January, making in all more than thirteen thousand varieties of notes. There were, besides, some six thousand kinds of counterfeits. Nowhere else in the world was the art carried to such an extent as in the United States. In Massachusetts were one hundred and eighty-five banks. "Thompson's Reporter" described

* Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 149, January 17, 1863.

counterfeits on one hundred and sixty-nine and Gwynne and Day's on one hundred and seventy-four. There were three hundred and three in New York State, and there were in circulation counterfeit, or altered, notes of all but forty-five. The use of the same name, and occasionally of the same device, made counterfeiting easy. There were twenty-seven "Union Banks" in the country and seven of them were in the State of New York.* The shopkeeper who received from a customer a three or a five dollar bill must consult his copy of the *Monitor* or the *Detector* in order to be sure that the bank whose name it bore was not broken or fraudulent, and the particular denomination he held in his hand had not been counterfeited. Nor could the customer be sure that the pieces of paper given him in change were genuine notes until he had gone through the same laborious process. The value of State bank notes was supposed to be assured, in some cases, by safety funds. But in general it depended on the good management and honesty of the institutions which issued them, and many a one could, and did, put forth notes to three and four times its capital stock, and far beyond all possibility of redemption. I have known instances, said a banker, in which banks have issued eighteen or twenty times the amount of their capital stock, and so far as the public was concerned, with no other security than the good faith of the institution.† Bills of the banks of one State found no circulation in any other. A traveler from Boston to Washington must change his money several times, suffering a heavy discount on each exchange and sometimes a commission to the dealer in uncurrent bills. The whole of this circulation, said Chase, is a loan without interest, by the people to the banks. It cost them nothing save the expense of issue, of redemption and the interest on the gold kept for redemption, and it is worth while to consider whether sound policy does not require that the advantages of the loans be transferred from the banks, representing only interested stockholders, to the Government, representing the interest of the whole people. The time, he believed, had come, when Congress

* National Intelligencer, February 7, 1863.
† Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, vol. i, p. 327.

should use its power to regulate commerce and the value of coin, to regulate the credit currency which entered so largely into the transactions of commerce and in so many ways affected the value of coin. He would have a national currency circulating over all the country without discounts, and suggested two plans by either of which this might be obtained. The first was to withdraw, gradually, the bills of private corporations and in their stead use United States notes payable on demand in coin. The second, and the better plan the Secretary thought, would be a chain of national banks issuing bills bearing a common impression, authenticated and printed by the Government, secured by a deposit of United States bonds and a paper specie reserve, receivable by the United States for all debts except duties on imports, and receivable by the people in payment of all Government debts except interest on bonds. Such a currency, uniform in appearance, uniform in security, safe against depreciation, guaranteed by Government bonds would have the same value in all parts of the country.*

No final action was taken during that session. But in February 1863, after Lincoln in his message had asked for the establishment of such national banks,† after Chase had again urged their creation, after the President had made his special appeal, Congress acted and passed a bill to provide a national currency secured by a pledge of United States bonds. ‡ Five or more persons might associate for banking purposes and having gathered a capital of fifty thousand dollars or more, and having deposited with the treasury United States interest-bearing bonds equal to one third of the paid in capital, would receive in the national currency ninety per cent of the par value of the bonds deposited. These notes were to be received by the Government in payment of all dues save duties on imports, and were to be taken by the people in payment of all Government debts save interest on bonds. Not more than three hundred millions of dollars could be issued and of this sum one half was to be

* Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1861.
† Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 130.
‡ Act of February 25, 1863.

distributed to national banks in the States and territories on the basis of population, and one half according to the existing bank capital, business and resources of each State and Territory.

Great opposition was made to this act. It created something worse than the old Bank of the United States; it gave the Administration great and dangerous power; united in the same hand control of the purse and the sword, a union dangerous to liberty; was an act Congress ought never to have passed; was an attack on State banks, and if successful would cover the country with little banks of small capital. In a panic national bank bills would be sent to Washington for redemption; United States bonds, forced on the market for redemption, would be sold for what they would bring; and the national credit would lie "prostrate, broken down in the vain effort to sustain this gigantic scheme of a national bank currency." Nevertheless, new associations were at once formed under the law, State banks reorganized and became national banks, and when the Comptroller of the Currency made his second annual report, five hundred and eighty-two were doing business.

A few days after Lincoln approved the currency bill he signed the nine hundred million loan bill. By it Chase was authorized to borrow three hundred million dollars for the fiscal year then current, and six hundred million dollars for the next fiscal year, by the sale of bonds. They were to bear not more than six per cent interest, were not redeemable until the end of ten years and fell due at the end of forty. Should the Secretary see fit, he might, instead of bonds, issue four hundred millions of treasury notes which would be legal tender for their face value, bear not more than six per cent interest, and run not more than three years. Should it be necessary, in order to pay the army and navy, he might issue one hundred and fifty millions of greenbacks, but in that sum must be included the one hundred millions authorized by the act of January. Fractional currency to the amount of fifty millions of dollars to replace the postage currency was authorized.*

* Act of March 3, 1863.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SOUTH SEEKS RECOGNITION.

With the arrival of Mason in London and of Slidell in Paris, the departure of Mann for Brussels and of Rost for Madrid,* the struggle of the Confederacy for recognition by foreign powers began in earnest. The hopelessness of success was well described by Yancey on his return home. Visited by admiring friends at his hotel in New Orleans, and called on for a speech he said: You have no friends in Europe, and this is equally true of the North, whose people, government and press, and the writings of whose public men are believed to be utterly mendacious. The sentiment of Europe is anti-slavery, and that portion of public opinion which forms, and is represented by, the Government of Great Britain, is abolition. They will never recognize our independence until our conquering sword hangs dripping over the prostrate heads of the North. Their opinion of the character of the people of the South and the cause in which we are engaged is derived from Northern sources. They never see the journals and periodicals of the South. They believe we are a brave and determined people. But they would like to see the two confederacies crippled by the war, and so will give aid to neither. It is an error to say, "Cotton is King." It is not. It is a great and influential factor in commerce, but not its dictator. The nations of Europe will never raise the blockade until it suits their interests. †

When Mason took up his duties in February, the Ministry, he said, "seemed to hang fire," both as to blockade and to recognition. Nevertheless, those best informed were sure that soon after Parliament met the question of recognition

* Pickett Papers, August 24, 1861.
† The Index, May 1, 1862.

would come before the House of Commons and be pressed to a vote. Nay, it might come in the form of an amendment to the Address.* But the speech from the throne touched neither on the blockade, nor on recognition. Members friendly to the Confederacy assured him this was because the Ministry was opposed to either step just then, and was afraid of any further broils with the United States. That no amendments were offered was because all parties were loath to go into controversies over the Address on account of the recent death of the Prince and the real sorrow of the Queen; but all would go well. The blockade, which could be carried in favor of the South more easily than recognition, would be brought up first, and all efforts directed to its repudiation. When this was accomplished, recognition would quickly follow.†

February tenth Mason had his first interview with Russell, read his instructions concerning recognition, blockade, and the cotton supply, but made no reference to the importance of cotton to England on which so much had been said that the British Government had grown sensitive. Recognition, though desirable and due the South, was not, he said, the matter of first importance. Knowing her strength and her resources the South knew that it was but a matter of time. What he sought to impress on his Lordship, and he assumed it to be the common sentiment of Europe, was, that separation was final, that under no circumstances would the Confederate States ever again come under a common government with the North. Lord Russell asked but a few questions, and left on Mason the impression "that his personal sympathies are not with us, and his policy, inaction." ‡

Both the Minister and the Commons, just at that time, were far more concerned with the blockade, and the question of breaking it, than they were with the persistent claims of the South for recognition. Indeed, a few days after the interview Lord Russell made the position the Government should take the subject of a note to Lord Lyons. It appeared,

* Pickett Papers, Mason to Hunter, February 2, 1862.
† Ibid., February 7, 1862.
‡ Mason Papers, Mason to Hunter, February 22, 1862.

he wrote, from reports of Her Majesty's naval officers, that although a sufficient force was stationed off Wilmington and Charleston, several vessels had successfully eluded the blockaders. A question might, therefore, arise whether such a blockade was to be considered effective. Her Majesty's Government was of the opinion that if due notice was given, and ships stationed at the entrance of a port, "sufficient really to prevent access to it, or to create an evident danger of entering or leaving it, and that these ships do not voluntarily permit ingress or egress, the fact that various ships may have successfully escaped" would not, of itself, prevent the blockade from being an effective one under international law.*

Scarcely was the letter written when Mason sent Russell a list of more than three hundred vessels he claimed had entered and left blockaded ports in the Confederacy, and made a few explanations. In the list of arrivals at New Orleans were many that had come by the Mississippi River and involved no question of blockade running. Others might have been *quasi*-inland, by which he meant through the estuaries and sounds along the coast. But he could not see why the obligations of blockade did not extend to them as well as to vessels coming from the open sea. The estuaries and sounds were accessible from the sea by inlets which, if not guarded, offered a means of ingress for seagoing vessels of light draft.†

A few days later a member of Parliament moved for returns of the number of British vessels which, during the last six months, had run the blockade; for the number of British vessels taken or destroyed in attempts to break the blockade; and for the number of British vessels that had put into Nassau, or other colonial ports, laden with goods contraband of war and with supplies for the Confederacy. Unless produced it would be impossible to discuss fully the efficiency, or inefficiency, of the blockade, or the action of the Government in carrying out the policy of neutrality to which it was pledged. On the one hand it was often said that the blockade

* Russell to Lord Lyons, February 15, 1862.
† Pickett Papers, Mason to Russell, February 17, 1862.

was not effective, and that a fleet ought to be sent to break it. On the other hand the distress caused in Lancashire and in Lyons by want of cotton seemed to show it was effective. Reports were current that vessels, notoriously destined for Southern ports, laden with articles contraband of war had been allowed, by the authorities, to enter Nassau to refit and coal. The Solicitor-General answered and said that the mover implied that all masters of blockade runners were guilty of illegal acts in violation of Her Majesty's Proclamation. Authorities at the port of Nassau, he seemed to imply, had made themselves subject to blame. He entirely misunderstood the law. The Foreign Enlistment Act, the only law under which the Government could interfere, did not in any way touch private merchant ships carrying cargoes contraband of war. They might go from Great Britain, or from any of the dominions of Her Majesty, to any port in a belligerent country whether closed or open. The Government of Great Britain and the governments of colonial possessions had no power whatever to meddle with private persons engaged in such voyages. But the law of nations exposed vessels so engaged to seizure, and the cargoes they carried to confiscation. The motion, by consent, was withdrawn.*

Before a week passed papers relating to the blockade were submitted to Parliament. Letters from Consul Bunch at Charleston declared the blockade of that port so inefficient that vessels were continuously entering and leaving. Consul Mure, of New Orleans, reported that the blockade of the Mississippi was strictly enforced. Commander Hickley of the *Gladiator* considered the blockade of the Southern coast merely nominal. Commander Lyon of the *Racer* thought Savannah and Charleston were effectively closed, but other harbors on the coast were perfectly free. Captain Rose of the *Desperate* passed blockaders off the port of Galveston; but vessels might easily escape. Commander Hewitt reported the blockade of the coast from Cape Lookout to Cape Fear as wholly ineffective.†

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* House of Commons, February 20, 1862.

† Papers submitted, February 27, 1862.

On the following day Mr. Gregory, in the House of Commons, gave notice that on March seventh he would call attention to the blockade and move for papers, and Earl Carnarvon in the House of Lords asked if any communications touching it had passed between Her Majesty's Government and any foreign governments. Lord Russell answered, none.

On the appointed day, Gregory made his motion, claimed that the blockade was ineffective and ought not to be respected, and held that the Government, by recognizing it, was not acting with strict neutrality, but was unfair to the South. In support of his claim he cited the letters from consuls in Southern ports and from the commanders who had sailed along the coast, insisted that sinking the stone fleet in Charleston harbor was an admission by the Federal Government that its work was not effective, read from the London *Times* a statement that insurances were effected every day on ships and cargoes destined for ports in the South, that the highest premium was fifteen guineas, and that the vessels were of some fifteen hundred tons.*

Forster defended the blockade and examined the list submitted by Yancey, and that by Mason. Yancey claimed four hundred vessels had run the blockade. Forster showed the number listed by Yancey was three hundred and twenty-two; that one hundred and nineteen had left port before blockade was established, and that fifty-six were foreign vessels which sailed before the expiration of the fourteen days' grace allowed them. Subtracting these one hundred and seventy-five departures from the three hundred and twenty-two on the list, there remained one hundred and forty-seven. Subtracting twenty-five Mississippi River boats at New Orleans, one hundred and twenty-two remained. Of these one hundred and six were coasters, and all but three were engaged in what Mason called *quasi*-inland voyages, creeping alongshore and through inland sounds and waters. Surely they were not to be classed with ocean-going craft that had to make the run from the open sea. Taking one hundred and three from one hundred and twenty-two left nineteen of

* London Times, February 21, 1862.

which fifteen were from American ports. Mason's list specified fifty-one departures before the end of October. Of these, five departed before the declaration of blockade, twenty-seven had made *quasi*-inland voyages, leaving nineteen evasions of which only one was by a vessel from Europe. We have heard, said Forster, a good deal about the sham blockade. Wherein are these lists any better than a sham? * When it ended the motion was negatived without a division.† In the House of Lords a motion for papers was withdrawn.

It was then the tenth of March. On the eleventh Mason wrote that news of the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson had greatly depressed the friends of the South. They still held firmly to the belief that all hope of reunion and reconstruction was gone; but admitted the time seemed near when the South would be forced to yield the Border States, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, to the North and were sure that in two or three months Mr. Lincoln would agree to separation on these terms. Looking therefore to a speedy ending of the war, leaders in Parliament were not inclined to commit their country to either side in the struggle. ‡

Victories of the Union forces along the seaboard, the occupation of Hatteras Inlet, Port Royal and Roanoke Island, the fall of New Orleans and the tightening of the blockade destroyed all hope of interference to raise it, and left only the question of recognition. Members of Parliament were ready to move the question whenever it might be found expedient; but, in the present state of the Ministerial and Opposition parties it was not deemed prudent to make it an issue and the intended motion was delayed. Mason thought it unwise and unbecoming, in the face of the present attitude

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* March 6, 1862. "W. E. Forster will answer Gregory on the blockade on Friday and I have been getting out some facts for him. . . . If Gregory does touch Yancey's and Mason's figures Forster will demolish them. The flat boats that old Mason says ran the blockade at New Orleans number 119 and I explained to Forster what they are. The list was evidently made up relying on success from English ignorance of our geography." Moran's Diary, Library of Congress.

† House of Commons, March 7, 1862.

‡ Mason Papers, Mason to Secretary of State, March 11, 1862.

of the ministry, to renew the demand for recognition unless it was made as a right, and followed when rejected, as it surely would be, by a note setting forth that it was incompatible with the dignity of his Government and his own self-respect to remain longer in London.*

As in duty bound, he sent off to Secretary Hunter a copy of Russell's letter on blockade the day after it was made public, and waited for instructions.† They came in time and bade him protest against Lord Russell's views. Her Majesty's Government, he was to say, seemed to have engrafted an addition on the principle of the law of blockade as established by the Convention of Paris in 1856, and accepted by the Confederate States at the invitation of Her Majesty's Government. The words, "or to create an evident danger of entering or leaving it," were objected to by Davis. They constituted an addition to the definition of 1856. They raised a doubt as to just what Lord Russell meant. Mason, therefore, was to request him to inform the Government of the Confederate States what construction Her Majesty's Government placed on the text, and whether a blockade was to be considered effective when maintained at an enemy's port by a force sufficient to create an evident danger of entering it, or leaving it and not alone when sufficient really to prevent access. ‡

While Mason waited for a reply, an inquiry was made in each House of Parliament as to the intention of Her Majesty's Government to offer mediation. Both Palmerston and Russell answered that the Government had no such intention at present. It would be of no avail. In the present temper of the belligerents it might be misinterpreted and lead to consequences not intended. Mason now made this the subject of another note. To maintain their independence was the unalterable determination of the Confederate States. Under no circumstances would they come under a common government with those forming the United States. Nor did they ask for such mediation. Nevertheless he could see

* Pickett Papers, Mason to Secretary of State, June 23, 1862.
† Mason Papers, Mason to Hunter, February 28, 1862.
‡ Pickett Papers, Mason to Russell, July 7, 1862.

nothing in their position which could make either offensive or irritating a tender of such offices by Her Majesty's Government as might lead to ending a war hopelessly waged and attended by a wanton waste of life.*

Russell answered that any proposal to the United States to recognize the Southern Confederacy would irritate the North; that any proposal to the Confederate States to return to the Union would irritate the South; and that this was the meaning of the declaration in Parliament.†

Adams was not sure that such a tender of good offices might not be made and made very soon. So sure was he that it would come that he wrote for explicit instructions as to how it should be received. "If the British Government," said Seward, "shall in any way approach you, directly or indirectly, with propositions which assume, or contemplate, an appeal to the President on the subject of our internal affairs, whether it seem to imply a purpose to dictate, or to mediate, or to advise, or even to solicit or persuade, you will answer that you are forbidden to debate, to hear, or in any way receive, entertain, or transmit any communications of the kind." Whether the proposition came from the British Government alone, or from that Government in combination with others, his answer was to be the same. If asked what reception the President would give such a proposition, he was to say he had not been instructed, but did not suppose it would be entertained. Should the British Government alone, or in combination with any other, acknowledge the insurgents, he was at once to suspend his functions as Minister and notify Russell and Seward. Should the British Government declare war on the United States he was to come without delay to Washington. ‡

Unable to persuade Russell to admit that the blockade was ineffective, Mason turned to recognition. He had agreed with Slidell that when the demand for recognition was made it should be made at the same time on France and Great Britain. To Slidell, the failure of the Peninsula campaign,

* Pickett Papers, Mason to Russell, July 17, 1862.
† Ibid., Russell to Mason, July 24, 1862.
‡ Adams' Charles Francis Adams, pp. 285-286.

the Seven Days' battles and the retreat of McClellan to the banks of the James afforded a most fitting time to make the demand, and he now asked Mason to do so. Mason consented, Slidell delivered his letter to Thouvenel on July twenty-third and the next day Mason sent his to Russell * and asked for an interview.

Russell answered that he did not think any advantage could arise from an interview and must decline it.† Thereupon Mason replied that during the interview he would have said that if it were true that in the settled judgment of Europe the separation of the States was final, then failure to recognize the fact implied an opposite belief which must be an incentive to the United States to prolong the war. He then argued to prove that it was impossible that any hope remained in the United States of restoring the broken Union, or subjugating the South, and that failure of foreign governments to formally recognize this, encouraged those in authority in the United States not to concede the fact at home. ‡ Russell answered and said: you say the withdrawal of the Southern States from the Union was not a revolution, far less an insurrection or rebellion, but a termination of a Confederacy which for years had violated the Federal Compact. On the question of the right of withdrawal, as on the conduct of the United States, Her Majesty's Government had never presumed to form a judgment. In the face of the fluctuating events of the war, the alternations of victory and defeat, the capture of New Orleans, the advance of the Federals to Corinth, to Memphis, and to the banks of the Mississippi as far as Vicksburg, contrasted, on the other hand, with the failure of the attack on Charleston and the retreat from before Richmond, Her Majesty's Government was determined to wait.

To obtain a place among the nations, Russell continued, a State ought to have not only strength and resources for a time, but also afford promise of stability and permanence. Should the Confederate States win that place among the

* Mason Papers, July 30, 1862.
† Pickett Papers, Russell to Mason, July 31, 1862.
‡ Ibid., Mason to Russell, July 31, 1862.

nations of the earth, other nations might justly acknowledge an independence achieved by victory and maintained by resistance to all attempts to overthrow it. That time has not arrived. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, could only hope that a peaceful solution of the present blood- and destructive war might not be distant.*

There were three members of Her Majesty's Government, however, who saw no sign of a peaceful solution without foreign interference and were quite ready to interfere. No sooner did the news of the second battle of Bull Run and Pope's crushing defeat reach London than Palmerston wrote Russell and suggested intervention. Detailed accounts in the *Observer,* of the battles of August twenty-ninth and thirtieth showed that the Federals "got a very complete smashing." Very possibly they might lose Baltimore and Washington. In that event would not the time have come "for us to consider whether in such a state of things England and France might not address the contending parties and recommend an arrangement on the basis of separation?" †

"I agree with you," Russell replied, "that the time is come for offering mediation to the United States Government, with a view to the recognition of the independence of the Confederates. I agree, further, that in case of failure, we ought ourselves to recognize the Southern States as an independent State." But before taking so important a step there should be a Cabinet meeting on the twenty-third or twenty-fifth. If an agreement were reached intervention should first be proposed to France, and then by France and England to Russia and the other Powers. ‡

Palmerston thought the plan for mediation excellent. It should of course be made to both belligerents at the same time. As to the time for making the offer it should not be later than the middle of October. Evidently a great conflict was taking place northwest of Washington. Were the Fed-

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* Pickett Papers, Russell to Mason, August 2, 1862.

† Life of Lord John Russell, by Spencer Walpole, vol. ii, p. 349. Palmerston to Russell, September 14, 1862.

‡ Russell to Palmerston, September 17, 1862; Walpole's Life of Russell, vol. ii, p. 349.

erals beaten the way would be open for mediation. Were the Federals to have the best of it, "we may wait a while and see what may follow." *

And now the press began to clamor for interference. There is a degree of inhumanity in the attitude of European Powers, said Lord Derby's organ.† We stand with arms folded while America is turned into a desert, and her people break each other to pieces. What advantage will it be to us to stand by and see the spirit of that country broken, and a whole generation of young men maimed or slain in the cruelest of unjust wars? Let us do something, as we are Christian men. Call it arbitration, mediation, intervention, diplomatic action, recognition of the South, remonstrance with the North, friendly interference, forcible pressure, what you will, but let us do something to stop the carnage. Let us tell the Americans what we think of it and cry hold!

The Confederates, said another journal, have dispelled the doubts of those who doubted whether they could cope with the greater resources of the North, and whether, therefore, they were justified in seeking independence. Backed by their superior military qualities in the field, backed by their superior statesmanship in council, they have clearly proved their title to a separate nationality, and the sooner that title is recognized by the North the better. ‡

How can England and France now justly reject the demand for recognition made by the South? asked the Liverpool *Courier*. How can we refuse to recognize that independence which is a fact? It is not the Capital of the Confederacy, but of the Union that is threatened; Washington, not Richmond, is in peril. What do we wait for, what do we require? They have won the admiration of the civilized world by their constancy, fortitude, endurance, bravery. The siege of Washington is a death blow to the Union. Five Confederacies, each larger than Austria and France, will be formed out of the fragments. § A London journal was sure

* Palmerston to Russell, September 23, 1862; Walpole's Life of Russell, vol. ii, p. 350.

† London Herald, September 16, 1862.

‡ Manchester Guardian, September 15, 1862.

§ Liverpool Courier, September 17, 1862.

the crisis of the war had come. The stunning defeat for which Wendell Phillips prayed had certainly been inflicted. From the first, separation would have been better than holding the South to an allegiance which could only be made a willing allegiance by the submission of the North to the slave power. Better not to fight at all than fight for the restoration of the Union without the abolition of slavery. Could Mr. Lincoln be induced to proclaim emancipation only by a series of defeats, then defeats and investment of Washington were to be desired rather than deprecated. Now, if ever, it hoped Lincoln would lay aside his hesitation and make an end of postponement.* A Paris journal declared the separate existence of the Confederate States a fact, the hopelessness of beating them demonstrated, and asked, can Europe wait longer before recognizing them? It thought not.†

The Federal Army was not beaten, Antietam was won, Lee was driven back to Virginia and the proclamation threatening emancipation was issued. Nevertheless the British Cabinet met, October twenty-third, and duly considered the question of mediation but took no action whatever.

The third member of the Government who wished for recognition was Gladstone. October was the month when members of Parliament went about the country addressing their constituents at public meetings and dinners. Following the custom Gladstone spoke at a dinner at Newcastle on the seventh of October. In the course of his speech he said: "We may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation. We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States as far as their separation from the North is concerned." ‡

Great was the sensation produced by these words. Everybody believed that recognition of the Confederacy would

* London Star, September 15, 1862.
† Constitutionnel, September 16, 1862.
‡ London Times, October 8, 9, 1862.

soon be announced. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone must be aware of the policy of the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone, cabinet minister and dialectician, would never have used these expressions save to announce a settled and official resolve. Recognition might not be immediate. It might be put off till Parliament met, or await a combination of Powers. But the Cabinet had made up its mind that the American war was over and henceforth two nations must exist on the American continent. For this the Cabinet was not to blame. They had followed the lead of the people, for "the educated million in England, with here and there an exception," had "become unmistakably southern." *

At Manchester the statement of Gladstone caused great alarm. Orders for cotton were cancelled, and a business man wrote him complaining that his language at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with regard to the American war, had misled not only himself but the whole commercial community of Manchester. People understood his words "to mean that our Government intends to recognize the Southern States of America. It would be desirable to know if what you said had not the meaning put on it, and that it was not your intention to say, or infer, Her Majesty's Government contemplated recognizing the Southern States of America." † Gladstone's secretary replied he was instructed to say that the Chancellor's words were "no more than the expression, in rather more pointed terms, of an opinion which Mr. Gladstone had long ago stated in public, that the effort of the Northern States to subjugate the Southern ones is hopeless by reason of the resistance of the latter." ‡

To another, the secretary wrote that Mr. Gladstone "holds himself fully responsible for having declared his opinion at Leith, nine months ago, § to the effect that if the Southern States of America were in earnest, the struggle on the part of the Northern States was hopeless; and again at Manchester last week, to the effect that the Confederation which

* Spectator, October 11, 1862.
† London Times, October 20, 1862.
‡ Ibid.
§ January 11, 1862.

had been formed under Mr. Jefferson Davis had shown itself to be sufficiently supplied with the elements which make a nation and with the will and power to defend its independent existence." *

Gladstone sent a copy of the letter to Russell who wrote in reply: "You must allow me to say that I think you went beyond the latitude which all speakers must be allowed, when you said that Jefferson Davis had made a nation. Recognition would seem to follow, and for that step I think the Cabinet is not prepared. However, we shall soon meet to discuss this very topic." †

That the Cabinet was not prepared for recognition had already been made plain. Just a week after Gladstone's speech, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Secretary of State for War, addressing the Herefordshire Agricultural Society at Hereford said: "When we look at the number of armed men the South has raised, at the large armies in the field, at the ability of the Southern generals commanding those armies, it cannot be denied that the South deserved the name of belligerent. But when the Government was asked to go a step further and say that the Southern States have constituted themselves an independent Power, then," it seemed to him, "international law would not be on our side." The war was not decided. Until it was decided, or so far decided in favor of the South as to induce the North to recognize their independence or to prove to foreign States that the North was incapable of continuing the contest, until that moment arrived, it could not be said, in accordance with the established doctrines of international law, that the Southern States "had, *de facto,* established their independence." All this being a matter of notoriety he did not think Her Majesty's Government was "guilty of any neglect in not recognizing the independence of the Southern States." ‡ Nevertheless Russell was much inclined to recognize their independence. "If the Great Powers of Europe were to offer their good offices, and those good offices were to be

* London Times, October 24, 1862.

† Life of William Ewart Gladstone, John Morley, vol. ii, p. 80.

‡ London Times, October 17, 1862. Speech on October 14.

rejected by the North," Her Majesty's Government should be fairly entitled to choose its time to recognize the Confederacy. The best time would be "when the next campaign" opened, "and when Parliament was sitting." * If peace were not made before next May, said he, "I shall then be for recognizing the South. The Democratic Party may then have got the ascendency. I heartily wish their success." †

John Bright thought Gladstone's Newcastle speech discreditable and calculated to do mischief.

He has, said Bright, made a vile speech at Newcastle full of insulting pity for the North, and of praise and support for the South. He is unstable as water in some things; he is for Union in Italy, and for disunion and bondage in America. A handful of Italians in prison in Naples without formal trial shocked his soul so much that he wrote a pamphlet and has made speeches upon it. But he has no word of sympathy or of hope for the four million bondsmen of the South. ‡ He "came of a family long connected with slavery, and is now the Minister in a country where aristocracy rules, and by which a Republic is necessarily hated, and I suppose he takes the color of the atmosphere in which he moves." §

A member of the American Legation noted in his diary that the speech had a bad effect. It was feared there might be something official about it; that it might be intended to indicate, in advance, a determination to recognize the South. || But when Adams had an interview with Russell he was told that Gladstone had been rebuked by all members of the Cabinet for his indiscreet speech, that the Chancellor had expressed his willingness to publish a retraction address to Lord Palmerston, nay, had actually sent the draft of such a paper to Palmerston. Indeed, Adams was assured

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* Russell to Sir G. C. Lewis, October 26, 1862. Gouch, The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, vol. ii, p. 329.

† Russell to Sir George Grey, ibid., p. 332.

‡ Bright to Sumner, October 10, 1862. Trevelyan, Life of John Bright, p. 320.

§ Bright to Thomas H. Dudley, October 18, 1862. Dudley MSS.

|| Moran's Diary, Library of Congress. Entry under October 9, 1862.

no change of policy was contemplated. Should any be adopted he would be given early notice.*

Mason was deeply disappointed. His mission, he thought, might well be brought to a close. The rulers of the Cabinet were obdurate. They would neither recognize the Confederacy then, nor give any hint when and under what circumstances they would do so in the future. Nevertheless, all things that happened in the North were working together for good for the South.

The cotton famine was looming up in fearful proportions. Hundreds of thousands of mill hands were dependent on charity and were increasing in number from ten to twenty-five thousand a week. The public mind was much agitated and distressed by the prospect of suffering during the coming winter. Such conditions must surely affect the councils of the Nation. But he saw nothing of the members of the Government and often thought it due the dignity of the Confederate Government to bring his mission to a close.†

The suffering in England to which Mason alluded was indeed serious. In London, in Manchester, in many cities, Relief Committees were collecting and forwarding funds, coal, clothing. In the manufacturing districts benefit societies, trade unions, savings banks were stripped of funds by the unemployed. Thousands who had no such resources were pawning furniture, clothes, anything on which they could obtain a penny. As autumn approached distress increased at an appalling rate. In twenty-four unions in the manufacturing district around Manchester the Poor Law Inspection reported that in October two hundred and eight thousand six hundred were receiving parochial aid. Cottage owners then gathered no rents, shopkeepers had no customers, and one quarter of the population had no other means of support than public or private charity. ‡ In the face of such dire distress could England respect the blockade? Mason hoped not. He also

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* Moran's Diary, October 24, 1862.

† Mason Papers, Mason to Benjamin, November 6, 1862.

‡ The Index, October 2, 9, 23, 30; November 6, 13, 1862. See also History of the Cotton Famine from the fall of Sumter, Robert Arthur Arnold.

placed great hopes on the effect of Lincoln's proclamation threatening emancipation. It was, he wrote, generally believed to have been issued under prompting by Adams, to head off recognition, and everywhere met with derision and contempt.* From one end of England to the other the press was bitter in its attack. Lincoln had no power to put forth such a proclamation. It had no legal force. He might as well have decreed that on and after January first debtors should cease to pay their creditors.† It was a world-wide announcement that he and his accomplices had come to the end of their tethers. ‡ He had, in desperation, ventured on an act of high-handed usurpation such as would hardly be dared by a monarch of a consolidated empire whose subjects had even the semblance of parliamentary government. Of his own will he had proclaimed a total change in the status of three million persons. § So long as the Constitution of the United States existed the proclamation could have no legal force. Finding his authority waning, he sought to enforce it where it was utterly ignored. Having failed to conquer the South by his legions he had attempted to effect his purpose by the scratch of a pen. || Even if this proclamation of freedom for the slaves were legal, it would nevertheless be a crime. ¶ The moral principle at stake was entirely ignored. Emancipation was promised as a mere incident of war. The government would liberate the enemy's slaves as it would the enemy's cattle, simply to weaken them in the coming conflict.** Where he has no power, Mr. Lincoln would set the negroes free; where he has power he will consider them as slaves.††

Almost a month passed after Mason wrote to Russell complaining of what he considered an addition to the law of blockade as laid down in the Declaration of Paris; yet

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* Mason Papers, November 6, 1862.
† Standard, October 7, 1862.
‡ Daily Telegraph, October 7, 1862.
§ Morning Herald, October 7, 1862.
|| Morning Post, October 6, 1862.
¶ Saturday Review, October 11, 1862.
** Spectator, October 11, 1862.
†† London Times, October 7, 1862.

no answers came from Her Majesty's Government. Wearied with waiting he sent home a copy of his letter and asked for instructions. They came late in December, bade him enter a protest against the purpose of Great Britain to alter, to the injury of the Confederate States, the law in relation to blockade. The protest was made,* but Russell could see no reason to modify his language to Lord Lyons. The Declaration of Paris did not mean that a port must be so blockaded as really to prevent access in all winds, and independently of whether entrance might be made on a dark night, or by small, low steamers, or by coasting craft creeping alongshore. There could be no doubt that a blockade would be in legal existence though a sudden storm, or change of wind occasionally blew the blockading squadron to sea. If driven off by force the blockade would be broken and must be renewed *de novo*. It must be practically effective, and he could not consider the Southern ports as other than so blockaded.†

While Mason was busy in his way, another agent of the Confederacy, Henry Hotze, was striving, through the press, to inform the British public concerning the South, its people and its cause and in this way influence that public opinion which found expression in Parliament. Duly commissioned a Commercial Agent, instructed to "impress on the public mind abroad the ability of the Confederate States to maintain their independence," to publish whatever information he might possess likely to convey a just idea of their ample resources,‡ and provided with a contingent allowance of fifteen hundred dollars a year, he reached London in the autumn of 1862 and began at once to carry out his duties. So well did he succeed that in a short time he was writing, editorially and as a correspondent, for the *Post*, the *Herald*, the *Standard* and the *Market Review*. The more Hotze observed the British public and the more he learned of its opinion on the war, the more convinced did he become that it needed to be informed. All the news that reached British journals came from Northern sources and

* Pickett Papers, Mason to Russell, January 3, 1863.
† Mason Papers, Russell to Mason, February 10, 1863.
‡ Hotze to Mason, December 12, 1862.

was distorted to suit the Yankee cause. He determined, therefore, with the financial aid of Mr. Brewer of Maryland and Mr. Walter of Savannah, to begin the publication of the *Index, A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, and News.* The manners and customs of the Confederate States, their resources and capabilities, the real status of the people were, Hotze said, a sealed book to Europe. If to this sealed book, the *Index* could awaken the interest of an indifferent reader the purpose of its founders would be accomplished. The plan was carried out and from May first, 1862, when the first number appeared, to August twelfth, 1865, no week passed without an issue of the *Index.**

To a limited extent, Hotze reported, he had subsidized newspapers by procuring them subscribers from among his friends, and with money from the contingent fund. But the *Index* afforded a far more effective way of molding public opinion. Information concerning the South, especially its armies and their organization, was eagerly sought by the writers of leaders who found a ready market for it in the journals for which they wrote. He would employ these gentlemen to write for the *Index,* make them familiar with Southern affairs, attach them to the Southern cause, gain their support in the journals to which they contributed, and so found a school of Southern writers whose services in the moral battles he must wage would be far more effective than any that could be rendered by the pens of his countrymen.† Benjamin heartily approved. ‡

In Paris, Slidell met with no better fortune than did Mason in London. During an interview Napoleon told him that although it was for the interest of France that the United States should be powerful and act as a counterweight to England's maritime power, his sympathy was with the Confederate States whose people were struggling for the principles of self-government, a principle of which he had always been a steady advocate. To find a way in which to give effect to his sympathy was difficult. In the matter

* The Index, No. 1, vol. i, May 1, 1862.
† Pickett Papers, Hotze, September 26, 1862.
‡ Benjamin to Hotze, January 16, 1863.

of the blockade he had made a great mistake, which he deeply regretted. France should never have respected it. European neutrals should have recognized the Confederacy in the summer of 1861, when the ports were all in its possession. But what could now be done? To open them by force would be an act of war. Mediation would be refused, and probably in insulting terms by the North. Recognition, while of little advantage to the South, might involve him in a war. England did not appreciate his kindly action in the *Trent* affair. For many reasons he wished to be on the best of terms with her, but the policy of nations changed with circumstances and he was obliged to look forward to the possibility of a time when relations might not be as friendly as then existed.

Passing to the blockade, Slidell offered a great bribe to the Emperor if he would open the ports by force. Benjamin had instructed him to tender, in return for such a service, the introduction of French products free of duty for a certain time. Lest the cost of the naval expedition necessary to break the blockade should be a hindrance, Slidell was to pledge the delivery to France, in specified Southern ports, of one hundred thousand bales of cotton each weighing five hundred pounds. At twenty cents a pound, the price in France, their value would be twelve million five hundred thousand dollars.* "It did not seem disagreeable" to the Emperor. Indeed, Slidell was sure "he will soon have a fleet in the neighborhood of our coast strong enough to keep it clear of every federal cruiser." The *Gloire,* the *Garonne,* or the *Normandy* could pass the fortifications of New York and Boston, hold those cities at their mercy, or enter Chesapeake Bay, sink every vessel there and destroy Fortress Monroe by bombardment.

The Emperor then spoke of recognition, saying mere recognition would be of no value. Slidell replied: there was a large minority in the North in favor of peace with separation. But a reign of terror stifled all expression of this opinion. Congressional elections were at hand, and recognition would encourage this minority and perhaps turn it into

* Pickett Papers, Benjamin to Slidell, April 12, 1862.

a majority. Humanity called on Europe, and especially on France, to end a war devastating the South, exhausting the North, and paralyzing the commerce of Europe. The policy of nations, the Emperor replied, is controlled by their interests, not by their sympathies. True, said Slidell, but the interests to be consulted are not of the passing hour. England no longer played the great part she once did in world affairs. She had adopted a tortuous, time serving, selfish policy which made all nations her bitter enemies. The South, at first, was well disposed towards her, but, having adopted the old exploded principle of blockade, and in order to secure for her Indian Colonies the monopoly of cotton, having given a false meaning to the Declaration of Paris, the South would never again consider her a friend.*

Slidell, despite the coolness of Napoleon, determined to formally demand recognition on the first fitting occasion, and now, the victories of Lee having afforded one, acted at once, and, July twenty-third, in an interview with Thouvenel, he announced that he had come to present a demand formally. Had you not better withhold it for the present? he was asked. In a few weeks when we shall have further news from the seat of war we can better judge of the wisdom of taking so grave a step. A refusal to recognize might be harmful to the Southern cause. Slidell declared he must persist, and Thouvenel reluctantly received his letter. Mason delivered his note on the following day. Slidell heard no more of the matter until one day late in August when a friend, holding a high position in the foreign office, and on confidential terms with Thouvenel, called and said that the Minister did not wish to make a meaningless reply to the demand; that at present he could make no other; and that unless Slidell insisted he would be silent. Slidell decided not to insist, but await more victories in Virginia, or until the Emperor returned from Biarritz and then ask for an answer. Should it be unsatisfactory he would withdraw to some place near Paris and stay until it was intimated that his demand might be renewed.†

* Pickett Papers. Interview of July 17, 1862.

† Ibid., Slidell to Benjamin, August 20, 1862.

By October, Napoleon had made up his mind, granted another interview to Slidell and promised to try to bring about joint mediation by England, France and Russia. He would, he said, prefer to propose an armistice of six months. If refused by the North it would give good reason for recognition, perhaps for more active intervention.* So pleased was the Emperor with his plan that without delay his ambassadors in England and Russia were instructed to propose that the three governments exert their influence at Washington, and at Richmond to obtain an armistice of six months. Both Powers declined, Russia, because she believed that the semblance of any pressure whatever of a kind likely to wound public opinion in the United States, and excite feelings very easily aroused by the bare idea of foreign intervention, ought to be avoided; † Earl Russell, because he saw no hope, at the present moment, that the Federal Government would accept the proposal, and a refusal just then would prevent any speedy renewal of the offer. ‡

Slidell, encouraged by the Emperor's offer, and not at all discouraged by the refusal of Great Britain and Russia, waited for a fitting time when he might urge him to act alone. The crushing defeat at Fredericksburg seemed to provide just such a time. Slidell seized it and, January eighth, 1863, in a memorandum, begged the Emperor to recognize the Confederacy without the support of England and Russia. § It may be that he had already decided to do so. It may be that he was moved by the appeal of Slidell. But whatever the cause, within four and twenty hours a dispatch to Mercier, his minister at Washington, was written and a copy shown to Dayton, then American Minister at Paris. Could not the United States, Mercier was asked in the dispatch, accept the idea of direct informal conference with commissioners representing the States of the South? Informal conferences between belligerents did not necessarily require immediate cessation of hostilities. Plenipotentiaries

* France and the Confederate Navy, John Bigelow, p. 128.

† The proposal was printed in the London Times, November 14, 1862.

‡ London Times, November 15, 1862. See also Appleton's Cyclopedia, 1862, p. 738. The Index, November 20, 1862.

§ Pickett Papers, Slidell to Benjamin, January 11, 1863.

had often met, exchanged communications, agreed on all the essential provisions of a treaty of peace while the leaders of contending armies went on with the strife. The United States had done so. The negotiations which secured their independence were begun long before the war ended. Nothing, therefore, need hinder it from entering on an informal conference with the Southern States. Representatives of both parties could meet at some neutral place and examine reciprocal complaints. In place of the accusations the North and the South were casting on each other there would be discussions of the differences which parted them. By well-ordered and profound deliberations they would seek to find out if their interests were absolutely irreconcilable, if separation could no longer be avoided, if the memory of a common existence, if the many ties which had once made of the United States one sole and whole federal State were not stronger than the causes which had put arms in the hands of the two people. Persuaded that such a plan was for the best interests of the United States, the Emperor did not hesitate to recommend it.*

Seward received the dispatch on the third of February and three days thereafter sent off his answer addressed to Dayton with instructions to leave a copy with Drouyn de L'Huys. With great courtesy and at great length he answered every argument made by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and politely declined to even consider the proposal. It amounts, he wrote, to this: that the Government while engaged in putting down an armed insurrection shall enter into diplomatic discussion with the insurgent on the question whether its authority shall not be renounced and the country delivered over to disunion and anarchy. If the Government could so far compromise the national authority as to enter into such debates, he could not see what good would come of them. No arguments a commission could make could persuade the leaders of the insurgents to abandon their disloyalty. An offer of peace, by the United States, on the basis of union, would be rejected. Peace

* Drouyn de L'Huys to Mercier, January 9, 1863. Senate Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 38.

proposed at the cost of disunion would be immediately, unreservedly, indignantly rejected by the American people.*

The Senate having called for and received copies of the letters now expressed its opinion on the proposal of Napoleon. Because, it said, a plan looking to pacification through foreign mediation has been made by the Emperor of the French and promptly declined by the President; and lest the idea of mediation, or intervention in some form, should be regarded as practicable by foreign governments and they be led to do things tending to embarrass friendly relations, it was fit that Congress declare its intentions. The United States were grappling with an unprovoked and wicked rebellion which sought the ruin of the Republic that it might found a new Power whose cornerstone should be slavery. In order to suppress the rebellion and prevent the establishment of such a Power the national Government was using fleets and armies and while so engaged any proposal from a foreign Government, having for its object the arrest of these efforts, would be an encouragement of the rebellion, would tend to prolong and embitter the contest and postpone the day of peace, and would be looked on as an unfriendly act. The United States, confident of the justice of their course, anxious for the speedy return of peace, awaiting with well-assured trust the suppression of the rebellion, announced as their unalterable purpose the vigorous prosecution of the war until the rebellion was put down. The President was requested to have these resolutions laid before foreign Governments.†

Feeling in the South towards the proposal of Napoleon was well expressed by a Richmond newspaper when it said, we want none of his mediation, nor his *pourparlers* nor commissioners. We have commissioners. they are Lee, Beauregard, Longstreet, Johnston.

That Napoleon expected his offer of mediation to be accepted, that he wished it to be accepted, is impossible to believe, for, while Drouyn de L'Huys was writing the dis-

* Seward to Dayton, February 6, 1863. Senate Executive Document, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 38.

† Adopted by the Senate and House, March 3, 1863.

patch to Mercier, the Emperor was planning to allow the building, in his ports, of Confederate ships of war. Indeed he suggested it. "Why not," he said to Slidell during the interview in October, "build a fleet?" Two vessels, Slidell replied, had been built in England and others, including two powerful ironclad steamers, were under way. The difficulty was not to build, but to man and arm them. If the Emperor would but give some verbal assurance that his police would not observe too closely when men and guns were to be put aboard, the Confederate Government would gladly build war ships in France. "Why could you not have them built as for the Italian Government?" the Emperor asked. "I do not think it would be difficult. but I will consult the Minister of Marine about it." *

As the year drew to a close, hearing nothing further, Slidell called on the Secretary of the Emperor, related the conversation concerning the building of war ships and asked him to remind Napoleon of his promise. It was January, 1863, when he again saw the Secretary and was told that the Emperor, after consulting his Ministers, found the difficulties greater than he had expected and for the present could not give any encouragement. This was discouraging, but a few days later M. Arman of Bordeaux, the largest shipbuilder in France, a member of the Corps Législatif, and a man the Emperor was said to consult on all naval matters, came to Slidell, offered to build ironclad ships, said there would be no difficulty in arming and equipping them, and declared he spoke with authority.†

Confident of success Slidell now wrote to the Confederate Secretary of State that as soon as Erlanger had placed the Cotton Loan he would send for Maury and Bulloch to come and make the contracts. The loan was placed in March and Bulloch promptly signed a provisional contract for four vessels of the *Alabama* type, the contract to take effect when Slidell had assurance that the vessels might be equipped and go to sea.‡

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* Pickett Papers, Slidell to Benjamin, October 28, 1863.
† Ibid., Slidell, January 11, 1863.
‡ Ibid., April 20, 1863.

M. Arman was too busy to build four within ten months as required by the contract. The two corvettes were therefore undertaken by M. Voruz of Nantes.

Through M. Arman an audience with the Emperor was now arranged for Slidell who asked for assurance from Napoleon that the ships might be armed and sail.* Napoleon replied, he might build the vessels, but it would be necessary that their destination be kept secret.† The pretense was therefore set up that the corvettes were for commercial purposes in the Indian Ocean, Chinese waters and elsewhere. Overruled by the Emperor, the Minister of Marine reluctantly signed the order authorizing the building of the corvettes, and the work began. ‡

Propaganda in France was intrusted to Edwin de Leon. A special agent of the Department of State, he was given a secret service fund of twenty-five thousand dollars, and instructed to use it for the enlightenment of public opinion in Europe. § He reached London late in June, 1862; found the friends of the South depressed by the advance of McClellan towards Richmond; and as a private gentleman traveling in England had an interview with Palmerston, explained the situation in Virginia and assured the Prime Minister that Lee would certainly be victorious. His Lordship was politely incredulous but spoke candidly on recognition. The South, he said, must do much before it would be entitled to recognition as an independent nation. The capture of New Orleans, the blockade of the coast, were not to be ignored. Asked if the repulse of the Northern army before Richmond and a transfer of the siege from Richmond to Washington would be enough, Lord Palmerston said, no. ||

From London de Leon hurried to Paris, and sought advice of Ferdinand de Lesseps, cousin of the Empress Eugenie, as to how he could reach the press and men of influence favorable to "the cause." Journals "accessible and amenable to

* Pickett Papers, Slidell to Benjamin, April 11, 1863.
† Ibid., June 21, 1863.
‡ Ibid., Slidell, February 16, 1864.
§ Ibid., Benjamin to Mason, April 12, 1862.
|| Ibid., De Leon, July 20, 1862.

reason" he found were *La Patrie, Le Constitutionnel* and *Le Pays.* These he subsidized. Opposed to the South were the radical newspapers. After the free use of money he was able to write Benjamin that the semi-official, some clerical journals hitherto hostile, and the organs of the manufacturers of Lyons, Bordeaux, Havre and Rouen were supporting the cause of the South.*

Rost at Madrid, Mann at Brussels, Pickett in Mexico met with no success whatever. Helm when he presented his letter of credence as Special Agent to the Island of Cuba was informed that the Governor-General had no authority to receive him as such.†

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* Pickett Papers. De Leon to Benjamin, September 30, 1862.

† Ibid., Rost, March 21, 1862. Mann, May 13, 29, July 5, November 21, 1862. Pickett, July 28, November 29, 1861. Helm, October 22, 1861; December 12, 1861; January 5, 1862.

CHAPTER XIII.

BLOCKADE RUNNERS AND CRUISERS.

Unmindful of what went on in Parliament, heedless of the Queen's Proclamation, ready to take all risks, merchants and speculators now plunged more deeply than ever into the exciting business of running the blockade. The proclamation meant nothing. It was enough to know that the only barrier between them and the rich markets of the Confederate States was a thin line of slow vessels striving to close the ports of the South. Fabulous stories of fortunes of twenty, fifty thousand pounds sterling, made on a single venture, found willing ears, and the Mersey, the Clyde, the Thames were diligently searched for suitable ships. They must be swift enough to escape any chaser, light enough of draft to go over the bars at any port, and must be driven by propellers, for side wheelers could not make the necessary speed and were much more likely to be crippled. When demand outran supply building began, and before the year closed twenty-eight vessels especially designed for blockade running, were launched at yards along the bank of the river Clyde. Unable to get steamers fast enough, sailing vessels were bought or chartered, loaded with cargoes purchased on a joint-stock basis with shares at three hundred pounds sterling each, and dispatched to Nassau, Bermuda, Havana, Matamoras. Reputable insurance companies took risks at high premiums,* and owners of sailing craft openly advertised for cargoes for blockaded ports. Confederate agents worked hard to create a belief that the blockade offered little obstruction. Lloyd's claimed to have a list of one thousand vessels which had broken through.†

* Adams to Russell, March 10, 1862. Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, pp. 45, 48.

† Consul at London, January 31, 1862. Official Records Navy, Series 2, vol. xii, p. 557.

Against all this Adams protested. The President, he wrote Russell, had directed him to call attention to the unfortunate effect on the minds of the people of the United States of the conviction that nearly all the aid the insurgents obtained from abroad came from Great Britain. The President was aware of the losses and embarrassment caused other nations by the blockade. He hoped soon to be able to lift it. But that depended on coöperation from without. Just in proportion to the success of the efforts of ill-intentioned persons in foreign countries to violate it, must be the endeavors to enforce it rigidly. Of the vessels which broke through a great part were fitted out in England. To let them go forth unnoticed by the Government was not only to increase irritation in the United States, but to prevent the bringing about of a better state of affairs.*

The charge that nearly all the aid the Confederates obtained from abroad came from Great Britain, Russell declared, was vague. He believed the greater part of the arms and ammunition shipped from British ports went to the United States. True, it was the duty of nations in amity not to suffer their good faith to be violated by ill-disposed persons. But it was also a duty not to punish persons on mere suspicion, without proof of evil intent. It was not the custom in England to deprive persons of liberty or property without evidence of some offense. Adams had furnished him with no such evidence.

As to coöperating with the United States in enforcing the blockade, he must remind Mr. Adams that Her Majesty's Government had abstained from complaining of the irregularity with which it had been established. Beyond forbearance and a liberal interpretation of the law of nations in favor of the United States, Her Majesty's Government could not go. If by coöperation was meant imposing restraints, or taking sides, he could not undertake to say that Her Majesty's Government would adopt either course.† Alleging an insurrection to exist in from nine to eleven States, the

* Adams to Russell, March 25, 1862. Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, p. 55.

† Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, pp. 62-63.

United States for twelve months had attempted to maintain a blockade of three thousand miles of coast. This blockade, kept up irregularly, but when enforced, enforced with severity, had seriously injured the trade and manufacture of the United Kingdom. Thousands of persons were obliged to resort to poor rates for subsistence because of it. Yet Her Majesty's Government never sought to take advantage of obvious imperfections to declare it ineffective. But, when asked to go beyond this and lay arbitrary restraints on the trade of Her Majesty's subjects, it was impossible to listen to the suggestion.*

Adams answered, that mindful, not only of the interests of the citizens of the United States, but of those of all friendly nations, the President desired to hasten the day when the blockade might be lifted. Hence he saw with regret the strenuous efforts of evil-disposed persons in foreign countries to impair its efficiency and prolong the struggle, and was embarrassed by the complaints of a friendly nation which, at the same time, confessed its inability to restrain its subjects from stimulating the resistance that made the continuance of the blockade necessary. Adams had before him a list of eleven steamers and ten sailing vessels dispatched within thirty days from Liverpool with supplies of all sorts for the insurgents, and was informed that large sums had been subscribed by British subjects to help the rebels carry on the war.† He alluded to a report from Dudley that forty thousand pounds sterling had been contributed in Liverpool to buy arms and ammunition for the Confederates, and that a second subscription was under way. ‡

Russell replied that the foreign enlistment act was intended to prevent subjects of the Crown from going to war when the Sovereign was not at war. They were forbidden to fit out ships of war in British ports, or enlist in the service of a foreign state at war with another foreign state.

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* Russell to Adams, May 6, 1862. Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, pp. 84-85.

† Adams to Russell, May 8, 1862. Ibid., pp. 85-86.

‡ Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, p. 78.

But owners and masters of merchant ships, carrying warlike stores, did not wage war. If taken running a blockade they were tried, condemned, and lost both ships and cargoes. That was the law of nations, and in calling on Her Majesty's Government to prohibit such adventures Mr. Adams was calling on it to do that which belonged to the cruisers and courts of the United States to do for themselves.*

The little town of Nassau now took on the semblance of a shipping port of no mean pretensions. To it from England came not only arms and munitions, but salt, clothes, shoes, hats, hardware, edged tools, soap, saltpeter, books, pens, ink and paper, articles which found a ready sale in Southern ports. One week in June, five British steamers, all laden with contraband cargoes, lay at the anchorage ten miles east of Nassau. Dudley reported that seven left Liverpool within ninety days loaded with arms, and that he heard that thirty were to sail as a fleet to some Southern port and by force or strategy break through. Small vessels, often as many as five in a week, came in from Charleston or Wilmington, or Fernandina, or Havana, with cotton, rosin and rice. The time for the return voyage was the dark of the moon. Then the runners would lie just out of sight of the blockaders until night when, guided by the riding lights of the enemy ships, they would go northward around the end of the line, run for shore, and, coasting along in shallow waters, make port. If discovered and hotly chased they ran ashore and were burned. A few were captured, going in or coming out, and sent to New York. A dark and rainy night, a stormy night, a thick fog were great helps. Then, with all lights out, it was safe to steam through the blockading squadron. Many and many a day, after a fog had lifted, the lookouts from the mast heads of the blockaders off Charleston would see some newcomer riding safely at anchor under the guns of Fort Moultrie.

During the early days of the war the trade was carried on by agents sent over from the Confederate States, the Consul at London said. These agents, aided by their friends and a few mercantile houses, bought the supplies, chartered

* Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, p. 93.

the vessels, and shipped the goods. By far the greater part of the trade, save small arms, was now in the hands of British merchants, and supplies, bought with British capital and carried in British ships, crossed the Atlantic under the British flag. Men came from Richmond with contracts under which they were to deliver specified articles in Confederate ports and receive a large sum above cost. British merchants became interested in these ventures and shared in the profits or the losses. Frequently several joined, chartered a vessel and made up a cargo independent of contractors. Somebody would put up a steamer to carry cargo to a rebel port at an enormous rate of freight, or to Bermuda, Nassau, Havana, Matamoras at a lower rate. Ships bound on such voyages were not advertised, nor was their destination made known to the public. Their cargoes consisted of shipments by small speculators, or, if joint-stock concerns, each member shared in the profits or the losses in proportion to the sum he had invested. Steamers and cargoes were insured "to go to America with liberty to run the blockade." *

When Adams asked Seward for some details as to the effectiveness of the blockade, for a list, if possible, of the vessels that had run in and run out, Seward made light of the matter. He could not give the names of the runners for they were not known. The real test was the effect of the blockade which had made cotton four times as costly in New York as in New Orleans, and salt ten times as costly in New Orleans as in New York.† The blockade was as effective as any ever had been. ‡

Secretary Welles did not think so. Again and again he urged DuPont to charge his officers to be vigilant. Vessels were constantly running in and out of Charleston. From many sources he heard of communications kept up with Nassau. Small vessels with cotton arrived every day at Havana. Northern sensitiveness was aroused by anything

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* Morse to Adams, December 24, 1862. Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. i, p. 731.

† Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, p. 42.

‡ Seward to Adams, February 17, 1862. Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, vol. i, p. 36.

which indicated commercial intercourse with the rebels and made unremitting vigilance necessary.* The Senate grew sensitive, and bade its Committee on Naval Affairs inquire if there had been any laxity on the part of officers charged with the blockade of the South Atlantic Coast, and particularly at Charleston, and if there was any foundation for the statement of the British Consul that armed ships of the Confederate Government carrying munitions of war had gone in and out and no attempt made to stop them.† Du-Pont admitted there had been instances of evasion, but when he considered the difficulties of the service, the character of the coast, the needs of the blockaded people, the inducement of high prices, he wondered that violations were so few. The conduct of the officers had been most satisfactory, and he should regret if the misstatements of a partisan agent of a foreign government, sympathizing with the rebels, cast a shadow on their just fame or lowered them in the estimation of their countrymen. ‡

The Confederate Secretary of War did not think the blockade was any hindrance to getting supplies from abroad. Savannah, he admitted, was closed. At Charleston the enemy relied on the stone fleet. Off Brunswick, Georgia, no blockader had been seen for two months. At Wilmington there was hardly a show of blockade. At Georgetown, South Carolina, there was no risk. If a vessel could manage to come within sixty or seventy miles of any one of these ports, so as to run in at night, there was small chance of capture. §

As the spring and summer wore away more warnings of coming attempts reached Welles. Thirteen ships at Liverpool, three at Glasgow, were taking on cargoes. Three had sailed from Nassau with arms and powder, and a fleet of seven steamers painted a light gray, even to their smoke-stacks, were preparing to sail in a body and break the block-

* Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. xii, p. 691.

† Ibid., p. 720.

‡ Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

§ Secretary of War to Louis Heysinger, January 5, 1862. Official Records, Series 4, vol. i, p. 832.

ade by force, if necessary, at Charleston.* Ten vessels under the Union flag then rode at anchor off Charleston harbor; but despite warning and watching, DuPont, with great mortification, was forced to report that eight steamers, painted lead color, were in that port and that another had escaped.

It was then the end of August. Across the ocean the agents of the Confederacy had been most successful. Lieutenant North had contracted with a Glasgow firm for the building of an ironclad frigate of thirty-two hundred tons; Bulloch had contracted with the Lairds for two ironclad rams; Frazer, Trenholm & Co. had presented the Confederate Government with a gunboat under construction; Mr. George N. Saunders had gone to England with a contract to build six iron blockade runners for the Treasury Department, and the *Oreto* and the *"290"* were at sea.† Judging from contracts in the hands of shipbuilders, it was said, the Confederate States Government is showing as much energy in creating an ironclad fleet as it manifested in the series of battles which threw the army of the Potomac, defeated and broken, behind the defenses of Washington. A large ram is under way in the Mersey without any attempt at concealment, a vessel in the Brunswick dock has a cargo of plates ready to be fastened on the sides of Confederate vessels awaiting their arrival in Charleston, and ships are building at Birkenhead for the Chinese, that is, the Confederate Government.

First of the famous commerce destroyers to put to sea was the *Sumter* fitted out at New Orleans. Commander Raphael Semmes took her down the Mississippi to the head of the Passes, ran the blockade, and in the course of a week had ten prizes. Some he burned. Some he sent to Cienfuegos, in Cuba. With the crew of one he put in at Trinidad. Before landing them he sent for the two mates, told them he came to the island because it was a mail station, and said, had he received news that the United States had made good its threat to treat the crew of the *Savannah* as pirates,

* Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. xiii, pp. 71, 81, 286.
† Liverpool Journal of Commerce, October 14, 1862.

he would have retaliated and hanged just as many of them. Late news from the United States did not put on him so unpleasant a duty.*

There was then no American consul at Trinidad. But an American citizen wrote Seward that the prisoners were put on shore in so destitute a condition that money was collected to clothe them, that when the *Sumter* came, the British flag was raised on the Government flagstaff in her honor, that Semmes remained six days in port and was furnished with all necessary supplies for continuing his cruise.† Against this Adams, by order of Seward, protested to Russell. He replied that Her Majesty's Proclamation of Neutrality had not been violated, that the Attorney-General knew no reason why the *Sumter* should not have been provisioned, and that, if the flag were raised, it was probably to show the nationality of the island.‡ From Trinidad the *Sumter* cruised along the coast of South America in the path of vessels from Rio and the Pacific, capturing and burning as he went, and, short of coal, put in at St. Pierre. § There he was held for a week by the presence, off the port, of the United States sloop of war *Iroquois;* but escaped, went to Cadiz, was ordered away and made Gibraltar where he was soon blockaded by three United States cruisers. Unable to escape, the *Sumter,* by permission of the British Government, was put up at auction and bought by Frazer, Trenholm & Co. ‖ Adams protested that the sale was fictitious, was a blind to rescue her from her present position, was using the British flag for protection until ready for further depredations on American commerce. ¶ Again he protested in vain, and one windy night she slipped out and reached Liverpool whence she sailed for Nassau with shot, shells, guns and ammunition.** During her memorable cruise she made prize of

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* Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. i, p. 633.
† Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, p. 485.
‡ Ibid., p. 486.
§ Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. i, pp. 635-637.
‖ Ibid., Series 2, vol. ii, p. 299.
¶ Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, p. 516.
** Ibid., pp. 519, 521, 587.

eighteen merchantmen, and visited forty-two ships of various nationalities.

Of the vessels built in England for the Confederacy, the first in the water bore the yard name, *Oreto*. No sooner was she launched than warnings came to Adams from Dudley, the vigilant Consul at Liverpool. Adams sent one of the letters to Russell who ordered an investigation. The Commissioners of Customs reported that the *Oreto* was pierced for guns, but had nothing aboard save coal and ballast and was owned by parties trading with Palermo.* Further protest was idle, and, registered as an English ship, in the name of an Englishman, commanded by an English captain, and manned by an English crew, she set sail and entered the port of Nassau. Consul Whiting protested, and asked she be detained. Search was made, no warlike stores were found aboard, and no seizure followed. But that day several of the crew went to the British armed ship *Greyhound* and reported that they had left the *Oreto* because no one would tell her destination. Promptly seized by the Commander of the *Greyhound* she was soon released, was then seized by the Governor and a suit brought in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Nassau. August came before the judge set her free, and she sailed for Green Bay where her armament was put aboard, the flag of the Confederacy raised, and her name changed to *Florida*. Her new commander, Maffitt, took her to Mobile. Three vessels of the Federal Navy blockaded the bay, but she ran past them and, badly battered, made port in safety.

While the *Florida* lay at Nassau the second of the cruisers, the *"290,"* put to sea. Christened *Enrica* she was launched at Birkenhead, in May, and by July was nearly ready to sail.

From the day of the launching she had been the subject of great concern to Consul Dudley, who under instructions from Adams prepared a formal letter, setting forth that two of the crew of the *Sumter,* a foreman in the Lairds' dockyard, and the Captain and officers of a blockade runner, all

* Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, pp. 595, 596.

declared the *Enrica* had been built for the Confederate service.* Adams sent the letter to Russell, who laid the matter before the Commissioners of Customs, who consulted their solicitor who advised them there was not sufficient evidence to justify detention.† At the suggestion of the Commissioners and of Lord Russell that Dudley should submit more evidence, he collected six depositions which Adams submitted to Mr. Collier, Queen's Council, for an opinion. Collier replied that the Collector would be justified in holding the vessel, that it would be hard to make a stronger case of infringement of the foreign enlistment act. Indeed, it was the duty of the Collector to detain the *Enrica*. If allowed to put to sea it might be well to consider whether the United States Government might not have serious ground for remonstrance.‡ The depositions and the opinion were sent to Russell and laid before the law officers of the Crown; but no decision had been made when a warning reached Bulloch, and July twenty-eighth the *Enrica* left the dockyard and dropped down the river. On the following day, dressed with flags and carrying a party of invited guests, she left, it was said, for an all day trial trip outside. In the course of the afternoon the guests were informed she would not return, went back to Liverpool with Bulloch on a tug, and the *Enrica* anchored for the night in Moelfra Bay off the coast of Wales. Next morning a tug left Liverpool with some forty men for the crew, and about midnight the *Enrica* steamed away, passed around the north of Ireland and made for the Bay of Praya in the island of Terceira, one of the Azores, a place to which the *Agrippina* with guns and ammunition had already set out from London.§ By that time the law officers had advised Russell to detain the vessel. But when the order so to do reached the Collector of Customs she had gone to sea. Adams now called on Russell and complained of the use of the port of Nassau by the blockade runners, and of the escape of the *Oreto* and *Enrica*. As to the *Enrica*, Russell explained that the illness of the Queen's

* Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. iii, pp. 5, 6.
†Ibid., pp. 5, 7.
‡ Ibid., p. 8.
§ Bulloch, Secret Service.

advocate delayed the decision, that other advisers were called in, and when their decision reached Liverpool the *Enrica* was gone. He would have her seized if she entered Nassau. As to the use of Nassau, he had received a letter signed by commercial people of Liverpool complaining of the blockade of the island by United States vessels, and the search of British vessels not engaged in illegal trade.* To them he had replied that Adams and Seward complained that ships had gone from Great Britain to run the blockade, that high insurance premiums were paid and arms and ammunition carried to Southern ports to enable the people of the Confederate States to go on with the war. Unable to deny these charges, or prosecute to conviction the parties engaged, he was not surprised that United States' cruisers watched with vigilance a port said to be the great entreport of this commerce. The remedy was to refrain from the trade. True, the United States had supplied itself with arms despite the Queen's Proclamation, but if the Confederates had command of the sea they would watch with equal vigilance and capture vessels going to New York. The duty of Her Majesty's subjects was to conform to the Proclamation and refrain from supplying either side.†

Semmes and his officers who had been ordered back from Nassau, reached Liverpool to find the *Enrica* gone. But the *Bahama* was waiting, and in her Bulloch, Semmes, his officers and some sailors, late in August joined the cruiser and her consort and in the Bay of Agra guns, munitions and crew were transferred. The *Enrica* then put to sea, and when without the jurisdiction of Portugal, Semmes read his commission, raised the Confederate flag, and the *Enrica* became the cruiser *Alabama*. ‡

The cruise of this famous commerce destroyer, a cruise which extended halfway around the globe, began off the Azores where ten whalers from Salem and New Bedford

* Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. iii, pp. 35, 36.

† Ibid., vol. ii, p. 175.

‡ Semmes, The Cruise of the Alabama and the Sumter, p. 103. Official Records, Navy, Series 2, vol. ii, pp. 263-264. Bulloch, Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe, vol. i, pp. 238-243.

were captured and destroyed, and their crews suffered to make the coast of Flores in their whaleboats. One hundred and ninety-one men thus treated were, in time, carried to Boston in a vessel chartered by the American Consul in Fayal.* Cruising westward until within two hundred miles of New York, Semmes added nine more to his list of ships destroyed, and sent two to port as cartels. As the steamers from England brought fuller and fuller accounts of the acts of the *Alabama,* that she was off the Azores, that she had burned the whaling fleet, that the crews had landed on Flores, and finally reported the names of the vessels destroyed, consternation spread among the merchants, shippers, underwriters, of New York and Boston, and among the whalers of New England. Those of New Bedford sent a memorial to Lincoln, complained of the capture and burning of their six vessels, and the brutal treatment of officers and crews, stated their losses to be three hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and prayed for relief.†

Having come within two hundred miles of New York, Semmes turned southward and, burning two vessels as he went, made for a port in Martinique where a tender awaited him with coal. But the day of his arrival the *San Jacinto* appeared and, afraid to trust his crew in a fight, Semmes and his tender fled by night and coaled the *Alabama* at the island of Blanquilla. Sailing northward he reached Cape Maise and lay in wait for the California steamer which should have left Aspinwall on the first of December. Newspapers obtained from neutral ships he boarded supplied him with this information and much more. They told how, because of his depredations, the insurance underwriters at Boston had fixed their rates for northern Europe at five, for the Mediterranean at six, for the Gulf at four, and for the West Indies at six, per cent: how it was almost impossible at New York to get freight unless a bogus sale was made of the ship, and that an expedition under Banks was about to sail from New York for the South.

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* New York Herald, October 21, 1862.

† Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. iii, pp. 101, 102, 108, 109.

His patience was rewarded, and December seventh he captured the *Ariel* bound to Aspinwall with one hundred and forty marines and five hundred passengers. Marines and officers were disarmed and paroled; a prize crew put aboard and during three days Semmes waited for the *Ocean Queen,* bound from Aspinwall to New York, with eleven hundred thousand dollars in specie in her safes. His purpose was to take his prizes into Kingston. But, informed by the captain of a vessel that yellow fever raged in that town, he released the *Ariel* under heavy bond, steamed for the Gulf of Honduras, and when the year ended was coaling and repairing off the coast of Yucatan. Galveston was his next destination, for thither he believed had gone the expedition under Banks. His purpose was to attack by night, sink one or two transports, and be off before the convoys could get under way. Banks and his men were then at New Orleans, whither he had gone to relieve Butler. Galveston had just been captured by the Confederates and was blockaded by three armed vessels of the United States. Through the carelessness of the lookout the *Alabama* came too near, was sighted by the blockaders, and the *Hatteras* sent to find out who she was. Sailing slowly the *Alabama* lured her enemy some twenty miles off the coast and about dusk allowed herself to be overtaken. The fight began when the two ships were but thirty yards apart. But the *Hatteras* was no match for the *Alabama,* and in thirteen minutes was a wreck, struck her flag and quickly sank.* With her officers and crew Semmes made for Port Royal, Jamaica, landed his prisoners, was given a public reception and was permitted to make repairs.†

Adams, meanwhile, continued his complaints. He sent copies of letters from captains of burned vessels. He called attention to the painful situation in which these successive reports of depredations by the *Alabama* placed the United States. He asked redress for national and private injuries she had caused, and for more effective precautions against

* Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. ii, pp. 18-20.

† Kingston Standard, January 24, 26, 1863, quoted by New York Herald, February 15, 1863.

any repetition of such lawless proceedings in Her Majesty's ports hereafter.

Russell could see no grounds for complaint. Vast supplies of arms and warlike stores for the United States Government had been shipped from British ports to New York. Munitions had found their way to ports in the Confederacy. The party which had profited most by these unjustifiable practices was the United States. For, having a superiority of force at sea and having blockaded most of the Southern ports the United States had received all the supplies it had induced British subjects to send in violation of the Queen's Proclamation. For these irregular proceedings Great Britain could not be held responsible to either party. The municipal law of the country did not empower Her Majesty's Government to stop such exports. Neither could Her Majesty's Government be under any obligations to make compensation for ships and cargoes burned by the *Alabama*. As to more effective precautions for the future, Her Majesty's Government believed some amendments might be made to the Foreign Enlistment Act. But, before asking Parliament to make them, it was necessary to know if the United States would make like amendments in its Foreign Enlistment Act.*

Sailing from Jamaica, Semmes went northward to the thirtieth parallel where India bound vessels crossed it, turned southward, and after a cruise along the coast of Brazil made for the Cape of Good Hope and put in at Cape Town. There the British Vice-Admiral welcomed and dined him, and the people, in crowds, came aboard his ship. The Cape was doubled in mid-September, the Indian Ocean crossed, and passing through the Sunda Strait into the Java Sea, the *Alabama* coasted along Borneo into the China Sea. Finding no ships to destroy Semmes turned back to Singapore, where twenty-two American ships were laid up, steamed through the Strait of Malacca and on to Quilon on the coast of Madras, crossed the Indian Ocean, went through Mozambique Channel, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and when

* Adams to Russell, November 20, 1862; Russell to Adams, December 19, 1862.

near St. Helena crossed to the coast of Brazil and there burned his fifty-fifth and last prize.* June eleventh, 1863, he entered the harbor of Cherbourg. Winslow of the *Kearsarge* was at once notified by the American Minister, and a few days later caused great excitement by his arrival off the breakwater. Semmes, considering his presence a challenge, decided to accept it, sent word, by a friend, to the American Consul that he wished to fight, would go out as soon as his preparations could be finished, and hoped the *Kearsarge* would not depart before he was ready. Winslow did not intend to hurry away. He came, not to rescue the prisoners taken from Semmes' prizes, but to capture the *Alabama* and during five days lay off Cherbourg waiting. At last, on the morning of Sunday, the nineteenth of June, the *Alabama,* followed by the French warship *La Couronne* and the English yacht *Deerhound,* came around the end of the breakwater and moved toward the *Kearsarge.* The French Admiral had been much worried lest the fight should take place at or near the three-mile limit, and stray shots fall in French waters. Lest this should happen the *Kearsarge* moved seaward, the *Alabama* followed and the fight began some nine miles off the coast. At the end of an hour the *Alabama,* leaking badly, was headed for shore. But the water rose rapidly, the fires were put out, the ship was sinking fast, and Semmes, seeing the end had come, struck his flag.†

A boat from the *Alabama* now came to the *Kearsarge,* announced her surrender, and asked for help as she was fast sinking. It was sent back to render what aid it could. Mr. John Lancaster, owner of the *Deerhound,* which just then crossed the stern of the *Kearsarge,* was appealed to by Winslow to help, and two boats, all that were left uninjured on the *Kearsarge,* were lowered. Before any of them could reach the *Alabama* she sank, stern first, and her crew were left swimming or struggling in the water. Seventy were picked up by the boats from the *Kearsarge,* twelve by the

* Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, pp. 50, 51, 52.

† Semmes' Report, ibid., pp. 649-651. Barrow's Report, pp. 654-656. Winslow's Report, pp. 59-61; 79-81.

two French pilot boats, and forty, including Semmes, by the *Deerhound*. To the astonishment of Winslow she carried them to Southampton. For this Mr. Lancaster was warmly commended by Mason, then in London; was thanked, in the last days of the Confederacy by the Confederate Congress,* and was assured by Davis, in his letter transmitting the resolution that the people of the South "will never cease gratefully to remember your generous conduct."† Two correspondents of the London *Daily News* described Lancaster's share in the escape of Semmes as dishonorable. He had, he replied, been educated in the belief that an English ship is English territory, and could not see why he was more bound to surrender the people from the *Alabama,* than the owner of a garden on the south coast of England would have been had they swum to such a place and landed there, or than the Mayor of Southampton was when they were lodging in that city, or than the British Government now that it was known they were somewhere in England. ‡

Copies of the morning newspapers, containing long accounts of the fight, were sent off by Adams to Seward with the remark that the action of the master of the *Deerhound* would doubtless attract his attention. § The more Adams reflected on that conduct, the more grave did the question to be raised with Russell appear to be. But he did not feel it to be his duty to demand, without authority, the surrender of the rescued men. || When, however, a copy of the report of Captain Winslow came to hand he sent it to Russell with some complaints. ¶ His lordship replied that the owner of the *Deerhound* performed only a common duty to humanity

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* Resolution approved, February 14, 1865. Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, p. 668.

† Ibid., March 1, 1865, p. 668.

‡ Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, pp. 665-668. In his long cruise Semmes bonded 10 ships and cargoes to the amount of $562,250; burned 55 ships and cargoes worth $7,050,293.76; visited and allowed to proceed 228; in all 293 vessels.

§ Adams to Seward, June 21, 1864. Claims of the U. S. against Great Britain, vol. iii, p. 258.

|| Ibid., June 23, 1864, p. 258.

¶ Ibid., June 25, 1864, p. 261.

in saving from the waves some of the officers and crew of the *Alabama,* and that it was no part of the duty of a neutral to assist in making prisoners of war for a belligerent,* and sent a copy of Adams' letter to the owner of the *Deerhound,* who made a long reply. In it he admitted that in leaving the scene of action so quickly he did so because he wished to save from captivity Captain Semmes and the men rescued from drowning.†

Seward held that Semmes and his crew had been saved by unlawful intervention, and ought to be delivered to the United States, instructed Adams to remonstrate against the conduct of those who were furnishing supplies and paying wages to the escaped pirates of the *Alabama,* and bade him request Her Majesty's Government, with earnestness, to do what was necessary to prevent the preparation, equipment, outfit of any more hostile expeditions from British shores to make war against the United States. ‡

While Adams was complaining to Russell and demanding the return of Semmes and his crew, Consul Dudley surprised him with the news that another pirate had gone to sea. It was the old story repeated. The steamer *Sea King,* and the *Laurel,* her tender, with arms and munitions, left England at the same time from different ports, met at Madeira, went together to the island of Porto Santo where the guns, shells, and powder were taken from the *Laurel,* the commission read, the flag raised, and the *Sea King* became the Confederate cruiser *Shenandoah.*

The purpose of Captain Waddell, her commander, was to destroy the whaling fleet in the Pacific. On this mission he started at once, burned six and bonded two vessels before the Cape of Good Hope was turned, spent a month at Melbourne, was warmly welcomed by the merchants and the people, was afforded every facility for repairs, and sailed with forty stowaways on board. Officers and crew were

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* Adams to Seward, June 27, 1864. Claims of the U. S. against Great Britain, vol. iii, p. 263.

† Mr. Lancaster to Russell, July 16, 1864. Ibid., pp. 275-277

‡ Seward to Adams, July 8, 1864. Ibid., pp. 269-271, July 15, pp. 272-274.

well aware of their presence, for every one of them had taken service on the ship. In the harbor of Ascension Island four whalers were burned. None were found in the course of a month's cruise along the coast of Japan, but, entering the Okhotsk Sea, Waddell destroyed a whaling bark whose mate offered to pilot him to the favorite grounds of Americans in search of the right whale. The offer was accepted and during a week in June, 1865, twenty-one whalers of the New Bedford fleet were burned and four more ransomed. From one of these, Waddell learned that Lee had surrendered and that the war was over. He refused to believe it and continued the work of destruction until he left Behring Sea for the Pacific. August second, 1865, in the latitude of San Francisco he fell in with a British bark whose captain told him that Lee, Johnston, Smith and Magruder had surrendered their armies, that Davis and part of his cabinet were prisoners, that the war was over and that the Confederacy no longer existed. All guns and ammunition were quickly stowed and the *Shenandoah,* in the guise of a peaceful trader, headed for Liverpool by way of Cape Horn.

After the *Florida* ran the blockade and reached Mobile, four months passed before she came out in the dark of a January morning, 1863. All that day she was chased by one of the blockaders; but at dusk laid down a smoke screen and, hidden from view, changed her course and made for the coast of Cuba. Her pursuer went on towards Yucatan. Ten days later the *Florida* reached Nassau. She left it, months before, a British vessel under the British flag. She now returned a Confederate cruiser under the Confederate flag and was warmly welcomed. International law permitted her to remain twenty-four hours. She was allowed to stay thirty-six. International law gave her the right to buy enough coal to go to the nearest port of her own country. She steamed away with enough to last her three months, cruised as far south as Bahia, took and burned thirteen prizes, and turned a fourteenth, the brig *Clarence,* taken one day in May off the coast of Brazil, into a commerce destroyer. Putting some light guns and a few men aboard and giving the command to Lieutenant Read, Maffitt sent

him northward with a roving commission to cruise along the coast of the United States. Among the vessels Read captured off Maryland was the *Tacony,* a bark which so pleased him that he transferred his guns, ammunition, and supplies to her, burned the *Clarence,* and shaped his course for a run along the New England coast. As he went a Liverpool packet with several hundred passengers on board, a ship loaded with emigrants, a bark, a clipper and eight fishing schooners were captured and burned, bonded or used as cartels.

When news of his burnings reached port, the whole eastern coast was thrown into excitement. The fishing trade from Nantucket to Eastport was paralyzed. At Boston the merchants met and offered ten thousand dollars for his capture, and listened to a letter from Welles. Any vessel you wish to send out for the special purpose of capturing the privateers on the coast, said he, will be commissioned by the United States. The commandant at Charlestown will furnish arms.* Aware that by this time the newspapers had fully described the *Tacony,* supposing that gunboats were searching for him, and finding his howitzer ammunition gone, Read set fire to the *Tacony* and in the *Archer,* a small fishing schooner he had captured, stood in for the coast, and made Portland Light. Off Portland he picked up two fishermen who, mistaking the rebels for a party on pleasure bent, willingly piloted them into the harbor. From them he learned that the revenue cutter *Caleb Cushing* was in port, and that the passenger steamer to New York would remain during the night, and at once decided to boldly enter the harbor and after dark seize the cutter and the steamer. At sunset he entered, anchored in full view of the shipping, waited until the moon went down, then boarded and captured the *Cushing* and, followed by the *Archer,* put to sea. Aroused by the boldness and impudence of the act, the Portlanders seized, armed and manned two steamers, started in pursuit and came on the rebels some twenty miles off shore. When five shots, all there were on board, had been fired, the *Cushing* was set on fire and the crew took to the

* New York Herald, June 27, 1864.

boats. They were captured and with the *Archer* brought back to Portland.*

One day in August, while one of the pleasure boats belonging to the Surf Hotel on Fire Island was sailing outside, a yawl boat was seen making for shore. On running alongside sixteen persons were found on board, members of the crews of a New York pilot boat, three brigs, a bark and a schooner captured and burned by the *Tallahassee*.† She had run out from Wilmington on the night of August sixteenth, had been fired on and chased by the offshore blockaders, but made her escape and when near New York burned six vessels, and bonded one and sent her into New York with all the crews of the prizes, save such as were found in the yawl. On the following day off the Long Island coast she burned the steamer *Adriatic* from London with one hundred and sixty-three passengers, burned a bark, a brig and a schooner, bonded two and sent them into New York with the passengers and crews of her prizes.‡ By this time eight armed vessels had gone from the Navy Yards at Philadelphia, New York and Boston in pursuit. § Steaming eastward the *Tallahassee* scuttled a bark, burned a schooner and scuttled a ship. Off Cape Sable she fell in with two fishermen and four schooners, and scuttled all but one which she made a cartel and sent to Portland with the crews of the vessels she had destroyed. Thirteen cruisers were now scouring the sea in search of her, but found nothing but the floating wreckage she left in her wake. Running along the coast of Maine she destroyed seven vessels, released two and bonded one, and on the eighteenth of August entered the harbor of Halifax, Nova Scotia, was ordered to leave within thirty-six hours, and a week later was back in Wilmington. During her cruise the *Tallahassee* burned sixteen vessels, scuttled ten, bonded five, and released two. || Late in

* Report of Read to Mallory, October 19, 1864. Claims of the U. S. against Great Britain, vol. vi, pp. 370-372. New York Herald, June 27, 28, 29, 1864.

† New York Herald, August 13, 1864.

‡ Ibid., August 15, 1864.

§ Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, pp. 141, 143.

|| Ibid., pp. 703-704.

October she was again at sea, was hotly chased all day but escaped when night came on and before her return to port added six more prizes to the list of those previously captured and destroyed.

The night before the *Tallahassee* went out, the *Chickamauga* ran the blockade, went northward as far as Montauk Point, burned or bonded six vessels on the way, went to Bermuda and back to Wilmington destroying three more before reaching her home port. A vessel now arrived at New York, reported she had been captured by the *Olustee* and brought the crews of three other vessels sunk by the raider.* While the people were reading the meager reports of these depredations and wondering why the port of Wilmington could not be closed, some comfort was afforded them by a report that the *Florida* had been captured in South America.

After sending the *Clarence* northward, the *Florida* went to Brest where extensive repairs, the difficulty of smuggling sailors from England to make up her crew, the presence of the *Kearsarge,* detained her six months. At last one dark night in February, 1864, she put to sea, and off the Capes of the Delaware burned or sank eight vessels large and small and put their crews on neutral ships as passengers. Among those burned was a bark loaded with coal in tow of the seagoing tug *America.* As the *Florida* bore down the tug cut loose, and made for Hampton Roads, and reported her presence on the coast.† The news was instantly telegraphed to Welles, and to the commandants at Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Within a few hours, ships of war were rushed from every port from Hampton Roads to Portland. They went to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to Nantucket Shoals, to George's Bank, to Cape Hatteras, to the Windward Islands. ‡ But nothing was seen of the *Florida,* for she was then on her way to Bahia which she reached in want of coal, provisions, and repairs, and anchored under the guns of the fort, not far from the United States steam sloop *Wachusett,*

* New York Herald, November 5, 8, 14, 16, 17, 19, 1864.
† Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, pp. 100-116.
‡ Ibid., pp. 100-101.

which a few days before had come into the harbor. The President of the Province exacted from Lieutenant Morris of the *Florida* a solemn pledge to keep the peace, and from the American Consul assurance that Commander Collins of the *Wachusett* would duly respect the neutrality of Brazil.*

Determined to destroy the *Florida,* or lose his ship, Lieutenant Collins on the evening of the fifth sent the American Consul with a note challenging Morris to leave Brazilian waters and fight. The lieutenant who received the note refused to deliver it because it was addressed to Captain Morris "the sloop *Florida,*" instead of to "The Confederate States Steamer *Florida.*" On the following day a Hungarian resident of Bahia came aboard. He had received from the Consul a letter enclosing one for Morris. The letter to him, which he read, was a request to carry the challenge. But the challenge was still improperly addressed and Morris would not receive it.† Before daylight next morning the *Wachusett* left her anchorage under full head of steam, struck the *Florida* on her starboard quarter, cut her rail down to the decks, carried away her mizzen mast, swept her deck with musketry and canister, backed off and demanded her surrender. Morris and more than half the crew were on shore. The guns were not shotted. To resist seemed impossible and the *Florida* was surrendered. ‡ A hawser was at once made fast and with her in tow the *Wachusett* put to sea, and in November entered Hampton Roads. There a week later she was struck by an army transport § and so badly damaged that in nine days she sank, to the great delight of all true Union men. ‖ Brazil protested. ¶ Seward replied that the act was an unauthorized, unlawful, indefensible "exercise of the naval force of the United States"; that

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* President of Bahia to Consul Wilson, October 7, 1864. Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, p. 269.

† Morris to Flag-Officer Barron, October 13, 1864. Ibid., pp. 631-633.

‡ Report of Lieutenant Porter to Morris, February 20, 1865. Ibid., pp. 637-640.

§ November 19, 1864.

‖ November 28. Ibid., p. 277.

¶ Ibid., pp. 282-285.

Captain Collins should be suspended and court-martialed; the Consul at Bahia dismissed, the flag of Brazil duly honored, and the crew of the *Florida* set at liberty to seek a refuge wherever they could find it at the hazard of recapture when beyond the jurisdiction of the United States.*

* Seward to the Chargé d'Affaires of Brazil, December 26, 1861. Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, pp. 285-287. Collins was found guilty of "violating the territorial jurisdiction of a neutral government," and sentenced to be dismissed from the Navy. Ibid., pp. 268, 269, April 7, 1865. On September 17, 1866, Welles disapproved the sentence and bade Collins await further orders. Ibid., p. 269.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISTRESS IN THE SOUTH.

Recognized by no foreign Power, cut off to a large extent from trade and commerce by the blockade, almost destitute of manufactures, deficient in the means of transportation, the South at the end of the second year of the war was suffering greatly from want of many of the necessaries of life, and from all the evils of a depreciated and almost worthless paper currency. One of the problems the Provisional Government was called on to solve at the very beginning of its career was how to find money to carry on war. After the manner of all revolutionary governments it resorted to loans and the printing press, and by the close of 1862 more than four hundred million dollars in paper was in circulation. Nor were the States backward in annual issues in the form of Treasury Notes, or Treasury Warrants. Some were redeemable in Confederate Treasury Notes or in cotton bonds; some not until six months or a year after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace; across the face of some were the words, "cotton pledged," "faith of the State is pledged," "faith of the Commonwealth is pledged"; some were fiat money pure and simple. Postage stamps came early into use as small change. But States, cities, towns, corporations and individuals promptly put forth fractions of a dollar in notes and shinplasters which went at once into circulation. A story was told of a man who came to Alexandria to buy salt. He offered in payment fifty-cent and dollar notes of the Corporation of Warrenton, twelve-and-a-half-cent notes of the Town of Leesburg, fifty-cent notes of the Corporation of Charleston; fifty-cent notes of the Corporation of Winchester, and shinplasters issued by the Manassas Gap Railroad. North Carolina promised to redeem hers in 1866, and printed some on the backs of old bonds, and others on the backs of bills of her broken banks. Louisiana issued no

paper fractions of a dollar until 1864. In New Orleans, therefore, when specie small change disappeared, its place was filled by tickets given out by merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, barroom proprietors, and by notes of city banks cut into halves and quarters.

As the flood of paper money swept over the South, prices of food, clothing, everything began to mount rapidly. For this, in the opinion of the people, there was no just reason. It was the work of speculators and profiteers who bought in great quantities and made their own selling prices. Against this the citizens of Nashville protested in public meeting, demanding that the legislature stop profiteering in the staples of life, and called for a heavy tax on every gallon of liquor distilled from wheat, corn, rye or potatoes, and for the use of the proceeds for the relief of the families of men at the front. The Governor denounced extortion and the committee to whom his message was referred reported a bill to "suppress buying and selling on false pretenses," and another to "supress monopolies." In Alabama the Governor, in a proclamation, attacked profiteers engaged in forestalling articles necessary for the support of the soldiers and the poor, in order that they might extort extravagant prices, and forbade State agents to buy from them. The Governors of Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi urged their legislatures to act, and the Mayor of Augusta, and public meetings in Macon and Savannah, sought to arouse popular action to suppress speculation in the necessaries of life. In April Provost Marshal, General Winder, interfered and by a general order forbade huckstering in the markets in Richmond because it had become a great evil; forbade the practice of buying produce on its way to market, warned all persons so buying or selling within ten miles of Richmond that they would be punished by court-martial; forbade buying at wholesale in the city markets until after the closing hour; issued a tariff of maximum prices for the sale of produce and declared none other would be allowed.* A month's trial was enough. Farmers would not bring their produce to

* General Order No. 12, March 31, 1862.

market, and at the end of April the tariff was abolished. People will feel grateful for the revocation, said a Richmond journal. Extortion and huckstering will go on as before; but there is this consolation, the public will be able to get produce at some price which before they could not get at any price.*

Over the lower South the cost of living was higher than in Virginia. During January ten cents a pound, or twenty-one dollars a sack, was paid for salt in Augusta, and twenty-five dollars in Savannah. Sugar cost from nine to twelve cents a pound.† Earnest appeals were made to planters, by the press, to put in but half a crop of cotton. With that of last year in the gin houses it would be foolish to grow another, glut the markets of the world, and force the price down lower than it then was. Even if the blockade were raised within a month and cotton made a market, full value would not be realized when it became known that another great crop was being planted. Cut down the usual area of cotton. Raise wool, wheat, vegetables, foodstuffs. ‡ The blockade was not raised. Forts Henry and Donelson were captured, Columbus and Bowling Green and Nashville were abandoned, the Union army advanced into Tennessee, and the press found a new argument for raising food, not cotton. Hitherto appeals had been made to the interests of planters. Now they were made to patriotism. What madness, it was said, for the planters of Carolina, Georgia and the Gulf States to think of growing cotton. They will starve the army and drive it from the field. Plant corn, plant corn. § At Savannah, in April, beef and mutton cost thirty cents, and veal twenty-five cents a pound; eggs forty cents a dozen; chickens one dollar and a half a pair, and peas fifty cents a half peck. Tea and coffee were beyond the means of even the well-to-do, and flour was growing scarcer every day. In June the City Marshal interposed, called attention to the law of 1861, and

* Richmond Enquirer.

† Savannah Republican, January 4, 8, 1862.

‡ Mobile Advertiser and Register, quoted by Savannah Republican, January 15, 1862.

§ Savannah Republican, February 25, 1862.

gave warning that any person who exacted, demanded, or received exorbitant, unjust or unreasonable prices for any of the articles named in the law would be guilty of extortion, and on conviction might be fined not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than six months, or both.* The City Council requested railroads and steamship companies not to carry salt or provisions out of the city unless shipped by military authority or for family use. Any corporation disregarding the request would be an enemy to the City and the Southern Confederacy.† Drastic action was taken by the military authorities. They seized a large quantity of flour owned by speculators and notified the public that during the last ten days of June each family might buy one barrel for fourteen dollars and a quarter. Grocers pledging themselves to sell it for eight cents a pound might buy five barrels each. ‡

When midsummer came extortion was as bad as ever. The citizens of Richmond, it was said, are completely at the mercy of a band of foreign hucksters. Matters have come to such a pass that every mouthful we eat, save flour, comes through their hands and is doled out at their exorbitant prices. Nothing but mob law will rid us of them. We do not recommend it, but the day is near when it may be necessary. The sight of a huckster hanging from a market lamp-post would have a more beneficial effect on prices than the combined forces of the city authorities and General Winder. § At Memphis a quinine pill cost a dollar and a half; a pin one cent; flour thirty dollars a barrel; a spool of cotton sixty cents; calico a dollar a yard; salt a hundred dollars a sack, || and boots twenty dollars a pair. ¶ When the Federal troops entered Norfolk paper envelopes were selling for fifty cents a package; common thread was nine dollars a pound; spool cotton five dollars a dozen; coffee one dollar

* City Marshal's Notice, June 13, 1862.
† Savannah Republican, June 18, 1862.
‡ Ibid., June 20, 1862.
§ Richmond Examiner, July 19, 1862.
|| Louisville Democrat, June 7, 1862.
¶ New York Tribune Correspondent, June 10, Tribune, June 18, 1862.

and sugar thirty-one cents a pound, and molasses two dollars and a half a gallon.*

In Charleston from time to time were auction sales of "imported goods" which was but another name for articles of all sorts brought in by blockade runners. At one such sale cheese sold for eighty-two cents, black pepper for eighty-five cents, family soap for fifty cents, and linen thread for five dollars a pound.† Two months later at another auction envelopes brought sixteen dollars, and letter paper eighteen dollars a ream; canton flannel forty-five cents a yard, and Liverpool salt fifty dollars for a three-bushel sack. Seven dollars a pair were paid for brogans, six dollars for women's laced boots, seven dollars and a quarter for women's Congress gaiters, and six dollars and a half for men's. At a Lake City sale of "imported goods" hoop skirts were bought for ninety dollars a dozen; canton flannel for one dollar and sixty cents a yard; writing papers for twenty dollars a ream; sewing silk for seventeen dollars a yard, and lead pencils for thirteen dollars a gross. ‡ Coffee at ninety cents a pound, and very scarce, was so far beyond the reach of all save the rich, that substitutes were used. Cotton seed dried, ground and mixed with one third its measure of coffee was tried and recommended. § Sweet potatoes dried and ground were much preferred. The high price and scarcity of leather shoes forced the use of substitutes for them. As early as December, 1861, a firm in Raleigh began to make wooden shoes of gum and poplar, and claimed to manufacture one hundred pairs a day. ‖ By the spring of 1862 women on many plantations were making shoes for themselves and their children. The cheapest way to make them, according to the *Planter's Banner,* was to take the soles of old shoes, soak them in water until limber, pick out the old stitches, fit them to the last after the cloth was fastened over it, and sew the soles to the cloth with strong waxed thread,

* New York Tribune, May 14, 17, 1862.

† Savannah Republican, April 5, 1862.

‡ Ibid., June 6, 1862.

§ Charleston Mercury, quoted by Savannah Republican, April 2, 1862.

‖ Savannah Republican, January 9, 1862.

then turn the shoe over and nail the heel in place.* So widespread was this practice of using homemade shoes that the Excelsior Wooden Shoe Sole was put on the market. No discomfort would be felt in walking on them, the advertisement stated. "The shape of the sole completely dispenses with the necessity of pliancy." Directions went with each pair, thus enabling every man of ordinary capacity to make his own footwear and "free us forever from dependence on the North." †

A soldier in Armistead's brigade wrote that his feet were perfectly naked. He had to tramp over frozen snow with bits of old blankets tied over them, a covering which came off constantly. There was seen in our streets a few days ago, said a Richmond newspaper, a scene which must have aroused our citizens to a lively sense of the condition of our soldiers. A number of regiments marched down Ninth Street, passing the very doors of the War Department. Citizens standing by saw what the newspapers have long tried to make them believe. They saw numbers of the men walking barefooted through the melting snow. They saw them thinly clad in ragged and worn clothes. Some had no blankets; some no hats. ‡ The legislature of Alabama, in order that fifty thousand pairs of shoes might be had for her soldiers without delay and without extortion, authorized the Governor to seize and impress any shoes fit for soldiers, and any leather suitable for shoes, in the possession of anybody in the State. Just compensation was to be made. § The captain of a company of fifty-one men appealed to the people of Georgia to overhaul their clothes and see if they could not spare some. His men, in their march through Kentucky, had lost all their clothing save what was on their backs, and that was in bad condition. || The ministers of all denominations in Atlanta appealed through the newspapers for blan-

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* Savannah Republican, April 29, 1862.

† Richmond Examiner, September 29, 1863.

‡ Richmond Despatch; Richmond Whig, quoted by New York Herald, December 13, 1862.

§ Act of November 19, 1862, Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 196.

|| Atlanta Intelligencer, New York Herald, December 5, 1862.

kets, quilts, covering of any sort that could keep the soldiers warm.* Blankets made of carpets were in common use. It was suggested in Charleston that wool in old mattresses, though not so good as new, would do well enough to work up into cloth. The Aid and Relief Association, organized to help the government obtain underclothes and blankets for the troops before winter set in, urged families to give up their blankets and use cotton comforts.

A Southern woman wrote in her diary that her brother told her that every carpet in his home, except one, had been made into coverlets for the troops.† Bishop Meade, of Virginia, gave his study carpet. ‡ Clergymen in Richmond, from their pulpits, begged for carpets to be made into blankets. § A lady in Mobile wrote that her house was without carpets; they had been sent to the army. ‖ In Savannah, at a public meeting, held to take into consideration the pressing need of the army for clothing, the proprietors of the Pulaski House offered every carpet in their establishment. There were one hundred and twenty of them, and they would make at least five hundred blankets. ¶ The Alabama legislature ordered all the carpets in the State House cut into blankets.**

An apothecary in Richmond gave notice that persons wishing to have prescriptions put up must bring their vials, for it was utterly out of his power to furnish them.†† The Confederate States Bible Society, printing testaments for the soldiers and forced to use old paper boxes for binding, called on the merchants of Georgia to send all the bonnet boards and boxes used for packing shoes and fine goods they could spare. ‡‡ The Secretary of the Navy was compelled to

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* Atlanta Intelligencer, New York Herald, December 5, 1862.
† Diary of a Southern Refugee, November 7, 1862, p. 169.
‡ Memoirs of Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Davis, vol. iii, p. 527.
§ The Index, February 5, 1863.
‖ Ibid., April 2, 1863.
¶ Mobile Tribune, October 7, 1863, New York Herald, October 27, 1863.
** Richmond Examiner, December 7, 1863.
†† Richmond Enquirer, June 29, 1862.
‡‡ Atlanta Intelligencer, New York Tribune, June 14, 1862.

send to his agent in Bermuda for office supplies, foolscap, letter and note paper, envelopes, copying ink, recording ink, gold pens, steel pens, pen knives, erasers, books for letter press copying, and record books bound in full Russia. One of the greatest needs of the Confederacy, it was pointed out, was a rolling mill for making sheet iron and copper boiler plates. Bars and rods could be manufactured, but not a joint of stove pipe could be rolled south of the Potomac.* Such was the need of rails that a convention of representatives of the railroads of Virginia, Tennessee east of Knoxville, and North Carolina north of Weldon, met at Richmond and appointed a committee to confer with capitalists and owners of machine shops and procure proposals to set up rolling mills for the making of rails, boiler plates, everything required by the railroads.† So scarce were arms that Lee, in order to equip "an additional force of cavalry," called for gifts of carbines, revolvers, pistols, saddles, bridles. There were enough such arms and equipment, he believed, held by the citizens as trophies or for defense, to satisfy his need. Muskets, rifles, pistols, carbines, taken from the United States, and therefore the property of the Confederate States, were, it was claimed, held by citizens over all the Confederacy as trophies, or for their own defense. Give them up, it was said, every one of them, old and new, good and bad, broken and sound. The need of them is urgent. For want of each one of them a volunteer may be kept from the field, or sent to risk his life with a fowling piece or an old-time flint lock. Magistrates and police should apply the law, take them from those having neither honesty nor patriotism and send the arms to the Ordnance Officer at Manassas Junction. ‡

Want of iron, said Secretary Mallory, is severely felt throughout the Confederacy. Scrap iron of all sorts is being industriously gathered by agents, and we are rolling railroad iron into plates for covering our ships. § Want of expert

* Richmond Enquirer, December 6, 1861.
† Ibid., February 22, 1862.
‡ Ibid., February 13, 1862.
§ Official Records, Navy Series 2, vol. ii, p. 246.

workmen was felt in every workshop, public and private alike. Some had been forced to shut down. Others were working to but a third or a quarter of their capacity. Skilled men were scarce because a large part of those employed in the South came from the North, or from abroad, and left when the war began. Southern mechanics were in the army.*

Such was the scarcity of lead that the citizens of Charleston gave the weights of their window sashes to be made into bullets. The ordnance officer at Savannah begged the residents of that city to do the same, and offered iron weights in exchange.† The Planters Bank gave not only its window weights but the lead blocks on which checks were canceled. Send on your lead! it was said. Let every man cast about for the smallest particle he has on his premises. ‡

Such was the scarcity of gun metal that in Marietta, Georgia, the congregations of the Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches offered the Secretary of War their church bells to be cast into cannon; § the people of Sandersville, Georgia, stripped every steeple in town, and the Bureau of Ordnance asked for every bell in the Confederacy that could be spared. Copper was abundant, but tin was scarce.

Beauregard appealed to the planters of the Mississippi Valley. More than once, he told them, a people fighting with an enemy, less ruthless than yours, for rights, for home and a country, had not hesitated to melt and mold into cannon the precious bells surmounting their houses of God. We want cannon as greatly as any people who ever melted their church bells to supply them. Send your plantation bells therefore to the nearest railroad depot, subject to my orders, to be made into cannon for defense of your plantations. ‖ A great number, gathered at New Orleans in response to this appeal were found by Butler, soon after he entered that city,

* Official Records, Navy, Series 2, vol. ii, p. 243.
† Savannah Republican, March 29, 1862.
‡ Ibid., April 3, 1862.
§ Richmond Enquirer, April 1, 1862.
‖ Index, May 1, 1862. The appeal is dated at Jackson, Mississippi, March 8, 1862.

were sent to Boston and there sold at auction.* Lead, it was urged, could be obtained from old tea chests which contained from two to five pounds. Bells contained so much tin that twenty-five hundred pounds of bell metal, when mixed with the proper amount of copper, would suffice for a field battery of six guns. Receipts would be given and the bells replaced after the war.† Sunday last, said a journal published in Griffin, Georgia, a feeling of profound sorrow filled our hearts. No sound of a church bell was heard in the city. All have been donated to the service of our country. ‡

Use of coffee in the hospitals as an article of diet was forbidden by the Surgeon-General. So limited was the supply it must be used only for medicinal purposes, or as a stimulant. § As a substitute for quinine he sent out a formula for a tincture of dogwood, poplar, willow bark and whiskey. || Vegetables were so scarce in the army that medical officers in the field were bidden to make every effort to have gathered, for the use of men afflicted, or threatened, with scurvy, a daily supply of native edible plants and herbs growing near the camps. Wild mustard, watercress, wild garlic, sassafras, lambs-quarters, sorrel, shoots of pokeweed, artichokes, peppergrass, and wild yams were suggested. ¶

Thrown on their own resources the people found substitutes close at hand for many essential articles. Dogwood berries replaced quinine. From blackberry roots and persimmons was made a cordial for dysentery. An extract of wild cherry bark, dogwood and poplar was a cure for chills and fever. A syrup made from mullein leaves and cherry bark was a remedy for coughs, and lung troubles. The castor bean yielded castor oil, and the poppy opium and laudanum. Dyes were obtained from berries, leaves, roots and bark. Pine tree roots yielded a garnet; myrtle a gray; poke berries

* National Intelligencer, August 3, 1862.
† Richmond Enquirer, April 1, 1862.
‡ Confederate States, quoted by Savannah Republican, April 7, 1862.
§ Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 1021.
|| Ibid., p. 1024.
¶ Ibid., p. 467.

a bright red; hickory bark a bright green; queen's delight a jet black; walnut hulls a brown, indigo a blue, and willow bark a drab. Green corn and sweet potatoes yielded starch. Ashes of corncobs were used for raising flour dough. Raspberry, blackberry, huckleberry leaves, were a common substitute for tea; and okra seeds, yams, sliced and dried, and browned wheat, for coffee. No substitute for coffee was thought equal to sorghum seed. Made into flour it was excellent for hoecakes. Root of buckeye boiled with flannel yielded a fine lather.* Salt was obtained by boiling down the washings of soil under old smoke houses, and the brine left in old pork barrels. Buttons were made of wood, persimmon seeds, gourds; hats of corn husks and oat and wheat straw.†

As the year drew to a close food became more and more costly, harder and harder to get. Flour in Richmond cost twenty-one and twenty-five dollars a barrel according to quality; bacon seventy cents; butter one dollar and a half; coffee three dollars; sugar sixty-five cents. ‡ We have long since given up tea, coffee, sugar, wrote a Southern planter. Our rice lands are so carefully guarded by enemy gunboats we cannot get our crop to market. Bacon, on which we feed our servants, has given out. Only think of ten dollars for a small box of candles! We burn lard with a paper taper in our bedrooms, have not a yard of calico, and are making homespun. § There is great scarcity of wheat. The crop in Virginia is not one quarter what it should be. Unless something is done to afford transportation for all the wheat that can be procured, failure and ruin await our army. || Lee's army was drawing so close to the end of its supply of fresh meat that there was but enough to last until the first of January. ¶ The harvest had not been abundant and though the area devoted to grains was far larger than usual, the

* Savannah Republican, Richmond Enquirer, October 6, 1864.

† A Blockaded Family, pp. 37-50, 102, 103.

‡ Richmond Enquirer, December 12, 1862.

§ New York Tribune, January 31, 1863.

|| Commissary General C. S. A. to Secretary of War, November 3, 1862; Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 158.

¶ Ibid., p. 158.

crops in many parts of the Confederacy were below the average and in some threatened scarcity. High cost and want of transportation made collection and distribution difficult. Ravages of war by a malignant enemy had devastated whole districts of fertile country. Redundant issues of Treasury Notes had caused a great rise in prices and inspired a widespread and inordinate spirit of speculation. This must go on, hence producers were reluctant to part with their produce. Impressment of food was absolutely necessary.*

Many believed that speculators were more to blame than poor crops, poor transportation and a depreciated currency. Judge Gholson in his charge to a Grand Jury of the Circuit Court at Petersburg urged vigorous measures against them. An army at home composed of speculators and extortioners, he said, had embarrassed Government and oppressed the poor by sending prices to fabulous figures, and had distressed soldiers at the front who had received letters from their families setting forth that they could scarcely get food and raiment. Merchants were not the only speculators. Competitors were found in doctors, lawyers, farmers, mechanics, all eager to speculate in anything. Were a thing for sale in any part of the Confederacy, speculators raced thither to see who could get it. Did a ship run the blockade hundreds of them rushed to the port and ran every article in her cargo to fabulous prices. Conspicuous among extortioners, the Judge continued, were hotel keepers. Thousands put in motion by the war had crowded the hotels; many could not be accommodated, and prices were raised because the proprietors saw their chance. They said the cost of everything was enormous. But they did not furnish everything. Genuine tea and coffee at a hotel would startle a traveler. Seventy-five cents for a yard of Osnaburg was three times its value. Why does a man give up his purse to a highwayman? Because he cannot help it. Why give seventy-five cents a yard for Osnaburg? Because we cannot help it. What is the difference between the highway robber and the cotton manufacturer? Both are robbers. Let every cotton factory

* Report of Secretary of War to Davis, January 3, 1863, Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 292.

be seized. Let the legislature pass laws to bring the insane to their senses. Let it no longer be said we cannot protect ourselves from the outrages of our own people. We pass laws to prevent usury; why not to prevent extortion? *

Governor Vance, of North Carolina, complained that a cry of distress came up from poor wives and children of soldiers and from all parts of the State; that extortion and speculation had reached such proportions that to provide the troops with winter clothes and shoes, save by submitting to outrageous robbery, would be impossible; that cotton and woolen factories had advanced prices to an unheard-of extent, and that common shirting was fifty cents a yard when twenty-five cents would yield the mill owners three hundred per cent profit.† The demon of speculation and extortion, he told the legislature, seemed to seize on all sorts and conditions of men, and the necessaries of life were fast getting beyond reach of the poor.

On day in February a lady was made prisoner while trying to get through Rosecranz's lines. On her person was found a letter from Mrs. Foote, wife of the one time Senator from Mississippi and then a member of the Confederate Congress. Mrs. Foote was boarding in a house opposite Governor Letcher's mansion. Such living, she wrote, was never before known on earth. The poorest hut in the Tennessee mountains was a palace in comparison. The boarders cooked their own food. In her larder was a boiled ham which cost eleven dollars, three pounds of coffee at four dollars the pound, a pound of green tea for which seventeen dollars was paid, a pound of butter six months old which cost two dollars, and two pounds of brown sugar at two dollars and three quarters a pound. For the room, without food, she paid three dollars a day. Dinner the previous day consisted of two boiled eggs, baker's bread and water. ‡ There were those in many places in the South to whom such

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* Charge of Judge Thomas E. Gholson to Grand Jury at Petersburg, November 17, 1862. Richmond Enquirer, November 26, 1862.

† Vance to Weldon N. Edwards, September 18, 1862. Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, pp. 85-86.

‡ Cincinnati Commercial, April 10, 1863.

a repast would have seemed sumptuous. They were hungry and, no longer able to bear their ills in peace and quiet, became riotous. At Salisbury, North Carolina, and at Atlanta, shops of dealers in provisions were broken open and sacked.* Placards demanding "bread or peace" were posted in Mobile.† In Richmond, one April day, there was a bread riot. There was a spirit of unrest abroad. A gathering of discontented women in the Baptist Church had been addressed by Mary Jackson whose business was huckstering in the market, and because of her speech, assembled on Capitol Square, and led by her, ‡ growing in numbers as they went, proceeded to Cary Street, looted the shops of flour, meal, bacon, food of any kind which they contained, and passing into Main Street robbed the shops of jewelry, millinery, shoes and clothing. Troops were called out, the Mayor read the riot act, the Governor appeared and gave the rioters five minutes in which to disperse or be fired on and would probably have carried out the threat had not Davis arrived and, climbing on a wagon, persuaded them to go home. On the following day there was another gathering of women and men, another demand for bread, and a scattering of the crowd by the battalion. A few were arrested; among them was Mary Jackson. §

Now that a dollar in gold was rated as worth four and three quarters in paper, bacon cost a dollar, coffee four, green tea, when it could be had, eleven, butter two and a half, candles three and common soap eighty cents a pound. Eggs were a dollar and a quarter a dozen, fowls six dollars and turkeys from six to ten dollars a pair. Potatoes had risen to twelve and beans to twenty dollars a bushel. Had a woman clerk in one of the departments, living on one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month, gone to market to buy two eggs, a quarter of a pound of bacon, a quarter of a pound of butter, a quarter of a pound of coffee, a quarter of a pound of sugar, all of which before the war would have

* Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia, 1863, p. 838.
† Official Records, Series 1, vol. lii, Part 1, p. 448.
‡ Jones. Rebel War Clerk's Diary, vol. i, p. 284.
§ Richmond Examiner, April 3, 4, 6, 13, 24, 1863.

cost her sixteen cents, she would have been forced to pay for her purchases two dollars and sixty cents. In September when eggs were two dollars and a half a dozen, butter four, sugar three, bacon three, coffee eight dollars a pound, the young woman would have paid four dollars and ninety cents for what in 1860 could have been bought for sixteen cents. For a ream of note paper fifty dollars was asked; for letter paper seventy-five; for foolscap one hundred. Envelopes were sixty dollars a thousand. Old ones were turned inside out and used again. Letters were often written on brown paper, on leaves torn from ancient copybooks or account books, on any scrap of paper that could be found. The author of the *Diary of a Southern Refugee,* unable to obtain a copybook, was forced to write on wrapping paper.* The author of *Richmond during the War* declares † that family letters were written on paper so poor in quality that before the war it would not have been used for wrapping. In the office of the Richmond *Enquirer* "brown paper, waste paper, backs of old letters and rejected essays, unpaid bills, bits of foolscap torn from the copybooks of youth and the ledgers of business men," were used for writing editorials.

Hungry people concerned the Government far less than a hungry army. To the States might safely be left the matter of domestic food supply. But the Government must feed the army or, in a little while, there would either be no army, or the troops would be living on the people. Fed it must be; but to obtain the necessary food was no easy matter, for the prices asked by hoarders and speculators were now too high for even the Government to pay, and the farmers would no longer take the rapidly depreciating Treasury Notes. Nothing seemed to be left save impressment, and late in March, accordingly, Congress passed an Impressment Act. ‡ When the needs of an army in the field were such, it provided, as to make impressment of forage, articles of subsistence, or property of any sort, absolutely necessary, seizure might be made by any officer whose duty it was to furnish subsistence.

* Diary of a Southern Refugee, p. 225.
† Page 193.
‡ Act of March 26, 1863.

Should the owner and the officer fail to agree as to the value of the articles taken, the officer must obtain from the owner a certificate that they were grown, or produced, by him, or bought for consumption and not for speculation or sale, must lay the dispute before two loyal and disinterested citizens, and if necessary a third chosen by the two, and pay the price fixed by the arbitrators. Property in the hands of others than producers, or growers, when impressed must be paid for according to a schedule agreed on and published every two months by a board of Commissioners for each State. One was to be appointed by the President, a second by the Governor of the State in which the first was to act, and these two, when necessary, might choose an umpire.*

That there might be abundant crops and plenty to impress Congress appealed to the farmers to plant foodstuffs. Because, the resolution set forth, there was an impression throughout the country that the war would end within the present year, an impression which was leading many to plant cotton and tobacco to an extent to which they would not otherwise go; and because in the opinion of Congress labor should be employed chiefly in producing food, therefore, the people should be warned to expect a long war and instead of planting cotton and tobacco should put in such crops as would insure food enough for all and for any emergency.†

Davis was requested to issue a proclamation to this effect, and did so in April. He reviewed the two years of war on land and sea, and said there was but one danger which the Government regarded with concern—shortage of food. The long drought of the last summer had cut down the yield of the harvest far below the average. This shortage was most marked in the northern part of the Confederacy where supplies were especially necessary for the army, and if, through confidence of an early peace, the fields were given over to cotton and tobacco instead of to cattle and grain the consequences might be serious indeed. "Your country," he said, "appeals to you to lay aside all thought of gain. Let

* The law is given in full in Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 469.
† Richmond Enquirer, April 15, 1863.

your fields be devoted to corn, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, to food for man and beast. Let corn be sown broadcast for fodder, and near the rivers, railroads and canals." *

To the proclamation was attached a plan proposed by the Secretary of War. Let the people in each county, parish, ward, meet and choose a committee. Let the committee ascertain from each citizen how much surplus corn and meat he could spare for the army, fix the price to be paid, arrange for transportation, receive the money on delivery and give each owner his share.†

The Impressment Act required the expenditure of money for the food seized. But the Confederate Congress soon followed it with another act designed to procure food for the army without payment in money, a tithing act payable in produce. Every farmer and planter in the Confederate States was required, after setting aside for his own use fifty bushels of sweet potatoes, fifty of Irish potatoes, fifty of wheat, twenty of peas or beans, the produce of the year 1863, to pay over and deliver to the Government one tenth of his crop of wheat, rye, oats, corn, buckwheat, rice, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, peas, beans, cured hay or fodder, and one tenth of his sugar, molasses, cotton, wool, tobacco. ‡

No sooner were the Impressment of Food Act and the Tithing Act in operation, than both became causes of bitter discontent. The Impressment Act, because lazy, careless, indifferent officers impressed supplies nearest at hand and neglected those more remote; because they did not leave enough for the use of the farmer; because they seized things they had no right to touch, as milch cows; because the schedule rates were far below the rapidly rising market prices due to the steady depreciation of the currency. So arbitrary, so highhanded were the acts of the agents that the governors and the legislatures in several States attempted to protect the citizens.

During the session at which the Impressment and Tithing Acts were passed, the Confederate Congress attempted to

* April 10, 1863.
† Richmond Enquirer, April 15, 1863.
‡ Act of April 24, 1863.

bring down the price of gold and food by lessening the amount of currency in circulation, by offering to exchange high interest-bearing bonds for two hundred millions of dollars in non-interest-bearing Treasury Notes. All such, according to the provisions of the Act,* were divided into two classes. In the first class were those dated prior to the first of December, 1862. They were made fundable in eight per cent bonds if offered before the twenty-second of April, 1863, in seven per cent bonds if offered between that date and the first of August, 1863, and after that day they were not to be fundable at all. In the second class were notes dated between the first of December, 1862 and the sixth of April, 1863. They were fundable in seven per cent bonds if offered before August first, 1863, and thereafter in bonds having four per cent interest.

The immediate effect of the Act was to discredit non-interest-bearing notes issued prior to December first, 1862. Banks refused to receive them on deposit. Railroads would not take them in payment for freight or passage. In Virginia the legislature ordered that none issued before the sixth of April be received in payment of taxes. The second effect was to inflate the currency, for the act also provided that the Secretary of the Treasury might issue fifty millions a month in new notes bearing no interest. By the first of August one million dollars in old notes had been funded. But the steady issue of the new swelled the amount in circulation from two hundred and eighty-nine millions in January, 1863, to six hundred millions in October. The price of a gold dollar rose from three in paper in the beginning of 1863 to twenty before the year ended. Prices of food and clothing went higher and higher as the value of Treasury Notes went down; farmers in many sections of the Confederacy refused to take them and this, combined with the lack of transportation brought the people in several cities near to starvation. Flour in Richmond, in September, was thirty-five dollars a barrel; bacon two dollars and twenty cents; brown sugar two dollars and a quarter; coffee five dollars,

* Act of March 23, 1863.

and soap ninety cents a pound. In October flour was forty-five dollars a barrel; bacon two dollars and sixty cents; brown sugar three dollars; coffee eight dollars and soap one dollar a pound. In November a barrel of flour cost seventy dollars, and the city mills ceased to grind for want of grain. A pound of coffee cost nine and a half dollars,* and before the month ended flour was held at one hundred and ten dollars a barrel.† Flour speculators, a journalist complained, are masters of the situation. A barrel of flour at any price is next to impossible to obtain. One Saturday morning in October the supply of meat gave out in the market, and many families had to dine "on a Grahamite dinner." But what was to be expected so long as beef was impressed for the benefit of twelve thousand Yankee prisoners? ‡ The City Council of Petersburg begged the Secretary of War to exempt from impressment such provisions as the city might purchase for the benefit of the poor. He did so.§ Food, it was said, is scarce and high in the cities because the farmers are holding it back to make a scarcity; because government agents seize every article that comes to market and the farmers fear lest their stock be impressed; because the frequent advances made in schedule rates lead farmers to believe that by holding back they will get higher; and because of the difficulty and high cost of transportation. The railroads charge from three hundred to five hundred per cent more than is lawful. || "How are we to live?" asked a Savannah editor. "Flour is one hundred and twenty dollars a barrel, and not a bushel of corn, meal or grits is for sale in the city. Last Saturday grits cost us sixteen dollars a bushel. Grain dealers, we are told, bring nothing in from fear of the impressing officer. Planters give the same reason for not risking consignments on the railroads. ¶ The stock of provisions is ample; yet all the necessaries of life have

* Richmond, November 2, 1863. Richmond Enquirer.
† Ibid., November 20, 1863.
‡ Richmond Enquirer, November 2, 1863.
§ Ibid., October 24, 1863.
|| Ibid., November 9, 1863.
¶ Savannah Republican, December 21, 1863.

advanced in price till they are beyond the means of people in moderate circumstances. Nearly the whole country is going without tea, coffee, sugar, and bread and meat may soon be out of reach. Congress must come to the bold decision to reduce the currency. Money is too cheap. People would rather keep what they have than exchange it for a currency of so little use.*

* Savannah Republican, November 23, 1863.

CHAPTER XV.

BRITISH AND FRENCH NEUTRALITY.

The steamships which left New York in early December carried to Liverpool newspapers containing the President's message to Congress. Little, if any, interest was taken in much of it, but that part in which he asked that the Constitution be so amended as to provide for compensated emancipation was read with interest, and contempt. Neither President Lincoln nor his Congress, it was said, has any power to legislate for slavery in the Southern Confederacy. Nothing they can say or do on that subject will have any effect on the determination of the South to establish its complete independence. If the Federal States are to prevent that consummation in any way they must do it by conquest, not by bargaining, not by persuasion. The time for bargaining has long gone past. The only significance of this last appeal consists in showing the straits to which he is reduced in order to reconcile the conflicting parties in the States which still recognize his authority.* The proposal is politically important only as showing his reluctance to carry out his celebrated emancipation proclamation.† He had lost faith, if he ever had any, in that preposterous proclamation. That the Union should be restored by such a simple process, and emerge from the strife loaded with a debt of three thousand millions of dollars and purged of its curse of slavery is, we are afraid, the dream of a weak man.‡ We can see no prospect of an extensive liberation of slaves save by war. After the blood that has been shed no mere paper settlement of the question is possible or desirable. § Under other circumstances, at another time, by another person, such a proclama-

* Manchester Guardian, December 17, 1862.
† Liverpool Mercury, December 17, 1862.
‡ London Post, December 16, 1862.
§ London News, December 16, 1862.

tion might well excite once more the enthusiasm of the days of Wilberforce and Clarkson. But the proclamation is no homage to principle or conviction, for slavery, so odious in Alabama, is tolerated in Kentucky.* But the old enthusiasm of the days of Wilberforce and Clarkson was aroused and found expression in meetings, resolution and address. On the last day of the year great gatherings were held at Sheffield, Manchester, London. After the arrival of the news that Lincoln had made good his promise and had proclaimed the emancipation of slaves in the States in rebellion, the meetings grew in number, and during January, February, March and well into April, Adams was kept busy receiving addresses brought by delegations and acknowledging those sent by mail.

Very different was the feeling of men in public life. Russell thought the proclamation of a strange nature. It proposed to emancipate all slaves in places where the Federal authorities had no jurisdiction. It did not emancipate slaves in any State or parts of States occupied by Federal troops where emancipation could be carried into effect. In the Border States and in New Orleans a slave owner might recover his fugitive by due process of law. In ten States a fugitive arrested by legal process might resist, and if successful his resistance must be upheld and aided by the authorities and armed forces of the United States. It made slavery at once legal and illegal. There was no declaration of a principle adverse to slavery. It was a war measure of a very questionable kind.† Archbishop Whately explained the causes of hostility to the North. Those least favorable were not so from approbation of slavery, but because they knew not that the war was waged in the cause of abolition. It is waged, they would say, for restoration of the Union. Some believed the South had as much right to secede as the Colonies had to rebel against Great Britain. Many held that, considering the dreadful distress caused by the cotton famine, great forbearance had been shown in not recognizing the South and breaking the blockade. Others were provoked

* London Times, January 15, 1863.
† Russell to Lyons, January 17, 1863.

by the incessant railing at England poured forth by the American press. Not a few were sure if the Confederates continued to hold their own as they had done for two years past, they would be recognized by the great Powers of Europe.*

When Parliament met in February a passage in the speech from the throne brought on a discussion of American affairs, "Her Majesty," it read, "has abstained from taking any steps with a view to induce a cessation of the conflict between the contending parties in North America because it has not yet seemed to Her Majesty that any such overtures could be attended with a probability of success." The allusion was to the invitation of Napoleon. Lord Derby regretted it had not been accepted. But he had no complaint to make. Their lordships must remember that before offering to mediate neutrals must be sure the parties between whom it was proposed to mediate were satisfied with the terms on which it was offered. In this case one side was struggling for union; the other side for separation. Any one offering mediation must decide whether to proceed on the principle of union, or disunion. Here was an obstacle at the very outset. It had been said that the time had come to recognize the Southern Republic. He did not think so. The restoration of the Union as formerly constituted was impossible. But the war was still going on, the seaboard was in possession of the North, large Federal armies were in the Southern territory, and this being so the Government had no right to recognize the South unless it meant to intervene in force and lay down the terms of separation.

Disraeli had always looked on the struggle as a great revolution. Before the war the United States were colonies and engaged in colonization, and lived under all the conditions of colonial life save complete independence. But impartial observers must have been convinced that in that community were smoldering elements which indicated change, perhaps a violent change. Immense increase in population and greater increase of wealth; introduction of

* To Harriet Beecher Stowe, January 6, 1863, London Times, January 16, 1863.

people of foreign races in large numbers as citizens; the character of the political constitution; want of a theater for the ambitious and refined intellects of the country; the increasing influence of the United States upon the political fortunes of Europe; all these indicated the possibility that the mere colonial characters of these communities might suddenly be violently subverted, and those imperial characteristics appear which seem to be the destiny of man. Whoever in the House was young enough to live to see the conclusion of the consequences of the war, would see a very differnt America, an America of armies, of diplomacy, of rival states, and menacing cabinets, of frequent turbulence and of frequent wars.

He had, therefore, during the last session, exerted whatever influence he had to dissuade his friends from embarrassing Her Majesty's Government in that position of dignified reserve they had taken on the question. At the same time it was natural to feel the greatest respect for those Southern States struggling for some of the greatest objects in existence, independence and power. Great was his surprise, therefore, when in the course of the autumn, Her Majesty's Government commissioned one or two of their members to repair to the chief seats of industry and declare a change of policy. It was not an accident. The declaration was made formally, and it was made avowedly with the sanction of the Government. If it meant anything it meant that the Southern States would be recognized, for if it were true that they had created armies, navies, and a people, the Government was bound by every principle of public law to recognize their political existence.

As Adams looked about him he saw nothing in our relations with Great Britain save what was discouraging. The *Georgiana* had sailed despite his protest. When he sent seventeen intercepted letters written by Confederates, and claimed that they showed a deliberate attempt to set up in England a system of action hostile to the United States, he was told they gave no evidence of any such an attempt.*

* Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, pp. 97, 98, 132, 166.

When he presented a memorial from an insurance company asking payment by Great Britain of policies on ships burned by the *Alabama,* he was told Her Majesty's Government disclaimed all responsibility, and hoped "they had made this decision plain." * Forster, who visited him one evening, found him greatly depressed, and was urged to do something to "make the Ministry alive to the nature of the difficulty." He promised to do so and in a few days asked, in the House of Commons, if the attention of Her Majesty's Government had been called to the danger threatening friendly relations with the United States because of the fitting out, in the ports of Great Britain, of ships of war for service under the Confederacy.

The Solicitor-General replied that the Foreign Enlistment Act was passed for defense of British neutrality against invasion of it by other Powers, not because of any obligation. "What," he asked, "is the extent of the rights which a foreign government derives from the act?" Only this: it may appeal to the friendly spirit of the neutral State to enforce its own statutes, according to its own principles of judicial administration. The United States had no right to complain if the Act were enforced in the way English laws were always enforced against English subjects; enforced on evidence, not on suspicion; on facts, not on presumptions; on conclusive testimony, not on mere accusations of a foreign minister, or his agents.

Mr. Laird, father of the brothers in whose yard the *Alabama* was built, defended his sons. From the day the vessel was laid down, until her completion, all was open and aboveboard. If, said he, a ship without guns, without arms, is a dangerous article, surely rifled guns and ammunition are quite as dangerous. He had examined the bills of entry in the Customhouses at London and Liverpool and found that vast shipments of implements of war to the Northern States had been made through Baring & Co., and Brown, Shipley & Co. of Liverpool, and through others. From the first of May, 1861, to the last day of December, 1862, forty-one thousand muskets, three hundred and forty-one thousand

* Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, p. 167.

rifles, twenty-six thousand gun flints, forty-nine million percussion caps, twenty-two hundred swords, had gone to the United States, and he might add that from a third to a half had been shipped as "hardware." * From January first to March seventeenth the bills of entry showed shipments of twenty-three thousand gun barrels, thirty thousand rifles, three million percussion caps.†

The day before the debate Adams had an interview with Russell, and complained of the floating of the Cotton Loan. The story of the Loan begins on a September day, 1862, when a representative of a great banking house in Paris surprised Slidell by an "uninvited suggestion" to "open a credit to our Government by a considerable amount." No sum was mentioned, no terms were named. But the basis was to be cotton delivered, to the parties making the advance, at points in the interior of the Confederate States. No express authority had been given Slidell to borrow money, and he supposed none had been given Mason. But money was needed for ships and arms and he took the responsibility. If cotton could be given for recognition it surely might be for munitions. ‡

As arranged at Paris and revised at Richmond, the agreement provided that Emile Erlanger & Cie., of Paris and Frankfurt, should float a loan of three million pounds sterling. The bonds were to run for twenty years, bear seven per cent interest, and be redeemed one fortieth every six months, or be exchanged for New Orleans middling cotton at six cents a pound. Erlanger & Cie. were to pay the Confederate agents in Europe seventy-seven pounds sterling for each one-hundred-pound bond. March eighteenth subscription books were opened at London, Paris, Frankfurt and elsewhere, and within three days subscriptions in London alone amounted to nine millions of pounds sterling. When all were in they amounted to sixteen millions. § They

* Muskets, 41, 500; rifles, 341,000; gun flints, 26,500; percussion caps, 49,982,000; swords, 2,250.

† Gun barrels, 23,870; rifles, 30,802; percussion caps, 3,105,000.

‡ Mason Papers, Slidell to Mason, September 26, 1862.

§ Mason Papers, Library of Congress. Benjamin to Mason, January 15, 1863. Spence to Mason, February 3, 1863. Slidell to Mason, Feb-

were sold at ninety pounds per hundred-pound bond; but the price rose at once to ninety-five, then rapidly fell to eighty-six, and so strong was the feeling that when settling day, April twenty-fourth, came they would not be worth more than eighty, that buyers ceased to appear. Alarmed by the downward trend Mason, Slidell and their bankers met in London and agreed that a million pounds sterling should be expended in buying back bonds in open market at the offering price, and by so doing raised the price to ninety-one. As settling day approached it became so evident that unless the buying went on, frightened subscribers would abandon the fifteen per cent paid at the time of subscribing and throw the bonds back on the hands of the bankers, that half a million pounds more were ordered to be expended in keeping up the price.*

To Adams the success of the loan was most disheartening. The Confederates now had in England a great sum of money which could be used, and would be used, to build more rams and ironclads to break the blockade and, it might be, bombard Northern cities. In the midst of his despondency he received from Dudley a bundle of papers tending to prove that the *Alexandra,* then under construction at Liverpool, was intended for the Confederate navy. Though Dudley knew it not, she was to be a gift from Frazer, Trenholm & Co. to the Confederate Government, and happening to be launched on the day whereon the future Princess of Wales entered London was called *Alexandra.*† Adams at once sent the papers to Russell who with all possible speed laid them before the Crown lawyers. They advised she be seized, and one Sunday morning in early April, six days after Adams complained to Russell, an official from the Customhouse boarded the *Alexandra* and put a broad arrow on one of her masts.

As she had not been delivered to Frazer, Trenholm & Co.

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ruary 3, 1863. Memminger to Spence, February 7, 1863. Slidell to Mason, February 15, 1863. Mason to Benjamin, March 19, 30, 1863.

* Spence to Mason, April 3, 4, 1863. Slidell to Mason, April 5, 15, 1863. Schroeder to Mason, April 17, 1863.

† Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863. Official Records, Navy, Series 2, vol. ii, p. 447.

she was still the property of the builders who wrote to their member of Parliament. They described the vessel, said she was built on speculation, which was untrue; that she was designed for use as a passenger boat, a mail boat, or a yacht, which was likewise untrue; and expressed astonishment that while whole batteries of field pieces with carriages and equipment complete could be sold to known agents of the Federals, they could not build and finish an unarmed vessel because it was supposed it might, by resale, become the property of the Confederates. In due time the member from Liverpool, standing in his place, called the attention of the House to the seizure of the *Alexandra*, read the letter, and said that Mr. Laird had recently spoken of the shipment of arms for the Federal Government. Had any steps been taken to stop this? If strict neutrality and non-intervention were to be maintained, why not stop shipments of arms to the Federals as well as the fitting out of vessels which it was supposed might become the property of the Confederates? He held in his hand a customhouse return of shipments of arms from Liverpool for the United States Government by Brown, Shipley & Co. They were all between March twenty-fourth and April twenty-second.* But they had done more than this. Not only had they sent arms, but hands to use them. During the current year, up to the last day of March, twenty-four thousand eight hundred Irish laborers had left Liverpool for America. Between March thirty-first and April twenty-fourth, fourteen thousand six hundred and forty-eight had sailed. Many were recruits for the Northern army for their passage had been paid to America.

The gentleman complains, said the Attorney-General, that while the Government was vigilant in seizing the *Alexandra*, it shut its eyes to other flagrant violations; that shipments of arms to one belligerent or the other take place openly at

* March 24: 1,000,000 percussion caps; March 25: 870 bundles of gun barrels; 4 tons rifle barrels; March 26: 10 cases of rifles; March 30: 774 bundles of gun barrels; April 1: 8,100 bundles of gun barrels; April 9: 21 tons of gun barrels; April 10: 20 cases 400 rifles; April 13: 36 tons of gun barrels; April 16: 150 bundles of gun barrels; April 22: 200 cases of rifles.

Liverpool, every day, and Government does not interfere. According to the principles of international law it is not the duty of a neutral Power to interfere with shipments of arms and munitions by its subjects to a belligerent, nor does such supply and sale violate any provision of the Foreign Enlistment Act, nor any municipal law of the country.

Seizure of the *Alexandra* caused great anxiety to the Confederate agents in England and to Mallory at home. The two rams building for Bulloch by the Lairds were nearly ready to be launched. The ironclad frigate building at Glasgow for Commander North was well under way. Could they ever be delivered to their owner? North appealed to Slidell to help him save his ship. He was advised to wait or seek a Hamburg house. Transfer to a French house would be costly. Bulloch took a different course. From the time the *Alabama* escaped he was sure no ship built undoubtedly for war purposes would ever get out of England unless owned by a neutral government. Again and again he expressed his fears to Mallory. I share your apprehension for our ships, said Mallory. Go to Paris, consult Mr. Slidell, after conferring with Mr. Mason, and arrange for the transfer of the vessels to a French owner and their equipment in a French port.* The visit was made, and Bravay & Co. of Paris agreed to buy the rams. They were to pay a nominal price, complete them, outfit them, and resell them to the Confederacy, beyond the jurisdiction of Great Britain, for a sum large enough to include a handsome commission.† When the first was launched on the fourth of July, 1863, both were the property of the French house which was to finish them, it was said, for the Pasha of Egypt.

Late in June the case of the *Alexandra* was tried in the Court of Exchequer before the Lord Chief Baron and a special jury. In closing his charge the Chief Baron said: the offense against which this information is directed, is "equipping, furnishing, fitting out, or arming." He had looked, so that he might not go wrong, at Webster's Amer-

* Mallory to Bulloch, March 19, 1863.

† Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863. Official Records, Navy, Series 2, vol. ii, pp. 445-446.

ican Dictionary. No one could complain that he referred to that. It appeared that "to equip," was to "furnish with arms." In his own opinion "equip," "furnish," "fit out," "arm," meant precisely the same thing. The question then was: Did the jury think the *Alexandra* was fitted? Armed she certainly was not; but was there an intention that she should be furnished, fitted or equipped at Liverpool?

"Gentlemen, if you think the object was to equip, furnish, fit out, or arm this vessel at Liverpool, then that is a sufficient matter. But if you think the object really was to build a ship in obedience to an order, and in compliance with a contract, leaving it to those who bought it to make what use they thought of it, then it appears to me that the Foreign Enlistment Act has not been in any degree broken." *

The jury then returned a verdict acquitting the *Alexandra,* and the case went over to the Michaelmas Term some months later. With the long legal strife that followed we need not be concerned. The case was heard in the Court of Exchequer in November, 1863, and in the House of Lords in March, 1864. But all in vain. The *Alexandra* was ordered to be returned to her owners, was delivered to them and sailed for Halifax in July.†

The Proclamation of Emancipation, the meetings of the anti-slavery people, the addresses of sympathy and congratulations they sent to Lincoln aroused the active friends of the South, in Parliament and out. The time to bring pressure on the Government seemed to have come. The people must be informed concerning the war, the aims of the belligerents, the injury done to British industry and the suffering inflicted on the workers in the cotton mills. During March and April, without any suggestion from the Confederate agents, societies known as Southern Clubs were formed at Manchester, Birmingham, and other cities, under the patronage of men of standing and influence. Their object was, by speeches and publications to arouse a spirit of inquiry, and spread information about the war and the South. Public meetings were held under their auspices in the towns

* Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, p. 347.
† Claims against Great Britain, vol. v, pp. 3-471.

and villages in the manufacturing districts, addresses were made by invited speakers, resolutions urging recognition were adopted, placards posted, and handbills circulated. Even Hotze lent a hand and wrote that he had "taken means to placard every available space in the streets of London with representations of our newly adopted flag with the British ensign." *

At one such public gathering held in the open air in Paradise Square, Sheffield, the speaker was Mr. Roebuck, the member from that city, and when he had finished a resolution was adopted declaring that Her Majesty's Government would act wisely if it at once began negotiations with the great Powers of Europe to obtain the acknowledgment, by them, of the independence of the Confederate States of America.†

Encouraged by the action of the Sheffield meeting, Roebuck gave notice in the House of Commons that he would soon move an address requesting Her Majesty to enter into negotiations. June second he gave notice that he would bring on the motion on the thirtieth of that month.

And now Anti-Slavery Societies, Emancipation Societies, religious bodies, churches, all opposed to slavery, became active, and petitions against recognition of the Confederacy came pouring into the Commons. They came from the clergy and laity of the Archdeaconry of Bath, from the parishes of Tresborough and Laxborough; the Congregation of Methodists, Milnroad; the Congregation of Wesleyan Reformers, Derby; the Methodist Free Church, Preston; the Baptist Church, Walsall; from the Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society; and from the people of forty other places.

While Roebuck waited for the time when he could make his motion he was met in the lobby one night by a friend who told him of a rumor that the Emperor had changed his mind as to recognition, and that Palmerston would so state in the House. Greatly alarmed, Roebuck wrote to Lindsay, an ardent supporter of the South, saying, he had been told

* Pickett Papers, Hotze, June 6, 1863.

† London Times, May 23, 1863.

that Napeoleon thought it unwise to recognize the Confederacy at present; that Palmerston on June thirtieth would say that England thought the time for recognition had not arrived; that France thought so too, and that any negotiation about the matter would then be utterly out of place and impossible. Could we, he asked, do any good by going to Paris and seeing the Emperor? The thirtieth was not far off, and it must be decided whether he should, or should not, bring on the motion standing in his name.*

Slidell was at once sent a copy of this letter, saw the Emperor, and read a part of it. Napoleon promised to bring the matter before the Cabinet. He was more convinced than ever of the wisdom of general recognition by European Powers; but the commerce of France and success of the Mexican Expedition would be jeopardized by a rupture with the United States. No Power but England had a navy large enough to aid effectively in a war on the ocean. Slidell replied that recognition by the Powers, or by France alone, would not lead to war. He could in any event count on Spain, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Sweden, Denmark. None of them, said the Emperor, has a navy of any consequence. Slidell replied he had authority to give the adhesion of the Confederacy to the tripartite treaty guaranteeing Cuba to Spain. Because of this, Spain, if assured of the concurrence of France, might take the lead in recognition. Would the Emperor give such concurrence? He would. Could Slidell say so to the Spanish Ambassador? Yes. Would the Emperor see Roebuck and Lindsay? Yes. He would do more, he would make a direct proposal to England for joint recognition and bring the matter before the Cabinet that very day.†

His friend in the Foreign Office now informed Slidell that the Cabinet thought it not wise to make a proposition to London, but, as a middle course, to deny the rumor falsely attributing to France a change of sentiment and a policy less favorable to the South; remind the English cabinet that France had often made propositions which were not wel-

* Pickett Papers, Roebuck to Lindsay, June 13, 1863.
† Ibid., Slidell, June 21, 1863.

comed; declare France would be glad to act, and say she would receive any overtures.*

On his return from the interview, Roebuck, full of the importance of his mission, moved in the House of Commons an humble address praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to enter into negotiations with the great Powers of Europe for the purpose of obtaining their co-operation in the recognition of the Confederate States of America. In a long speech he described his visit and stated that "the Emperor of the French said, and he gave me authority to repeat it here, 'I gave instructions to my Ambassador to say that my feeling was, not indeed, exactly the same as it had been, because it was stronger than ever, in favor of recognizing the South. I told him also to lay before the British Government my understanding and my wishes on this question, and to ask them still again whether they would be willing to join me in that recognition.' Now, Sir, there is no mistake about this matter. I pledge my veracity that the Emperor of the French told me that." And more than that, Roebuck continued, "I laid before His Majesty two courses of conduct. I said: 'Your Majesty may make a formal application to England.' He stopped me and said: 'No, I can't do that, and I will tell you why. Some months ago I did make a formal application to England. England sent my dispatch to America. That dispatch getting into Mr. Seward's hands was shown to my Ambassador at Washington. It came back to me, and I feel that I was ill treated by such conduct.' "

Sir George Grey denied this. He did not doubt Mr. Roebuck's veracity, but nothing of the sort he described had occurred with reference to the Emperor's dispatches. Lord Russell likewise denied it in the House of Lords. The debate was adjourned to July second and was not then resumed. But Mr. Forster inquired if the Emperor of the French had, as Mr. Roebuck stated, made application touching mediation in America. Mr. Layard replied: "I repeat, without equivocation, in the broad sense of the word, that no such communication has up to this time been made."

* Pickett Papers, Slidell, June 21, 1863.

And now, at last, the Government at Richmond became convinced that the objects of the mission had not been obtained. Perusal of recent debates in Parliament satisfy the President, Secretary Benjamin wrote, that Her Majesty's Government has determined to decline the overtures made by you, for establishing friendly relations through a treaty of amity and commerce, and never intends to receive you as the accredited Minister from the Confederate States. Therefore his continuance in London was neither conducive to the interests, nor consistent with the dignity of the Confederate States of America, and the President requested him to consider his mission at an end and withdraw at once from London.*

Thus instructed he promptly made known his recall to Russell, quoted the reasons given by Benjamin, and was told in reply: "I have on other occasions explained to you the reasons which have induced Her Majesty's Government to decline the overtures alluded to, and the motives which have hitherto prevented the British Court from recognizing you as the accredited Minister of an established State. These reasons are still in force, and it is not necessary to repeat them." † Mason at once retired to Paris and was soon commissioned to represent the Confederate States at the Courts of such European Powers as President Davis might direct.

The bitterness against Great Britain now felt by Benjamin was expressed in a letter to Hotze. The course of the British Government had been marked by such complacent deference for the enemy, he said, that it had become almost as hostile to the South as if it were in alliance with the United States. Because of fear of war with the United States Her Majesty's Government had refused to recognize the Confederacy; countenanced and respected a blockade known to be invalid; protected Federal commerce by shutting British ports to Confederate prizes; started prosecutions against British subjects to prevent the sale of vessels to the South; submitted to insulting violations of her neutral

* Pickett Papers, Benjamin to Mason, August 4, 1863.
† Ibid., Russell to Mason, September 25, 1863.

rights, and allowed the insolent aggression of the Yankees to deprive Lancashire of bread and paralyze the most lucrative branch of British manufacturers. And all this to avoid war with the United States. Had she joined hands with France and recognized the independence of the Confederate States, the contest would at once have ended.*

The launch of the first of the Laird rams on the fourth of July, was quickly followed by a letter from Consul Dudley enclosing several depositions, which Adams made the occasion for another note to Russell.

But the Collector at Liverpool wrote Russell that the rams were not built for the Confederates, but for Frenchmen who first contracted for them.† The Law Officers of the Crown were clearly of opinion that the evidence in the depositions was mostly hearsay, and that Her Majesty's Government ought not to detain, or in any way interfere with, the steam vessels in question. ‡ Dudley now reported that the ram had her masts up, machinery on board, was shipping her turrets, and could no doubt in a week's time be ready for sea. § Adams sent more evidence of Confederate ownership. Russell telegraphed to the British Ambassador at Paris asking if the rams were for the French Government. The Ambassador replied they were not. Dayton wrote Dudley that Drouyn de L'Huys assured him that neither the Emperor, the Minister of Marine, the Minister of Finance, nor the French Consul at Liverpool knew anything of such a claim; that the French Government had no interest in any such vessel or ram, and that the Consul at Liverpool had never made such a claim. || An officer of the Royal Navy visited Brevay and offered to buy the rams. He declined to sell. The British Consul-General at Cairo reported that the Viceroy of Egypt denied all connection with the rams. As August ended the second ram was launched, and September

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* Pickett Papers, Benjamin to Hotze, September 19, 1863.

† July 8, 1863.

‡ July 24, 1863.

§ Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, p. 398, August 7, 1863.

|| Dayton to Dudley, August 17, 1863, Dudley MSS.

first Russell, then in Scotland, wrote Adams that Her Majesty's Government could not in any way interfere with them, but they would be watched. Assured by Dudley that one was about to sail, assured by Russell that Government could see no way to prevent it, Adams abandoned all hope of avoiding war, for he had on file a letter from Seward telling just what would happen if Great Britain continued to allow rebel ships to escape. He wrote it after hearing of the verdict in the *Alexandra* case and said: if the rulings of the Chief Baron are affirmed and acted on, it is right that you should know, and be able to communicate to Her Majesty's Government, what the President thinks should be done in that contingency. If the law of Great Britain must be left without amendment, and be construed by the Government in conformity with the rulings of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, then must the United States protect themselves and their commerce, against armed cruisers proceeding from British ports as against the naval force of a public enemy. To this end the Government is preparing a naval force with the utmost vigor, and if it shall not be sufficient for the emergency, then must the United States use such private armed ships as the mercantile marine shall afford. British ports are now open, under certain restrictions, to the visits of piratical vessels, and not only furnish them coal, provisions and repairs, but even receive their prisoners. Could it be a matter of surprise, or a subject of complaint, if this state of things continue, that the navy of the United States receive instructions to pursue their enemies into the ports which thus, in violation of the law of nations and the obligations of neutrality, become harbors for the pirates? The President very distinctly foresees the risks and hazards which a naval conflict thus maintained will bring to the commerce, to the peace of the two nations. But he is forced to consider that in the case supposed, the destruction of our commerce will probably amount to a naval war waged by a portion of the British nation against the Government and people of the United States, a war tolerated, though not avowed, by the Government of Great Britain. If such a partial war should become a general war between the two nations, the

President believed the responsibility would not fall on the United States.*

The question Adams had now to decide was, whether he should lay these instructions before Russell, or suppress them and make one more effort to maintain peace. He decided to suppress them, and September fifth wrote: "At this moment, when one of the ironclad vessels is on the point of departure from this Kingdom on its hostile errand against the United States, I am honored with the reply of your Lordship to my notes. . . . I trust I need not express how profound is my regret at the conclusion to which Her Majesty's Government has arrived. I can regard it no otherwise than as practically opening to the insurgents free liberty in this Kingdom to execute a policy described in one of their late publications in the following language." The newspaper from which he quoted said that in the present state of the harbor defenses of New York, Boston, Portland and the smaller cities on the coast such a vessel as the British ironclad *Warrior* could enter any of them and strike the enemy a vital blow. The destruction of Boston alone would be worth a thousand victories in the field, would terrify the blue noses, make them wish eagerly for peace, raise the blockade of Southern ports and soon repay the cost of building. Continuing, Adams said: "It would be superfluous for me to point out to your Lordship that this is war. . . . It is my belief it is impossible that any nation, retaining a proper degree of self-respect, could tamely submit to a continuance of relations so utterly deficient in reciprocity. . . . Under these circumstances I prefer to desist from communicating to your Lordship even such further portions of my existing instructions as are suited to the case, lest I should contribute to aggravate difficulties already too serious." †

Had Adams waited four and twenty hours, his letter, in all probability, would never have been written, for, all un-

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* Seward to Adams, July 11, 1863. Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, pp. 356, 357.

† Adams to Russell, September 5, 1863. Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, pp. 418, 419.

known to him Russell was making good his promise to watch the rams. September first, by his order, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury were informed that so much suspicion attached to the rams that if evidence could be obtained to show that they were intended for the Confederate States they ought to be detained for further examination. On the third he wrote Palmerston that the conduct of the gentlemen who had contracted for the rams was so very suspicious that he had directed that they be detained.* On the fifth the Commissioner of Customs at Liverpool was ordered not to allow them to leave the Mersey.† When the Lairds wished to take *El Tousson,* one of the rams, on a trial trip, they were forbidden to do it unless Admiral Dacres was allowed to put on board a force of sailors sufficient to prevent capture. Most of the crew of the *Alabama* were then in Liverpool where their presence gave rise to the fear that they might be used to seize her. So real was the fear that in October the Broad Arrow was put on both rams, and, taken from the graving dock into the Mersey, they were anchored under the guns of the *Majestic.* Palmerston was in favor of buying the rams and wrote the Duke of Somerset advising him to do so.‡ Russell also wrote, § and some months later the Admiralty bought them for two hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. "If one ironclad ram may go from Liverpool to break the blockade, why not twenty?" Russell asked Sir George Grey: "And what is this but war? If ten line of battle ships had gone from New York to break the blockade of Brest during the late war, do you think we should have borne it?" ||

The rams in Bordeaux were now causing trouble to France. In September a stranger came to our consulate at

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* Seizure of the Laird Rams. Brooks Adams, Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Second Series, vol. xiii, p. 295. Walpole's Life of Lord Russell, vol. ii, p. 359.

† Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, p. 363. Ibid., p. 262. September 19, 1863.

‡ Palmerston to Russell, September 13, 1863. The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, vol. ii, p. 334.

§ Russell to Somerset, September 14, 1863. Ibid., p. 335.

|| Russell to Sir G. Grey, September 19, 1863. Ibid., p. 335.

Paris and amazed Mr. John Bigelow by stating that, to his certain knowledge, wooden and iron plated vessels for the Confederates were building at Bordeaux and Nantes. Reminded that no warship could be built in France without consent of the Emperor, he answered that authority to build, equip and arm has been issued by the Department of Marine. Asked what proof of this he could furnish, he placed in the hands of the Consul letters and documents proving, beyond a doubt, the truth of his statement. He even offered to bring more on the morrow, provided, when they had defeated the naval operations of the Confederates, he should receive twenty thousand francs.* The papers were copies or originals, bore the names of Bulloch, Arman, Erlanger, Slidell, and the Minister of Marine, were delivered to Mr. Dayton, our Minister to France, and by him laid before Drouyn de L'Huys. He disclaimed all knowledge of the vessels, was greatly surprised, asked for copies, and gave assurance that neutrality would be maintained.† The Minister of Marine explained that he had trusted the assurances of Arman and Voruz that the vessels were for the China Seas, and the Pacific, had signed the license as a matter of course, did not feel responsible for any unlawful operations which might be undertaken, and would call for an explanation. ‡ The license to arm was revoked, but the building was not stopped. § Whether they would ever leave France, Bulloch believed, would depend on the state of affairs in America, when they were finished. If, said he, our cause is then ascendant, local authorities will be instructed not to be too inquisitive and the ships will sail. If the Federal cause prospers they will be turned over to the responsible Ministers of the Empire who will justify their claim to American gratitude by strict enforcement of the neutrality of France. ||

Napoleon in his speech to the Chambers, in November,

* John Bigelow, France and the Confederate Navy, pp. 1-17.

† Dayton to Seward, September 18, 1863. Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, vol. ii, p. 773.

‡ Ibid., pp. 794, 795.

§ Ibid., pp. 797, 798, 800.

|| Bulloch, Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe, vol. ii, pp. 40-41.

said not a word on affairs in America. Inquiry led Slidell to believe that the Emperor said nothing because he could not say what he was willing to do in coöperation with Great Britain, without contrasting his policy with hers, and throwing on her responsibility for the lingering war in America. Rather than indulge in common places about the length of the war and the blood that had been shed he preferred to be silent. Nevertheless, Slidell was anxious, and a few days after the speech wrote Napoleon. Confident assertion, he said, by agents of the Washington Government, and certain remarks by the Minister of Marine, made him apprehensive that, without consulting His Majesty, orders might be given that would stop the completion and arming of the ships of war building at Bordeaux and Nantes for the Confederate States. Undoubtedly His Majesty, when aware of the possibility of such interference, would take the necessary steps to prevent it. Slidell had no access to the Minister of Marine and did not feel authorized to state to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the circumstances under which the building of the ships was begun. This was his reason for taking the liberty to address His Majesty.*

Drouyn de L'Huys sent for him at once and said what had passed at the meeting with the Emperor was confidential. France could not be forced into a war by indirection. When prepared to act it would be openly.† Slidell replied that the idea originated with the Emperor, was carried out with his knowledge and invitation, and the promise must be kept. The Minister drew a broad distinction between the corvettes and the ironclads saying, that with precaution the corvettes might, perhaps, be allowed to go to sea; but to allow the ironclads intended for warlike purposes, and for nothing else, to go to sea, in spite of the remonstrances by the Washington Government and in violation of the Emperor's declaration of neutrality, would be an overt act of war.

This was indeed disheartening; but news which now

* Pickett Papers. Slidell, Note to a Person of Distinction, November 15, 1863.

† Ibid., Slidell, November 15, 1863.

reached him was more so. Mr. Dayton was in possession of letters and documents showing that certain vessels building at Bordeaux and Nantes belonged to the Confederate States. A confidential clerk in the employ of one of the builders had absconded carrying off the papers of which he was custodian.* So far as the corvettes were concerned full evidence of ownership was undoubtedly in the hands of the enemy.† Mason, Bulloch and Slidell now met and considered what should be done. They decided to get rid of the vessels, and early in February Bravay was directed to sell, to some foreign government, the two in England, ‡ and Arman the corvettes building at Bordeaux. § One of the rams was sold to Denmark. The other and the two corvettes at Bordeaux were bought by Prussia, and those at Nantes by Peru.

Almost every month some phase of our relations with Great Britain came before Parliament. Now it was the correspondence concerning the *Alabama* || and *Alexandra.* ¶ Now it was a motion for a return of claims made by British subjects on the Government of the United States, and of claims made by the United States on Great Britain for damages done to American ships by Confederate cruisers.** Now it was enlistment of Irish immigrants in the Union Army.†† Now it was the detention of the *Tuscaloosa* at St. Simon's Bay. ‡‡ Finally, it was the case of the rebel cruiser *Georgia.* Built at Dumbarton, and known as the *Japan,* registered in the name of a member of a firm of Liverpool merchants, entered for a voyage to Point de Galle and Hong Kong, she left Greenock one day in April, 1863, with her owner on board, to test her engines, and never returned to port. On the day she steamed away her registry was British, her owner was British, her equipment was

* Pickett Papers, Slidell, November 19, 1863.
† Ibid., February 16, 1864.
‡ Official Records, Navy, Series 2, vol. ii, p. 586.
§ Ibid., p. 590, February 8, 1864.
|| House of Lords, February 9, 1864. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. clxxiii, pp. 310-311.
¶ House of Commons, February 9, 1864. Ibid., p. 323.
** House of Lords, February 16, 1864. Ibid., pp. 618-635.
†† House of Lords, April 5, 1864. Ibid., pp. 448-450.
‡‡ House of Lords, April 26, 1864. Ibid., pp. 1595-1617.

British, her crew was British, and she carried the British merchant flag. From Greenock she made for the coast of France, and off Ushant was met by another British vessel bringing guns, shot, shell, powder, warlike supplies. When these were aboard her true character was made known, the Confederate Commission was read, the Confederate flag raised, and her name changed to the *Georgia*. The ship which brought the guns returned to Plymouth with the owner, and fifteen of the crew of the *Japan* who refused to enter the service of the Confederate States.

Having delivered her to the Confederate authorities her old owner might well have canceled her registry. But not until late in June did he inform the Customhouse and request that her registry be canceled. By that time the *Georgia* had captured and burned three vessels and bonded a fourth. Three more were destroyed before, late in October, she entered the harbor of Cherbourg "almost broken down." It was finally decided to sell her. The Liverpool merchants who had provided her outfit and had all along paid the crew sent over some twenty English sailors and early in May, 1864, the *Georgia* arrived in Liverpool for sale.*

Her arrival was at once brought to the attention of the House of Commons by Mr. Baring. Here, said he, is the case of a vessel clandestinely built, fraudulently leaving the port of her construction, taking Englishmen on board as her crew, and waging war against the United States, an ally of ours, without having once entered a port of the power whose commission she bears, and having been for some time the property of an English subject. He had no fault to find with the Government. It was not their conduct, but the impotency of the Foreign Enlistment Act that he wished to bring under the notice of the House. He then argued at length to prove that this Act ought to be so amended that the international obligations of the Government could be carried fully into effect, and vessels such as the *Alabama* and the *Georgia* prevented from leaving port.

* Barron to Mallory, May 4, 1864, Official Records, Navy, Series 2, vol. ii, p. 650.

The Attorney-General in a long argument maintained that the Foreign Enlistment Act needed no amendment. It was all-sufficient as it stood. He hoped no changes would be made in the Foreign Enlistment Act until the House was convinced they were absolutely necessary. That the *Georgia* was cruising, burning, destroying vessels while still a British ship was not true. A ship which has a British register and is transferred to a foreign belligerent power, cannot, he said, from the mere fact of her remaining registered in England be justly styled a British ship. "The register is nothing but the evidence of the title of a British owner for a municipal purpose in this country." But it was held that she had never been in any of the ports of the belligerent whose flag she bore, and so had never acquired the character of a belligerent ship of war. To say that a country whose ports are blockaded cannot avail herself of all the resources at her command in other ports of the world, may not buy ships in neutral territory and commission them as ships of war without first bringing them into her ports was quite preposterous, and all arguments founded on such a doctrine tended only to throw dust in men's eyes and to mislead them.

The Attorney-General, said Cobden, has made a long argument to prove that the law as it stands is sufficient to prevent a breach of our neutrality. What is the fact? You have been carrying on hostilities from these shores against the United States and have inflicted on that country damage greater than would be produced by any ordinary war. The loss by capture and by burning of American ships is estimated at fifteen million dollars, and is but a small part of the injury done to the American marine. For the quarter ending on the last day of June, 1860, the foreign trade of New York City amounted to ninety-two millions of dollars, of which sixty-two millions were carried in American bottoms. During the quarter ending June thirtieth, 1863, the foreign trade amounted to eighty-eight millions, of which sixty-five millions were carried in foreign bottoms. In 1858 thirty-three vessels were transferred from the American to the British flag; in 1859, forty-nine vessels; in 1860, forty-one. Then the number began to increase rapidly and in

1861 one hundred and twenty-six; in 1862, one hundred and thirty-five; in 1863, three hundred and forty-eight vessels, in all three hundred and eighty-nine thousand tons were transferred to British capitalists. Had you, said he, helped the Confederates by bombarding all the accessible seaports in the North, you could hardly have destroyed more property than you have by the *Florida,* the *Alabama,* and the *Georgia.*

Debate on the presence of the *Georgia* at Liverpool had scarcely quieted down when Lindsay made preparations to again bring forward a motion for an offer of mediation. It was to be made early in June and was to be in these words, "That the House of Commons, deeply regretting the great loss of life and suffering of the people of the United States and of the Confederate States of North America by the continuance of the war which has been so long waged between them, trust that Her Majesty's Government will avail itself of the earliest opportunity of mediation, in conjunction with the other Powers of Europe to bring about a cessation of hostilities." Before doing so he consulted Lord Palmerston. He approved. Lindsay then asked if he would talk with Mason as a private gentleman. To this he agreed, and suggested his house in Piccadilly as the place of meeting.* Mason refused to go. I am not, said he, in a position to yield to your invitation to an interview with Lord Palmerston, and chiefly because you desired it. After the persistent refusal of Her Majesty's Government to recognize, in any form, the Government of the Confederate States, I was directed by the President to consider my mission to England at an end, and leave London. Later instructions bade me never again approach the British Government, even in the most informal manner, without some intimation of its willingness to enter into official relations with my own. Had the invitation originated with his Lordship, I might have accepted it. But, as it had only the form of his assent to a proposition from you, I must with all respect decline it.†

When Mason's letter was read to Palmerston he declared he could not think of inviting him to come from Paris, but

* Lindsay to Mason, May 27, 1864, Mason Papers.
† Mason to Lindsay, Paris, May 29, 1863. Ibid.

if in London would be glad to see him and hear what he had to say on the present state of affairs; could not see how recognition would end the war unless the blockade was raised; thought the North was becoming more and more alive to the fact that subjugation of the South was impossible, and that the motion might with advantage be postponed.* Mr. Spence now wrote that it was the unanimous desire of the Committee that Mason should see Palmerston. He leaned towards the South, but hesitated and was unsettled. A talk might turn the scale.†

The committee which thought Mason should try to turn the scale consisted of the most active members of "The Society for Obtaining the Cessation of Hostilities in America." Among its members were men who sat in the House of Lords, and in the House of Commons, rectors of country parishes and laymen of distinction. Its object was to impress on Parliament and on the Premier the strong feeling in the country that the Government should use its good offices to end the war in America; and do so by petitions to the Lords and Commons and so make ready the way for Lindsay's motion. A great number of petitions was easily obtained, and presented, and this done, an audience was sought with Palmerston. The result of it all was that Lindsay gave notice of his intended motion, that Mason came over from Paris, and both he and a deputation from the Society visited the Prime Minister.

The spokesman of the delegation declared there was good ground for saying that Her Majesty's Government should use its friendly relations with the Federal Government to bring about a cessation of hostilities. The very large number of letters the Society had received from rectors of parishes reflecting the state of feeling in the country districts proved it. The petitions presented to Parliament from eighteen counties in England, from eight in Ireland, from Waterford, Galway, Dublin, Cork and Tipperary proved it. The tone of feeling and conversation in social circles, in meetings, and leaders in the press proved it. Believing the restoration

* Lindsay to Mason, May 30, 1864. Mason Papers.
† Spence to Mason, May 31, 1864. Ibid.

of the Union to be impossible; believing the independence of the Confederate States to be a *fait accompli,* they believed prolongation of the war could only result in slaughter.

There is, said Lord Palmerston, an old couplet:

They who in quarrels interpose
Will often wipe a bloody nose.

He did not fear a bloody nose, but did fear premature efforts would serve but to exasperate the North, make it more difficult when passion had calmed down to effect the object all must have in view. Each party was sure of success and the North especially jealous of interference. If, at any time in the future reasonable grounds could be shown for supposing friendly suggestions would be heard, Her Majesty's Government would be happy to use their efforts to bring about an end to their unhappy war.* All of which means, said the London *Times,* that the Premier will support such an effort at a more opportune moment, that is to say when Grant and Sherman are defeated and the Confederacy stands in no need of recognition.†

Lindsay's motion was not called up, and in the last days of the session he was forced to content himself with asking the First Lord of the Treasury "if, considering the great sacrifice of life and property, occasioned by the war still raging between the United States of America and the Confederate States, and considering the loss the people of this country have suffered by the war, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government, in concert with the other Powers of Europe, to use their endeavors to bring about a suspension of hostilities?" Lord Palmerston answered and said he could assure his honorable friend that Her Majesty's Government deeply laments the great sacrifice of life and property in America, and the distress which that war has produced in this country; but they had not thought that in the present state of things any advantage was to be gained by entering into concert with any other Power for the purpose of pro-

* London Times, July 16, 1864.
† Ibid.

posing or offering mediation, or of negotiating with the Government of the United States, or of the Confederate States, to bring about a termination of this unhappy war.*

More than once, in the course of the debates in Parliament, members had charged the United States with raising recruits in Ireland; and cited in evidence the great number of emigrants that crowded every ship that sailed for New York. Hard times and poor crops had caused severe distress, and this, combined with stories of scarcity of labor, high wages and great bounties, sent tens of thousands of young Irishmen across the sea. In the opinion of all friends of the South in Great Britain, this migration was the work of Federal agents who induced able-bodied young men to go to New York that they might be tempted to enlist in the Union army. Russell thought so and over and over again complained to Adams that bounty money in large sums was offered by agents of the United States to induce British subjects to enlist in its armies; that the United States was systematically, and in defiance of that comity of nations it was its duty to observe, luring subjects of Her Majesty to enlist in its armies; that it was notorious that large bounties had been given to British subjects residing in the United States to engage in the war on the Federal side; that twelve hundred and seventy-eight strong, active young men had left Queenstown within a fortnight and eight hundred were booked to follow; that they were intended for the army of the United States could not be doubted.† Again and again Adams denied that agents of the United States were seeking recruits, and declared he was authorized by his Government to deny the charge. Scarcity of labor, high wages, distress of the people of Ireland, explained the migration. Railroads in the United States were seeking alien labor because of the liability of the men in their employ to be drafted. ‡

Benjamin instructed Mason to report on this charge of

* July 25, 1864, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. clxxvi, p. 2018.

† Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, pp. 396, 398, 401, 403-404, 405.

‡ Ibid., pp. 396, 400, 402, 405, 406, 407, 413, 414, 415.

recruiting in Ireland. Great numbers, he found, had gone from Liverpool. Their passages had been paid, and from this he inferred they were for military service although they were engaged to work on railroads or on farms. Detectives employed by him could find nothing on which to base a representation to the British Government.* De Leon visited Ireland and sought the aid of men powerful in the press and in the pulpit to stop this "crimping" under pretense of employment on Northern railroads,† Lieutenant Capston was sent over by Benjamin to stop migration by informing young Irishmen of the awful fate that awaited those who went to New York, secured the support of the editors of several newspapers and of the Catholic clergy, and circulated among the priests a "large number" of copies of a poster. ‡ It bore the heading "Caution to Emigrants," and in large display type were the statements "Persecution of Catholics in America," "The Tabernacle Overthrown!" "The Blessed Host scattered on the ground!" "Benediction Veil Made a Horse Cover of!" "All the Sacred Vessels carried off!" "The Monuments of the Dead Defaced!" "The Priest imprisoned and afterwards exposed on an island to alligators and snakes!"

These, and similar outrages, said Capston, unparalleled in history, have been committed on Catholics by Massachusetts soldiers in the State of Louisiana. Let Irishmen remember the Know Nothing Party, that child of Orangemen, now prevailing all over the United States, and how some years ago its followers entered the Convents and insulted the Nuns at their devotions. In the United States the writ of *habeas corpus,* he asserted, was suspended. The old home of liberty had become the headquarters of military despotism. The Great Republic of the West no longer existed.§

Capston was followed by Father John Brannon. Benjamin sent him out to enlighten his fellow-countrymen as to the true purpose of the South, and show them how shock-

* Mason Papers, Mason to Benjamin, June 14, 1863.
† Intercepted dispatch, De Leon to Benjamin, September 30, 1863.
‡ Pickett Papers, Capston, October 1, 1863.
§ Pickett Papers.

ing to humanity was the conduct of those who left a foreign soil to steep their hands in the blood of a people that had always received the Irish immigrants with kindness and hospitality. Advices from the North made it certain that the Federal Government was about to make fresh efforts to induce the Irish laborer to emigrate to New York. They were told they would be employed as builders of railroads. But the real object of the Lincoln government was to lure them into the Federal army. Therefore it was thought prudent to send Father Brannon in addition to such special agents as were in Ireland on the same errand.* In due time he reached Dublin, and put up at the Angel Hotel, because it was frequented by middle-class Irish farmers who came to the near-by market at Smithfield, and was the resort of country priests who from time to time came to Dublin. These he questioned as to the origin, the cause of the great migration. Some said failure of the crops in 1861 and 1862; others thought that, independent of any efforts the Federal Government might make, the presence of so many relatives in the Northern states was enough to cause the stream of emigrants and draw it thither. So powerful was this cause that every effort made to stem the current had been in vain.†

Finding bishops, priests, newspapers and politicians powerless, Brannon determined to try what he could do, obtained the use of the columns of *The Nation,* and had printed two thousand copies of a handbill. In Queenstown and Galway copies were to be distributed among emigrants aboard ships before sailing, and among young and able-bodied would-be emigrants as soon as they arrived in town. At least two copies were to be posted in each boarding-house in which it was customary for those about to emigrate to lodge. ‡

As the new year opened three thousand parish priests received a circular and several copies of an "Address to the Catholic Clergy and People of Ireland." If each priest, the

* Pickwick Papers, Benjamin to Hotze, September 5, 1863.
† Ibid., Brannon, November 17, 1863.
‡ Ibid., December 15, 1863.

circular said, would post a copy near the church, he would help to counteract the malign influence of Yankee agents busy misinforming, deceiving, luring, the too-credulous youth of Ireland into the Yankee army to fight against their fellow-countrymen in the Southern ranks. The address covered a six-column newspaper sheet. On your arrival at New York, Brannon said, "To Young Irishmen," you will at once be urged to enlist in the Federal Army and fight for the restoration of the Union and the liberation of the negro. How will the liberation of the negro so benefit you or yours at home, that you should risk your life for his freedom? How will the restoration of the Union so benefit you that you should sell yourself for a few pounds in hand to the men who would raise themselves to military rank, pay, and promotion, by making your dead body the stepping stone to their ambition? As Catholics and Irishmen what do you owe to the Union? To the old Union which from the days of Washington throve and flourished under the guidance of honorable Southern gentlemen, Irishmen and Catholics owed the gift of citizenship. To the new Union party at present ruling, they owed the burning of Catholic churches in Charlestown and Philadelphia, the shooting down of Catholics in the streets of Brooklyn, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis in 1854, and the violation of churches in Missouri, Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana and Florida by Union soldiers since the war began. Who are the men of the North? he asked. Roundheads or Cromwellians who, having fled on the restoration of the Stuarts, were driven from every city of the Netherlands and forced to seek refuge in America. By these Cromwellians the New England States were settled. From these Puritans the Yankees are exclusively descended. Who are the men of the South? They are descended from Spanish Catholics who settled Florida, the Gulf Coast and Mexico; from French Catholics who settled in old Louisiana, and on both sides of the Mississippi River from its mouth to that of the Missouri; from Irish Catholic settlers in Maryland and Kentucky, and from the sons of Cavaliers who settled Virginia.

Within the last six months, said Seward, one hundred

and fifteen thousand persons have thrown off allegiance to foreign countries and become citizens of the United States. A few, perhaps a hundred, after arriving in the United States, and after having enlisted in the military service, and after having taken the bounty paid to all alike have repented their acts and complained to the British Minister and consuls, not that they had been forced into the army, but had been circumvented, not by agents of the Government, but by corrupt men, often their own countrymen, acting from mercenary motives, and in violation of the laws of the United States. Every representation has been received with respect, and investigated under orders reaching to the camps scattered throughout the land, and careful reports thereon made while the armies were in the field, on the march or lying in siege. In a few instances where complaints were well founded, all possible redress has been made. On the other hand the mass of European emigrants, not sensibly lessened by the abstraction of a few recruits, scattered as soon as they reached our shores and might be found prosperously and happily employed in our marts, our wheat fields, our factories, our forests and our mines, or if they so wished, in the army and the navy now maintaining the integrity and freedom of the country which they have adopted as their own. This immigration had been wrongly treated in the British Parliament as something new and anomalous. On the contrary, it was but the continuation of that process begun in the sixteenth century by which society in Europe is relieved and civilization in America instituted.*

* Seward to Adams, August 15, 1864. Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, pp. 457, 458.

CHAPTER XVI.

PENNSYLVANIA INVADED.

The gloom which hung over the North at the end of the old year was lightened at the opening of the new by the cheering report of a victory in Tennessee. After a week's delay at Louisville, Buell set off in search of Bragg. They met and fought the battle of Perryville. Neither had the mastery; but the night after the fight the enemy retired and Buell and the North claimed a victory. Finding he was not attacked Bragg fell back into East Tennessee. Buell followed slowly, for a time, turned aside and went to Bowling Green and Glasgow. Aware that he was accused of slowness, of not following up his enemy, of failing to destroy Bragg's army, he now suggested that if a change in command were contemplated, the change had best be made at once. It was contemplated, and at the end of October he was relieved by Rosecrans.

The new commander, knowing full well that a victory was expected, gathered the army at Nashville and on the day after Christmas went forth to attack Bragg in his winter quarters at Murfreesboro. Every foot of the way was so bitterly contested by Wheeler's cavalry that three days passed before he came within three miles of the town. Both commanders decided to attack on the morning of the last day of the year. But Bragg struck first, brought on the bloody battle of Stones's River, and won the fight. The armies bivouacked on the field and watched each other on New Year's day. More fighting followed on the second and third, and on the night of the third Bragg retreated southward. Rosecrans claimed a victory and entered Murfreesboro.

Along the Rappahannock since the disastrous day at Fredericksburg the Army of the Potomac had gone from bad to worse. The men grew despondent, gloomy, discontented, lost all confidence in Burnside, and deserted by thousands.

The commander blamed his generals for defeat, prepared an order dismissing Hooker and three other generals, and relieving Franklin and Sumner from duty, took it to Lincoln for approval and gave him the choice of two alternatives: approve the order or accept his resignation. Lincoln willingly accepted the resignation and put Hooker, known to the rank and file as "Fighting Joe," in command.

With the good news from Tennessee came bad news from the coast. That Charleston was still in Confederate hands had become a grievance. Now that New Orleans had been captured, Savannah, Charleston, Wilmington, great centers of blockade running should be in Union hands. Beauregard was not surprised therefore to hear that preparations for an attack were under way at Port Royal and gave warning. Duty, he said, compelled him to inform the authorities and people of Charleston and Savannah that the enemy would soon attack by land and sea, and to urge all persons unable to take part in the struggle to retire. He hoped this temporary separation from their homes would be made without alarm. He hoped every able-bodied man in Carolina and Georgia, from the seaboard to the mountains, would rush to arms and be not too exacting in the choice of arms. Pikes and scythes would do to exterminate their enemies; spades and shovels for protecting their families.* At Savannah, General Mercer appealed to all able-bodied exempts in Georgia to form companies of not less than twenty, elect officers, arm themselves with double-barrel shotguns, or any weapons they could secure, get ammunition and be ready when called to hasten to the defense of the city.†

Weeks passed ere DuPont was ready, and April came before the look-out at Fort Sumter reported that the turrets of the far-famed monitors were in sight; that the whole squadron was visible, and finally, that eight monitors, the frigate *New Ironsides,* and twenty-seven wooden transports, had come to anchor just beyond the bar. ‡ As the news spread

* Richmond Enquirer, February 18, 1863.

† Savannah Republican, February 27, 1863.

‡ Charleston Mercury, April 8, 1863. Charleston Courier, April 8, 1863.

about the city noncombatants prepared to flee and every train that left was crowded with fugitives. On the following day, which was Monday, the transports moved up the Stone River and the troops were put on shore. On Tuesday, the monitors and the *New Ironsides* crossed the bar and moved slowly inward until stopped by the line of obstructions which stretched from Moultrie to Sumter. They were then within the semicircle of forts and batteries and seventy-six guns opened fire on them. Never before had such a rain of shot and shell fallen upon an attacking fleet. None save ironclads could have remained afloat. Even they were not proof against the polished steel shot supplied the Confederates by England. The double turreted monitor *Keokuk* was riddled, withdrew and sank at her moorings the next morning. The *New Ironsides* soon followed her, and the monitors were left to carry on the hopeless fight for more than an hour. The turrets of five were then so badly damaged that they could fight no more.* All were withdrawn, and in a few days recrossed the bar and disappeared.

Bitter was the disappointment; but a defeat more galling still was close at hand. Since "Fighting Joe" took command the Army of the Potomac had recovered its spirits and morale. Desertions had almost stopped. The "sullen gloom of the camps" † had disappeared. "Pride and hope began to pervade the ranks." ‡ Hooker described it as "the finest army on the planet," and well he might, for it now numbered one hundred and thirty-three thousand men fully equipped and well disciplined. Lincoln, who saw it in April, and the people, looked forward with renewed hope and confidence. All that remained was for Hooker to move forward to victory. He has, it was said, a splendid army, thoroughly equipped, disciplined and well provided with all the essentials for a campaign. He has boasted that he commands "the finest army on the planet." Months of time

* DuPont's Report, Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. xiii, pp. 5-28. Beauregard's Report, Official Records, Army, Series 1, vol. xiv, pp. 240-261.

† Reminiscences of Carl Schurz, vol. ii, p. 403.

‡ Life and Letters of General Meade, vol. i, p. 362.

have been allowed him by the winter blockade of mud, to perfect its organization. He has had experience under McClellan on the peninsula, under Pope at Bull Run, under Burnside at Fredericksburg to guide him, and warn him of their blunders. His published testimony before the Committee on the conduct of the War, puts him in a position of the gravest responsibility. After deliberately attempting to show that failure on the peninsula was due to want of generalship on the part of McClellan, that Burnside was as much to blame for his rashness at Fredericksburg as McClellan for his slowness at Yorktown, he has no alternative but victory or death; death to himself on the field, or death to his reputation if he fails.*

April twenty-seventh Hooker set out, reached Chancellorsville on the afternoon of the thirtieth and bivouacked in the woods. The place, despite its name, was not a village, but a large brick house in the wilderness, a thick forest of second growth pines and black oak, and dense undergrowth interlaced with vines. From the Chancellor House the General, in high spirits, issued a general order which put him in the class with Pope. With "heartfelt satisfaction," he announced that the operations of the last three days had "determined that the enemy must either vaingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give battle on our own ground where certain destruction awaits him."

Lee, no longer in doubt as to Hooker's intentions, moved his army towards Chancellorsville, and when, on the morning of May first, the Union army came out of the wilderness and attacked, the Confederates did not ingloriously flee, but offered a stubborn resistance. So stubborn was it that Hooker lost heart and ordered his men back into the woods. There they built entrenchments with trunks of trees. To attack them Lee had no intention. His army was outnumbered, but he did not hesitate to divide it, and on the morning of May second Jackson with some thirty thousand men set off by a roundabout march to attack Hooker's right wing, commanded by Howard. The movement was no secret, and Howard was duly warned again and again. But, with

* New York Herald, April 30, 1863.

strange stubbornness, he held to the belief that the enemy was retreating and made no preparations to meet him. As at Shiloh, fleeing dwellers in the woods, deer and rabbits gave warning of the coming foe; but neither Howard nor his men took heed, and some were resting, some cooking, some amusing themselves with cards when Jackson's men came down upon them with a yell. Outnumbered two to one they made some resistance and then fled. Determined to make another attack that night, and if possible cut off retreat of the Union army, Jackson rode to the front to hasten the reorganization of his troops, thrown into disorder by the rush through the underbrush and the fight. Returning towards his lines, from which he had gone some distance, he and his officers were mistaken in the darkness for Federal officers, and were fired on by their own men. Jackson was struck by three bullets, and a few days later died.

Early on Sunday the third of May, Jackson's corps attacked once more, as did the troops under Lee's command. During five hours the battle was desperate and bloody. By that time what Hooker had called "our own ground" was in possession of the Confederate Army, and on the night of the fifth of May he retreated across the river despite the advice of his corps commanders to stay and fight.

During the four weeks which followed the battle of Chancellorsville, Lee arranged his army in three divisions, gave the command of them to Longstreet, Ewell and Hill, and made ready to invade Pennsylvania.

While he was making ready, the attention of the North was once more drawn to Burnside, who, after he was relieved of command of the Army of the Potomac, was assigned to the Military District of the Ohio with headquarters at Cincinnati where he was soon engaged in a struggle with Clement L. Vallandigham.

Vallandigham was a native of Ohio. A man of parts, an able lawyer, eager for political preferment, skilled in the sort of oratory which in his time made a stump speaker effective, he early became a local leader, filled many party offices, and was a member of Congress when the war opened. An anti-abolitionist, a Southern sympathizer, a bitter opposer

of the war as unnecessary, he became a bold, defiant critic, both in Congress and on the stump, of almost every act of Lincoln and the Administration, and he found much to criticize.

Because of his defiance of the Government, its war measures, and his outspoken opposition to the war, Vallandigham, by this time, was the recognized leader of the Copperheads, the Butternuts, the Peace-at-any-price men in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and a canvass was started to secure his nomination to the governorship of Ohio. Now, it so happened that Burnside, alarmed and indignant at the open display of disloyalty in the Northwest, issued, in April, what became famous as General Order No. 38. In it he gave warning that "the habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed in this Department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this Department." * Vallandigham, who was then canvassing Ohio for the nomination for governor, determined to defy Burnside, and in a speech to a great crowd gathered before the State House at Columbus declared that he would continue to criticize and condemn any and all acts of the party and men in power which seemed to deserve such treatment. No attention was paid to this speech. But on the following day he addressed a mass meeting at Mount Vernon to which the whole countryside came carrying flags on liberty poles, wearing butternuts and copperheads cut from old copper cent pieces, and escorting thirty-four young women dressed to represent the thirty-four States of the old Union. To the meeting Burnside sent two officers in civilian clothes to take notes. The passages which they found disloyal were: "a wicked, cruel, and unnecessary war"; "a war not being waged for the preservation of the Union"; "a war for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism"; "a war for the freedom of the blacks and the enslavement of the whites"; that "if the Administration had so wished the

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxiii, Part 2, p. 237.

war could have been honorably terminated months ago." Burnside acted at once, and sent two officers and some troops to arrest him in Dayton. They broke into his house before dawn one morning, seized him in his bedroom, and brought him to Cincinnati where he was promptly taken before a military commission charged with "publicly expressing sympathy for those in arms against the Government of the United States, and declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions, with the object and purpose of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion." He denied the jurisdiction of the commission. He was not in the army, nor in the navy, nor in the militia, and could be tried only before a civil court. Nevertheless, he was tried, found guilty of violating General Order No. 38, by "expressing sympathy for those in arms against the Government of the United States, and declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions with the object and purpose of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion," and sentenced to confinement, during the continuance of the war, in some fortress to be designated by the commander of the Department of the Ohio. Burnside chose Fort Warren. But Lincoln, taking a hint from General Order No. 38, with a grim humor which greatly delighted all loyal men, directed Burnside to send Vallandigham to Rosecrans "to be put by him beyond our military lines." The order was carried out, and Vallandigham was delivered to Bragg at his headquarters at Shelbyville. From there he went to Wilmington, ran the blockade, reached Bermuda, sailed for Halifax and settled down in the little town of Winsor.*

On the third of June the Army of Northern Virginia began to withdraw from the neighborhood of Fredericksburg. Leaving Hill there to watch Hooker, Ewell and Longstreet camped at Culpeper on the seventh. On the tenth Ewell set off for the Shenandoah Valley, crossed by Chester Gap and swept the valley free of Federal troops as far as the Potomac. Jenkins' cavalry then crossed the Potomac at Williamsport,

* Biographical Memoir of Vallandigham, by his brother, pp. 41, 42.

forced the Union troops to leave Hagerstown, entered it on the fifteenth, and ordered all stores to be kept open. Horses and cattle were seized, telegraph wires cut and poles pulled down; but goods taken were paid for in Confederate money. Later in the day the enemy moved on towards Greencastle and Chambersburg.

As they came on, a panic-stricken crowd on foot, on horseback, in vehicles of every sort rushed into Chambersburg and merchants packed their goods and wares. By six o'clock in the evening communication with Greencastle ceased and excitement became intense. Towards midnight some fifty cavalrymen galloped down the main street. The whole force soon followed. Citizens were ordered to stay indoors. Early the next morning a camp was made outside the town, and tradesmen forced to open their shops at nine o'clock. Articles of men's wear were then seized and paid for in Confederate notes, and the citizens required to deliver their firearms before ten o'clock the following day. By noon the enemy was gone.

Lincoln now called for one hundred thousand troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia and Ohio,* to serve for six months. The Governor of Pennsylvania sought aid of the Governor of New Jersey and appealed to the citizens of Pennsylvania to enroll and fill her quota; the Mayor of Philadelphia implored citizens, willing to join in defense of the Commonwealth and "the shielding of their homes from rapine," to organize without delay and hurry on to Harrisburg, and the Governor reproached them for their sloth. For nearly a week, he said, it had been publicly known that the enemy was about to invade Pennsylvania. On the twelfth of June an urgent appeal to form an army corps for State defense was made. Yesterday, under proclamation of the President, the militia was called into service. To-day a new and pressing summons goes forth. "Philadelphia has not responded. Meanwhile the enemy is six miles this side of Chambersburg and advancing. Our capital is threatened,

* June 15, 1863. From Pennsylvania 50,000; from Maryland 10,000; from West Virginia 10,000; from Ohio 30,000.

and we may be disgraced by its fall while men who should be driving the outlaws from our soil are quibbling over the term of six months' service. The President had fixed the term at six months, but it is not intended to hold them beyond the emergency. If you do not wish the ignominy of shirking the defense of your State come forward at once. Come in such organizations as you can." *

Men were hard to get. Willingly would they enlist for the emergency, for thirty, sixty days, for defense of the State. But to be mustered into the service of the United States for six months was a very different matter. What guarantee was there that when the emergency was over they would not be sent to join some army elsewhere?

In Maryland the same feeling prevailed. The Governor called for ten thousand volunteers to fill the quota assigned the State by Lincoln.† They were needed at once; but so few responded that after waiting four days he issued an appeal. His proclamation had not met with the prompt response he felt he had a right to expect. The number of men obtained was far short of what was needed. Some, claiming to be ready to defend the State at any time, hesitated to enlist in the Federal service lest they be sent out of the State. The proclamation of the President making the call assumed the reason for it to be the threatened invasion of the State, and seemed to be an implied assurance that the troops would serve within the borders of Maryland and nowhere else. Suppose it were otherwise. Were the men of Maryland willing to so cramp the service asked as to limit it to the boundaries of the State? Some thought there should be a draft. Only loyal men would volunteer. A draft would force rebel sympathizers to do their part. Not so. Patriotic service was needed, and did any one expect patriotic service from secessionists? Would loyal men leave Baltimore undefended because the disloyal folded their arms and offered no resistance to the enemy? ‡ The Governor of New Jersey called for volunteers to hurry to the defense of Pennsyl-

* To the citizens of Philadelphia, June 16, 1863.
† Proclamation, June 17, 1863.
‡ Appeal, June 21, 1863.

vania, and while they were coming forward sent two regiments of militia to Harrisburg. They were militia, could not be called to service for more than sixty days, had not been called for by the President and were not expected to become a part of the army of the United States. They had gone to help a sister State in time of dire need. When, therefore, it was found they must take the oath and be mustered into service, they went home.

Governor Seymour of New York acted with great promptness. Before the twenty-fifth of June twenty regiments drawn from Brooklyn, New York City and two near-by counties were in the field in Pennsylvania. While these troops were hurrying to the front the citizens of Harrisburg were in a state of feverish excitement. On the fifteenth, at noon, the Court House bell was rung, a call to a mass meeting, over which General Cameron presided. He denounced the government for its disgraceful neglect of Pennsylvania, pledged his fortune for defense of the Commonwealth, and demanded that the Governor appoint McClellan or Franklin to the command of the troops of Pennsylvania. Tuesday, the sixteenth, found the shops closed, the markets deserted, hotels empty, the post-office shut; clerks busy in the Department of State packing documents, and books and portraits in the Library prepared for removal. Hundreds of citizens had locked their doors and fled eastward. Those who remained stood in groups in the streets discussing the raid, the chances of capture of the city, and the need for McClellan. The rebels, it was said, might arrive at any moment, that night, or on the morrow, and there were no troops to meet them. If only McClellan were given command and called for volunteers every old soldier of the Army of the Potomac recently mustered out would respond, and Lee would be confronted by an army of veterans. In default of troops all able-bodied men in Harrisburg were summoned to work in the trenches that were to be dug on both sides of the Susquehanna. Citizens, the summons said, let your love of home prompt you to aid in the erection of proper fortifications. Immediate and energetic labor is required. Those unused to the sun can work at night; hardier men by day. Let all respond and crowd

the works. Laborers will be paid one dollar and a quarter per day and colored men the same. One thousand empty barrels are needed. Let all who have any put them in the street in front of their homes or places of business. Another placard read: "Don't be scared! We are ashamed of the cowardice exhibited by the 'loyal' people of Harrisburg. We looked to them for an example of courage and coolness, and have been disappointed. We now appeal to the citizens to keep cool and make at least a show of courage. There are enough of us to drive off any rebel army likely to make its appearance, and we have just been assured by General Cameron that there will be ten thousand troops here in the course of the day. New York has tendered a whole division. Be brave! Keep cool and all will be well."

Military authorities in Baltimore having expressed a doubt that any rebels had entered Pennsylvania, Governor Curtin replied they had entered Chambersburg and burned the bridge at Scotland. The stay of the Confederates at Chambersburg was short. They fell back on the afternoon of the seventeenth and at four o'clock the next morning a band of cavalry dashed into McConnellsburg, opened the stores, carried off boots, shoes, hats, drugs and food, seized all the horses in the town and left at nine o'clock for Hancock. June twenty-first Frederick was occupied and then Greencastle and Millersville eight miles from Gettysburg. Again the panic-stricken people fled before the oncoming foe. From Gettysburg and the country about it, refugees, white and black, old and young, with oxen, horses, wagons full of household goods, fled northward and over the bridge into Harrisburg and on eastward in search of a safe abode. Again there was another exodus of frightened citizens from Harrisburg. On the twenty-second Ewell, then at Hagerstown, received instructions to push into Pennsylvania, move towards the Susquehanna by way of Chambersburg, and "if Harrisburg comes within your means, capture it." Moving forward at once he reached Chambersburg on the twenty-fourth and issued orders to the people. Sale of intoxicating liquors to his troops was forbidden. All persons having such liquor must report the fact at once to the Provost-Marshal

that a guard might be placed over it. Any violation of the order would be punished by confiscation. Citizens of the country through which the army passed, who were not in military service, must abstain from acts of hostility on pain of summary treatment. Every article the rebels desired to eat or wear, said an eye witness, was ruthlessly wrested from the people. Store after store was stripped, private residences entered and searched from attic to cellar. When looting stores whatever the rebels could not carry off was destroyed. Sugar was trampled under foot, coffee was scattered on the sidewalk, canteens were filled with molasses; and muslin, bolts of cloth, hats, shoes, hardware, drugs, medicines were packed in wagons and sent towards the Potomac. June twenty-fifth, Ewell was reported at Shippensburg. On the twenty-seventh he entered Carlisle from which, as he came on, the Union force retired.

Ewell having started for Pennsylvania, Longstreet's Corps crossed the Potomac on the twenty-fourth at Williamsport. Hill's Corps followed on the twenty-fifth, passed through Hagerstown on the twenty-sixth, and joined Longstreet at Chambersburg on the following day. Lee's whole army was now in Pennsylvania. Feeling sure that Lee, having beaten Hooker at Chancellorsville, would beat him in Pennsylvania, men of prominence appealed to Lincoln to put McClellan at the head of the Army of the Potomac, or at least in command of the men gathering around Harrisburg. Stanton was assured by the Postmaster of Philadelphia that a plan was on foot to send a messenger to New York to invite McClellan to come to that city and "take charge of things generally." * Governor Parker telegraphed Lincoln that the people of New Jersey feared that the invasion might extend to her soil, so great was the apathy in meeting the fearful state of affairs. That apathy should be removed, and the people of New Jersey wanted McClellan restored to the command of the Army of the Potomac. If that could not be done, then they asked that he be put at the head of the New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania troops then in Pennsylvania. In

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxvii, Part 3, p. 391.

either case the people would rise *en masse.** No one out of my position, was Lincoln's reply, can know so well as if he were in it, the difficulties and involvements of replacing General McClellan in command.† Call McClellan to the Army of the Potomac, and Franklin to the Army of the Cumberland, an admirer telegraphed from Louisville, and there will be no need of a draft. Volunteers will enlist by thousands, and the rebellion will be crushed in ninety days. ‡ The New York Board of Councilmen resolved that the Rebels having dared to invade loyal soil, and the late commander of the Army of the Potomac being out of service, and held in high esteem by the truly loyal and fighting people of the North, they earnestly requested that the Administration put him in the position which the present crisis demands for the safety of the country. § In Philadelphia the Select Council postponed consideration of a resolution that the President be requested to recall to the head of the Army General George B. McClellan. Common Council did the same to a resolution that the Governor use his influence to have General McClellan placed in command of the Pennsylvania troops. ‖ The popular heart beats high in General McClellan's favor, said the New York *Herald,* and the popular voice which has already spoken for him all over the country, will give still louder utterances. The *Herald* would rejoice to see such popular pressure as would afford the military authorities a decent excuse to reinstate McClellan in his old command.

The *National Intelligencer,* of Washington, "with a full sense of the responsibility" involved, declared its deliberate conviction to be, that the President could not, by any act, do so much to restore the confidence of the nation as by the recall of McClellan to the Army of the Potomac.** The *Evening Post* replied that utter rout and annihilation

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxvii, Part 3, p. 409.
† Ibid., p. 437.
‡ Ibid., p. 410.
§ New York Herald, June 29, 1863.
‖ Ibid., June 18, 1863.
¶ Ibid.
** National Intelligencer, June 18, 1863. New York Herald, June 19,

of the army by the rebels, in a pitched battle, would not be a harder blow to the friends of the Union than such an act of folly on the part of Lincoln.* Even after Hooker was replaced by Meade the pressure on the President continued. The President of the Pennsylvania Railroad assured him that it was essential that McClellan be placed in charge of the forces in Pennsylvania.† It is not possible to hasten the organization of the troops, a Republican leader sent word from Philadelphia. Our people are paralyzed from want of confidence and lack of leadership and unless they can be inspired with hope we shall fail to do anything worthy of our State. He was fully persuaded that to call McClellan to a command "here would be the best thing that can be done." After free consultation with trusted friends of the Administration he did not hesitate to urge "that McClellan be called here." ‡

Ewell meantime sent Early, with a division, by way of Greenwood and Gettysburg to take York. June twenty-sixth he entered Gettysburg and at five o'clock in the morning of the following day was before York. The chief burgess and a deputation of citizens made a formal surrender of the town, and while Gordon camped outside Early with some three thousand men and seven guns entered and laid it under contributions. He demanded one hundred thousand dollars in United States Treasury notes; ten thousand pounds of flour, forty thousand pounds of fresh beef, thirty thousand bushels of corn, a thousand pair of shoes, a thousand pair of stockings, a thousand coats and caps, which must be delivered in twenty-four hours or his men would help themselves. He received the hats, shoes, stockings, three days' rations and twenty-eight thousand dollars in money. While the supplies were being collected troops were sent to seize the long bridge over the Susquehanna at Columbia. It was a covered structure a mile long, rested on stone piers, had twenty-eight spans each two hundred feet in length, was forty feet wide, and carried a railroad, a wagon road and a tow path for the canal. Early intended to cross the bridge with his division,

* New York Evening Post, June 23, 1863.
† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxvii, Part 3, p. 435.
‡ A. K. McClure to Lincoln, June 30, 1863.

cut the Pennsylvania Railroad, take Lancaster and attack Harrisburg in the rear while Ewell attacked in front.

News and wild stories of his advance caused intense excitement. As the facts became better known and no doubt that Columbia would be attacked remained the excitement there and in near-by villages knew no bounds, and on Saturday the twenty-seventh became a panic. During the day hundreds of country people from the direction of York, driving before them horses and cattle, crossed the bridge. The horses alone, it was said, must have numbered four thousand. In Columbia, the citizens in consternation made haste to defend their homes as best they could. They formed companies, dug rifle pits on the river bank before the town and in front of Wrightsville across the river, and so prepared the bridge that a few blows, if the worse came to worst, would make it impassable. On Sunday, at three o'clock, the cry was raised "They are coming." At five o'clock the fight began; the rifle pits were shelled; the defenders fearing they would be cut off fled over the bridge; the preparations to destroy one span were forgotten, and in desperation it was set on fire.

Checked in the attempt to cross the Susquehanna, the rebels fell back to York.* There Early issued a proclamation. He had not burned the railroad buildings and the car shops, he said, lest the safety of the town should be endangered. To apply the torch would have been justified as an act of retaliation for the authorized acts of barbarity done "by your army on our soil." He did not make war on women and children and hoped his treatment of the citizens of York would open their eyes to the odious tyranny under which it was apparent they were groaning.†

June twenty-eighth some of Ewell's men came within four miles of Harrisburg, and brought on a skirmish. The sound of the guns was heard in the city, and that night it was reported in Philadelphia that the Confederates were shelling Harrisburg. Excitement now became intense. On the morrow all business was suspended. The Mayor by proclama-

* June 29, 1863.

† June 30, 1863. New York Herald, July 1, 1863.

tion made "one more appeal in the name of duty and manhood." You can, he said, no longer close your eyes to the fact that the foot of the rebel is already at the gates of your Capital and may, in a few days, cross your own threshold unless you arise to instant activity. You number fifty thousand able-bodied men. Means to arm you is at hand. Close your manufactories, workshops, stores, before stern necessity makes it compulsory. Assemble, organize, drill.

By noon all stores were closed. The streets were thronged with people talking, arguing, criticizing. Instead, said the *Ledger,* of the simple platform: "The State invaded, the foe must be driven back," they discussed the causes of the war, the policy of the Administration, the claims of particular generals and the duty of certain organizations to volunteer. Philadelphia's quota, under the Governor's call, was seven thousand seven hundred and eighteen men. They should, every one of them, at least have enrolled at once. Only one thousand enlisted in the service of the State during the day.* Nevertheless the people were aroused. The merchants agreed to raise a million dollars. Seventy-five dollars was to be given to each of five hundred men if they were mustered into service; the rest of the fund was to aid their families. The brokers voted twenty-five thousand for bounty and relief. The merchants, the Union League, the Corn Exchange, raised regiments. The coal trade raised three Coal Regiments by liberal bounties. The ball players raised a company. In almost every ward the citizens organized, some for defense of the city, some for defense of the State.† Clergymen volunteered to work on the fortifications, for many seriously believed the city was in danger. Soldiers of the War of 1812 tendered their services.

But where was Hooker's army? Leaving its position before Fredericksburg, June thirteenth, and marching northward, covering Washington as it went, it crossed the Potomac at Edward's Ferry at the very time Hill crossed at Williamsport, and halted at Boonsboro, Frederick and Mid-

* Philadelphia Ledger, June 30, 1863.

† Notices and calls for Volunteers. Philadelphia Ledger, June 30, 1863.

dleton. One corps, the twelfth, marched to Harpers Ferry. Joined by the garrison at the Ferry it was to cut Lee's communications. But Halleck would not allow the garrison to be moved and Hooker asked to be relieved.* Lincoln acted at once, and at three o'clock on the morning of the twenty-eighth an officer from Washington entered the hut of General George Gordon Meade, awoke him and delivered an order relieving Hooker and placing Meade in command. Fully aware of "the trying position" into which he was thus suddenly thrust, fully determined to use his "utmost abilities to command success," † he now prepared to move against Lee.

Until that day the whereabouts of the Army of the Potomac was unknown to Lee. He knew not that it had crossed the Potomac. Stuart, who should have kept him informed, was off on a useless cavalry raid well to the east of the Army of the Potomac. But when, on the twenty-eighth, a spy brought word,‡ Lee recalled Ewell from Harrisburg and Early from York, and gathered his army about Cashtown, Greenwood, Chambersburg and Heidlersburg.

"If Lee is moving for Baltimore," Meade telegraphed Halleck, "I expect to get between his main army and that place. If he is crossing the Susquehanna, I shall rely upon General Couch, with his force, holding him until I can fall upon his rear and give him battle which I shall endeavor to do." But events, unknown to him, had already fixed the spot where was to open another of the decisive battles of the world. On the twenty-ninth, as Reynolds' Corps on the left moved forward with Buford's Cavalry in advance, Buford saw campfires, notified Reynolds of the presence of the enemy and was ordered to push on to Gettysburg. As he drew near to the town from the east on the morning of the thirtieth, Pettigrew with a wagon train approached from the west. He was coming to capture shoes believed to be in Gettysburg, became aware of the presence of Buford and fell back. Buford entered the town, passed through, moved out the

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, p. 60.
† Life and Letters of General Meade, vol. i, p. 388.
‡ Official Records, Lee's Report, Series 1, vol. xxvii, Part 2, p. 316.

Chambersburg pike, went beyond Seminary Ridge, dismounted his men and prepared to hold his position until Reynolds came with the First Corps. It was eight o'clock on the morning of the first of July when the enemy appeared and skirmishing began. It was ten when Reynolds arrived with part of his corps. While hurrying his men to their places in the line of battle he was killed by a Confederate sharpshooter. It was eleven when the rest of his corps, and noon when Howard and his troops reached the front. By that time Ewell's men were coming down the Heidlersburg road toward the Union rear. The fighting which followed was desperate and bloody. The Union army suffered heavy losses, and inflicted heavy losses. But, outnumbered and outflanked, it was forced back to Seminary Ridge and then to a line in front of the town, and finally through the town to Cemetery Hill where Howard had posted artillery and troops to hold it as a rallying place in case of need. Awaiting the retreating men was Hancock who had come to take command. They were then on a part of what was to be the field of battle for the next two days, a field selected not by choice, but made so by force of circumstances.

Cemetery Hill, on which the discomforted troops thus found refuge, lies half a mile south of Gettysburg. Half a mile to the eastward is Culp's Hill. From Cemetery Hill a ridge, Cemetery Ridge, runs southward a mile and more. Just off its south end rises Little Round Top, a high conical hill whose slopes are covered with trees and strewn with huge bowlders. Parted from it by a ravine is Round Top which rises higher still and whose slopes are likewise covered with bowlders. A few hundred yards west of Little Round Top is a low hill whose bowlders form caves from one of which comes its name, Devil's Den. West of Cemetery Ridge, and almost parallel to it, and from a mile to a mile and a quarter away, is Seminary Ridge. Down the valley between the ridges runs the road from Gettysburg to Emmitsburg. On the night after the battle of the first day, the Union line ran northward along Culp's Hill, westward to Cemetery Hill, southward along Cemetery Ridge, and ended on Little Round Top. The Confederate line swept around

Culp's and Cemetery hills in front of the Union line, went through Gettysburg, and southward along Seminary Ridge.

Each commander intended to attack the other early on the morning of the second; but neither did so, and the day wore on from morning to afternoon without a movement by either army, and four o'clock came before the attack was made on the Union troops gathered near the Round Tops. The regiments which held Little Round Top during the night of the first of July were withdrawn early on the morning of the second, and Sickles ordered to carry the line of battle southward from Cemetery Ridge and occupy Little Round Top. He did not do so, but went forward and took position at the Peach Orchard just where a road which skirts the base of Little Round Top meets the Emmitsburg road. Part of his line extended northward along the Emmitsburg road. The rest was bent backward through the orchard and a wheat field to the Devil's Den, leaving a wide gap between his line and that of the troops on Cemetery Ridge. It was against this detached position of Sickles' that the enemy moved late in the afternoon of the second day. Meade, who was present censuring Sickles for his rash act, at once sent off for troops, infantry and artillery, from every part of his line. They came with all possible speed, the gap was filled in the very nick of time, and the line strengthened. But the enemy, after an hour of desperate fighting, captured the Devil's Den, crushed in the angle at the Peach Orchard, forced Sickles' line back to Cemetery Ridge, swept over Round Top, and began to climb the slopes of Little Round Top. But the hill was then in Union hands. A desperate struggle for possession followed; but when it was over both Round Tops were in possession of the Union troops, and the Confederates had been driven down to the base of the hills.

It was part of Lee's plan that when the attack on Meade's left began, another should begin on his right. When, therefore, the sound of the guns on the left was heard, an assault was made on Culp's Hill, where the line had been thinned by the withdrawal of troops to aid Sickles, and after two hours of hard fighting the enemy held part of the Union works. While the fighting was raging at Culp's Hill, Early's

men attacked Cemetery Hill, broke through a line of infantry, rushed up the slope to the crest, and captured two batteries. But the artillerymen rallied, fought with rammers, handspikes, stones, and checked the advance until reënforcements arrived and beat back the enemy.

Concerning the first and second day's fight the people of the North as yet knew little. When they opened their newspapers on the third of July they read, not of the battle, but of the retirement of the rebels from Carlisle on the morning of the first; of the occupation of the town by Union troops; of the return of the enemy at five in the afternoon; of a demand for its surrender which was refused; of a fight which continued until ten o'clock at night when the enemy retired after burning the barracks, the gas works and one dwelling, and warning the women and children to leave before ten o'clock on the morning of the second. During the fighting the women and children fled or sought refuge in cellars. From Washington at midnight came a report that the Government had received no official details of the fighting on July first. Very likely the army had been in combat with the enemy on the second of July, but if so, the War Department knew nothing of it. Harrisburg at midnight reported heavy firing in the direction of the spot where the armies of Lee and Meade were supposed to be, but, as the rebels were in position between Harrisburg and Meade's army nobody knew what had occurred. Baltimore by midnight had heard from parties who left Gettysburg that morning that the fight was going well. There was no general battle but heavy skirmishing. Columbia reported that the battle opened with severe skirmishing on the morning of July first when the First and Eleventh Corps and Pleasanton's Cavalry engaged Ewell near Gettysburg, and that fighting was resumed on the morning of the second.

It was the intention of Lee that, on the morning of the third day of the battle, Ewell should attack the Federal right while Longstreet passed around Big and Little Round Top and fell on the Union rear. But as dawn broke the Confederates attacked at Culp's Hill, and brought on a contest of seven hours' duration. They were beaten and the works

they took on the previous day were recovered. This battle disarranged the plan of Lee and led him to order Longstreet, reënforced by Pickett, to attack the Union center. Longstreet did not approve. The point chosen for attack had been tested the day before and nothing gained. The enemy was expecting another assault and had put up defenses during the night. The ridge, the tiers of artillery, the fences and heavy skirmish lines, the mile or more of open ground to be crossed under fire, made it inadvisable. "The enemy is there," was Lee's reply, "and I am going to strike him."

There was an ominous silence from eleven o'clock when the fighting at Culp's Hill ceased, until one. Then two signal guns were fired, one hundred and thirty-eight along the Confederate line made answer, seventy-seven along the Union line replied, and the greatest artillery duel of the war opened. During two hours the cannonading continued. Soon after it ceased the advance began. The troops chosen to make the assault were those of Pickett's and Pettigrew's divisions, of two brigades under Trimble and others in support. The objective towards which they moved is said to have been an umbrella-shaped clump of trees where, behind a stone wall were men of Hancock's Corps. At twenty paces from the wall some threw down their arms and surrendered. Some fled down the hillside. Others kept on and Armistead and many of his men climbed the wall at a point where the troops had been withdrawn to make way for the artillery. Forty-two of them and their commander fell dead within the Union lines. Farther to the right Pettigrew and Trimble reached the wall; but there too the men were slaughtered and such as were not killed, wounded or prisoners fled back to the Confederate lines.

The battle fought and lost, Lee withdrew his army to Seminary Ridge, entrenched, and spent the fourth of July waiting and hoping to be attacked. He was not, and after dark he began his retreat. But heavy rain, darkness and mud so delayed the movement that noon of the fifth came before the rear guard started. That day he entered the Cumberland valley and two days later reached the Potomac. The river was in flood, and his pontoons had been

destroyed by a force sent by Meade. Unable to cross he posted his army on a high plateau west of Hagerstown, and with care fortified his line which followed the ridge from Hagerstown to the Potomac, a distance of ten miles. There he waited for the waters of the river to subside.

Meade had sent cavalry to pursue the retreating rebels and close the passes in the mountains; but not until the sixth did his army begin to move southward along the Emmitsburg Pike. On the tenth it was between Frederick and Boonsboro; on the thirteenth it was in front of Lee.

The press, unable to tell what was taking place, spread rumors of the wildest sort. Now, Longstreet was dead, twenty thousand prisoners taken and the rebel army in full retreat towards Chambersburg. Now Lee had been driven into the mountains and was surrounded. Now Meade was in pursuit and it was expected that only a small part of Lee's army would escape into Virginia. Now the Confederates were drawn up on the banks of the Potomac which was brimful and a raging torrent. Now the Union army had arrived and a furious battle was raging. Lee's army would be destroyed to a certainty. Later it was said to have been routed, and was flying panic-stricken in all directions. This was soon contradicted and the enemy were said to be crossing on scows and rafts. Where Meade was no one knew, but it was expected that only a part of the Army of Northern Virginia would succeed in crossing the Potomac.*

The South heard very different news. In Richmond, the *Enquirer* announced that the President of the Southern Telegraph Company had received from the operator at Martinsburg a dispatch which read: "Lee has defeated the enemy. General Meade is retreating towards Baltimore. General Lee is pursuing." † One day later the same journal reported a "Glorious Victory at Gettysburg. Forty Thousand Prisoners Captured." ‡ From Richmond the news went to Savannah where the *Republican* under the heading: "The Best News of the War," told of the "overwhelming

* New York Tribune, July 9, 1863.
† Richmond Enquirer, July 7, 1863. The dispatch was dated July 5.
‡ Ibid., July 8, 1863.

defeat of the Yankees at Gettysburg. Forty thousand prisoners in our hands"; told how, on Sunday the fifth, by one of the most brilliant movements on record, the enemy was surrounded and nearly every man either killed, wounded or captured.* What should be done with this army of prisoners was a serious question to be very gravely considered by the War Department. To gather such a number of enemies in Richmond would be most unwise. In case of an insurrection they might capture the city. Better scatter them over the Confederacy.† Later news puzzled the editor. He hardly knew what to think of the very singular and inconsistent reports received from day to day from Lee's army. If the dispatches from the Southern Telegraph Company were correct the fighting at Gettysburg ended on Thursday or Friday, and the great battle on Sunday in which forty thousand prisoners were captured never occurred. A later Yankee account reported Lee's defeat and gave an unfavorable view of his army and his progress. He did not believe one half of the story. Lee might have found it good policy to retire after giving the Yankees a good drubbing. But that he was whipped, or his army put in peril by the abolition thieves he would not believe for one moment. ‡ When he could no longer doubt the report he announced: "The Skies Brighten. General Lee falls back for want of supplies." §

To have attacked Lee in his fastness on the heights would have been to repeat the folly of Burnside at Fredericksburg. But Meade yielded to the wishes of the President and the wishes of the people that Lee should not escape, and against the advice of his generals, decided to make an attack on the morning of the fourteenth. When morning came Lee was safe in Virginia. His army had crossed in the night.

I need hardly say to you, Halleck telegraphed, that the escape of Lee's army without another battle has created great dissatisfaction in the mind of the President. It will require an active and energetic pursuit to remove the impression that

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* Savannah Republican, July 8, 1863.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid., July 10, 1863.
§ Ibid., July 11, 1863.

it has not been sufficiently active heretofore.* On receipt of this reproach Meade instantly asked to be relieved.† The request was not granted.

As soon as possible after the fighting ended the Governor of Pennsylvania hurried to Gettysburg to see that proper care was given to the sick and wounded, visited the field so desperately fought over, and was shocked by what he saw. Many of the dead were but partially buried. Many were not buried at all. Where markers of wood had been used the name of the dead was written in pencil, and would soon be obliterated by rain and sun. Graves of the unknown, having no markers, would soon be overgrown by grass and weeds, or covered by fallen leaves and, it might be, lost forever. That these conditions might be bettered, the slain decently buried, and the graves permanently marked, the Governor appointed as his agent a citizen of Gettysburg named Wills. To him it seemed unpatriotic to leave the remains of those who had given their lives to save the Union scattered over the field, singly and in groups, where they fell. Far better to gather them together in one great cemetery where they could all be cared for, properly. Governor Curtin approved; the Governors of the seventeen States whose troops had borne a part in the battle approved; and by order of Curtin seventeen acres were purchased on Cemetery Hill where the Union center rested on the second and third of July. Plots were laid off; one was assigned to each State; a day was chosen for the dedication of the Cemetery; and by vote of the Governors Edward Everett was invited to be the orator of the day. Lincoln was invited to make an address. Everett could not be ready on the day chosen, the twenty-third of October, and at his request the ceremonies were held on November nineteenth. The oration by Everett was very long and very finished; but has become so utterly forgotten that it is no longer read even by the curious. The short address by Lincoln has become a classic of the English language. It was not then so considered by the crowd that heard it, nor by the newspapers that published it. Their

* July 14, 1863. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxvii, Part 1, p. 92.
† July 14, 1863. Ibid., p. 93.

praise was all for Everett. Said one reporter, describing the scene for his journal, "The President rises slowly, draws from his pocket a paper, and when commotion subsides in a sharp, unmusical, treble voice reads the following brief and pithy remarks." * Another did, indeed, in passing, refer to the President's "brief and immortal speech." But to the mass of those who read the address it was what the journals called it merely, dedicatory remarks.†

On the seventh of July, the day whereon Lee reached the Potomac, Secretary Welles placed in Lincoln's hands a dispatch from Admiral Porter. "I have the honor to inform you," were the words the President read, "that Vicksburg was surrendered to the United States forces on the fourth of July." ‡ Some affected to doubt the good news. The report comes by a dispatch boat which left Vicksburg at ten o'clock on the morning of the fifth, and reached Cairo before noon on the seventh. The distance is six hundred and forty miles, and must have been run against the current at the rate of thirteen miles an hour. Dispatch boat time between Vicksburg and Memphis is two days. Perhaps the news came by way of Memphis. Strange it came from Porter and not from Grant. § July eighth brought the dispatch from Grant and no one any longer doubted.

Vicksburg crowned a great bluff, was well defended, and with Port Hudson blocked the Mississippi for two hundred miles, and what was far more important, kept open communication with Texas from which came supplies and ammunition brought from England to Matamoras. For political as well as military reasons the place must be taken; the Confederacy must be cut in twain. But every attempt to do so ended in failure until Grant assumed the task in the autumn of 1862. Even he was not successful at first. Four times he sought to get in the rear of Vicksburg from the north and four times failed before he determined to go down the river and try to reach it from the south. Gathering

* Cincinnati Commercial, November 23, 1863.
† Philadelphia Press, November 21, 1863.
‡ New York Herald, July 8, 1863.
§ New York World, July 8, 1863.

the troops at Milliken's Bend on the west bank, some seventeen miles above the city, he marched them across the swampy land and bayous to the neighborhood of New Carthage, some twenty-five below, and there awaited the coming of Porter with the ironclads, steamers and transports laden with supplies. To run the batteries was a bold and daring act; but Porter did it one dark night in April and reached New Carthage with the loss of but one transport. A second run was made on the twenty-second when six steamers and twelve barges loaded with provisions and hay went by the batteries with the loss of but one transport. Partly on foot and partly by boat the troops were then moved to Hard Times Landing just above Grand Gulf, and Porter's fleet attacked the batteries. But the bluff was high, the attack was only partially successful and Grant moved his men by land past Grand Gulf to a point out of range of the guns. That night the fleet and the transports ran by the guns and by noon of the thirtieth the army was ferried across the river to Bruinsburg on the eastern bank.* The narrow road up the bluff was climbed without opposition, the army marched inland and about two on the morning of May first, came upon a force of Confederates. The battle which followed lasted until late in the day. So late that the morrow came before Port Gibson was entered. Grand Gulf was then evacuated and for awhile became Grant's base of supplies. A halt was made to await the coming of the wagon trains and the arrival of Sherman's corps left behind to make a demonstration against Haines' Bluff. Two armies were now before Grant: that under Pemberton, defending Vicksburg, and that gathered by Joseph E. Johnston at Jackson. Grant decided to attack Johnston first, and abandoning his base he started eastward living on the country as he went. And now victory followed victory in quick succession. May twelfth he beat the enemy at Raymond; May fourteenth he drove Johnston from Jackson and entered the city; turned westward and on the sixteenth met Pemberton coming to attack his rear and won the bloody battle of Baker's Creek or Champion Hill; beat Pemberton again at Big Black

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxiv, Part 1.

River bridge on the seventeenth, and the next day was before the Confederate lines at Vicksburg. Two desperate attempts to carry the lines by storm were made. The assaults were beaten back, and Grant settled down to a long siege. From the hour he arrived the city was doomed. But forty-eight days passed before hunger, misery and despair forced Pemberton to ask for terms. Grant demanded an unconditional surrender. Pemberton stoutly refused, but yielded, and on the morning of July fourth a detachment of Union troops entered and occupied Vicksburg. One who saw it that day found the city less injured than he had expected. Streets had been plowed by shells, gardens and open lots cut up; fences broken, trees and shrubbery torn. On nearly every gatepost was an unexploded shell, and on porches and piazzas were collections of shot and shell that fell in the yard. But few buildings were demolished. The Court House was shattered; a church was riddled; porches and pillars of dwellings were smashed and many houses shot through; but the holes could easily be repaired. Most noticeable were the groups of caves in which during the nights, and often during the days when the shelling was severe, women and children found refuge.*

Vicksburg captured, Grant sent Sherman to attack Johnston who had returned to Jackson, and prepared to take Port Hudson, the last rebel stronghold on the Mississippi River. Johnston fled eastward; Port Hudson surrendered to Banks who came up from New Orleans with his army, and, in the words of Lincoln, "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

* Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 16, 1863. London Times, July 29, 1863.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONSCRIPTS AND VOLUNTEERS.

The draft of 1862 was a failure. It had indeed done much. Roused by what was felt to be the stigma of conscription, the people by bounties, by solicitation, by appeals, had greatly stimulated volunteering and much reduced the deficits to supply which it was made. Yet the quotas had not been filled. Not all the Governors, it was felt, had been sufficiently energetic. Enrollment had been too slow. Resistance had been too tenderly treated. Again and again draft day had been put off for no valid reason. If the losses in the armies were to be made good, and made good they must be, some measure for compulsory service far more effective than the drafting of 1862 must speedily be provided. Congress undertook to provide such a measure and March third Lincoln signed what came to be known as the Conscription Act. Henceforth the Federal Government, not the Governors, would enforce the drafts. All able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and aliens who had declared their intention to become citizens, from the boy of twenty to the man of forty-five, were made its national force subject to duty whenever the President called, within two years, and liable to be held to service for three. Every Congressional District, the District of Columbia, every Territory, was made a district for the purpose of conscription. Over each must be a Provost-Marshal and over all a Provost-Marshal-General at Washington. In each must be an Enrolling Board of three to see that the name of every man of fighting age was duly listed and to conduct the draft. Not all who were enrolled could be held. Physical causes for exemption were many. No one who found an acceptable substitute need go. No one who paid three hundred dollars need go. The only son of a widowed mother dependent on him for support; the only son of aged and infirm parents;

the father of motherless children under twelve; the only brother of children under twelve dependent on him for support was exempt. Where there were in the family a father and several sons, and any two were in service two others, if so many, were exempt. Where two or more sons of aged and infirm parents were conscripted, the father if living, or if dead the mother, must decide which one should stay at home. The Vice-President of the United States, judges of all United States Courts, heads of Executive Departments, and Governors of the States were not to be enrolled. All persons who were enrolled must be placed in either of two classes. In the First Class were to be those from twenty to thirty-five years of age, and all unmarried men from thirty-five to forty-five. In the Second Class, not to be drawn from until the First Class was exhausted, were to be the married men from thirty-five to forty-five.

As quickly as the Provost-Marshal, the Enrolling Boards and the enrollers who were to go from house to house and take the names of men of fighting age could be appointed the work of enrolling began. For months past warnings of trouble had reached Washington. There was in Indiana a secret organization to encourage desertion and protect deserters of whom twenty-six hundred had been arrested within a few weeks. Most of them had deserted with arms in their hands. Seventeen occupied a log cabin, with palings and ditch for defense and were fed by people in the neighborhood.* Two hundred in Rush County had prevented the arrest of some deserters.† These men would surely seek to prevent conscription. From Des Moines came word that Knights of the Golden Circle, calling themselves the Union Relief Society, had organized in every township in Clarke County; had signs and passwords; had arms stored in houses, and were bound by oath to defy the execution of the law whether by State or by Federal authorities.‡ From Iowa City came word that the Knights were spread widely over the State. Their purpose was to embarrass the Government by

* January 24, 1863. Official Records, Series 3, vol. iii, p. 19.
† March 19, 1863. Ibid., p. 75.
‡ February 24, 1863. Ibid., pp. 68-69.

encouraging desertion; discouraging enlistment and resisting conscription.* So open was the movement that the Governor made it the subject of a proclamation. Men from the rebel army, he said, and guerrillas who had been plundering and killing Union men in Missouri, had taken refuge in Iowa and were seeking to array citizens in armed resistance to law, to induce soldiers to desert, and the people to prevent the arrest of deserters telling them certain laws were unconstitutional and might lawfully be withstood. Let them take heed, for the laws would be enforced at any cost and at all hazards.† The Governor of Illinois gave warning that extraordinary preparations were making and a great traffic in arms and ammunition was going on within the State. ‡ In Pennsylvania there were several organizations. The members of one, in Bucks County, met in taverns, private houses, schoolhouses, barns, and all were sworn to resist the draft. Nobody was surprised, therefore, when it was announced that the maltreatment of enrollers had begun; that one had been forced to stop taking names; that another had been shot; that the sawmill of a third had been burned, a fourth given three minutes to quit, the barn of a fifth destroyed, and two assaulted in Pottsville. Nobody would serve in the mining regions lest his property be injured. Even the coal operators were terrorized and would not give the names of the leaders in resistance lest their breakers be burned. Two thousand miners were reported to be organized and armed. Enrollers were overawed by threatening letters and assaulted in Delaware. There was opposition in Newark, New Jersey; in New Hampshire, in Vermont. §

Reports from the Western States told a like story. Enrollers were attacked by the men, egged by the women, and forced to resign in five counties in Ohio; two were murdered in Indiana. Rioters arrested for acts of violence were taken from the hands of the law. Men whose names were on the

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* Official Records, Series 3, vol. iii, pp. 66-67, March 13, 1863.
† Ibid., pp. 82-83, March 23, 1863.
‡ Ibid., p. 116, April 3, 1863.
§ Ibid., pp. 34, 75, 322-323, 324, 325, 330, 382, 383, 384, 400.

rolls fled from Toledo, Sandusky, Cleveland. But nowhere did violence reach such proportions as in the City of New York. Towards the end of June positive assurance came to the Governor that a conspiracy was on foot to prevent a draft. Hastening to the city he was informed that some eighteen hundred deserters had banded together and, joined by Copperheads, would attack the arsenal and the armory of the Seventh Regiment just after midnight on the night of July third, when the beginning of the noisy celebration of the Fourth would afford them protection.* Guards were placed in the threatened buildings; but nothing happened until drafting began on the eleventh of July. The day, the time and the district were ill-chosen. The day was Saturday. Twenty-five militia regiments of New York and Brooklyn which could have kept order were in Baltimore or with Meade; and the district was largely inhabited by laborers of foreign birth. During Saturday no trouble occurred. The number to be drawn was the quota of the District and fifty per cent more to allow for exemptions. The manner of proceeding was to write the name of each enrolled man, his residence and his color, on a piece of paper which, folded and bound with a rubber band was placed in the "wheel," a revolving hollow drum standing on a platform. The wheel was then turned, a blindfolded man put his bare arm through the little door and drew out one packet which was opened and the name read aloud and written in a book. The operation was repeated until some twelve hundred were drawn when further proceedings were postponed until Monday. On Monday, few went to work but, armed with clubs, staves, cart rungs, pieces of iron, they gathered on vacant lots and moved as if by agreement to a lot near Central Park where they divided into bands and proceeded to patrol the city. One band, said to number two thousand, headed by a man beating a copper pan, passed down Fifth Avenue to Forty-sixth Street and thence to Fourth Avenue, tore up the tracks of the New York, New Haven and Harlem Railroad, cut down poles lest telegrams calling for troops be sent to Albany, and then went on to

* New York Herald, July 6, 1863.

the Provost-Marshal's office at Forty-third Street and Third Avenue.

There the draft was proceeding quietly. But some of the mob pushed into the office; a pistol was fired without; a stone crashed through a window; a crowd rushed into the room, chased the Provost-Marshal and his clerks into the yard and over the back fence, wrecked the wheel, tore into pieces the books and papers, destroyed the furniture, poured turpentine on the floor and set it on fire. The building was soon in flames. Firemen were quick to arrive, but the mob would not suffer them to work and the flames spread to adjoining frame buildings. The Chief Engineer mounted a table and appealed to the mob. It was finally agreed that the firemen might strive to put out the fire. The police, unaware of this agreement, now advanced. Thinking an attack was intended the mob met them with stones, bricks, clubs, and drove them away. Six houses were destroyed.

This done a cry "to the arsenal" was raised; but before the rioters were well under way some forty armed men from the Park Barracks were seen approaching. They were attacked with stones and bricks, fired their muskets and ran. The mob gave chase, killed a few and beat many. Pursuing its way to the arsenal a stop was made to burn the Bull's Head Tavern and the Colored Orphan Asylum at Forty-third Street and Lexington Avenue. About three o'clock in the afternoon the arsenal at Twenty-first Street and Second Avenue was reached. Within were forty policemen and fifteen armed workmen. The mob attempted to beat in the door, the defenders fired a volley which killed five, and fled. The crowd then rushed in, threw out muskets, caps, cartridges and set fire to the building.

In the Eighth District the draft began on Monday morning in a building on Broadway two doors from Twenty-ninth Street and was proceeding quietly when the rioters appeared, wrecked it, ransacked shop after shop on Broadway and one after another set them on fire. Twelve were burned. The Mayor's home on Fifth Avenue was next visited. There Judge Barnard addressed the mob; denounced the Conscription Act as unconstitutional and an act

of despotism; promised that the Courts would protect the rights of citizens, and hoped no damage would be done to the residence of the lawfully elected Mayor. The mob listened and moved off.

Tuesday found the city in the hands of the rioters, joined by thieves and ruffians. During the day the homes of Mayor Opdyke and of the postmaster were sacked and a private residence stripped of furniture and clothing. Allerton's Hotel was destroyed, the clothing store of Brooks on Catherine Street was sacked, the Weehawken Ferry house burned, and an attack made on a factory because the owner refused to shut down at the bidding of the mob. Negroes became especial objects of vengeance, were hunted down and beaten, and their houses and little shops looted and destroyed. Some were found hidden under the piers along the East River. Hundreds fled to Blackwells Island and hid in the woods. More crossed the Hudson and sought safety in the groves near the Elysian Fields, and in those bordering the roads leading to Newark Bay and Bergen Point, and the Hackensack and Paterson Plank Road. A captain in the eleventh regiment having been caught was hanged to a lamp-post. After nightfall the gas house at the East River was seized, attacks made on the police station house, and a drug store was sacked and burned as was the home of the publisher of the *Tribune*. There was a riot in South Street. Webb's shipyard was seized, and attempts made to burn houses in Twenty-ninth and in the First Ward where Alderman Fox addressed the mob, and declared that official notice had been received that the draft was suspended.

Meantime the law-abiding element was not idle. During the afternoon most of the stores were closed, and merchants and bankers met to consider what to do. The chairman reminded those present that the times were momentous, that the upper part of the city had been sacked and some of it given to the flames by mobs; that the city authorities were at work devising means to put down the riot; and that it was the duty of every able-bodied man to aid them to crush riot and rebellion, and called on all to consult in reference to the proper measures to be taken. Thereupon it was moved that

when treason against the Government is rampant, when rebellion against the city authorities is defiant, when the residence of the Mayor is sacked by a mob, when orphan asylums and private dwellings are robbed, the men of the city and State who prize government, respect law, and love good order should rise in their might and at any cost of blood and treasure crush the traitors and outlaws. It was the duty of citizens to stand by and assist the city authorities; it was the duty of every able-bodied man to tender his services, and merchants, bankers and others should be requested to afford their employees the opportunity to assist. The resolution was carried as was another urging the merchants to close their shops and places of business at four o'clock that afternoon.

Handbills had already been posted in Wall Street and the lower part of the city. They read: "Merchants, Bankers, Merchants' Clerks and others, meet for organization and enrollment at the Merchants' Exchange, 111 Broadway, to take immediate action in the present crisis. The military is now engaged with the mob! The Mayor's house is being sacked and burned down!"

A noisy crowd having gathered before the City Hall, Governor Seymour addressed it. "I beg you," he said, "to listen to me as your friend, for I am your friend and the friend of your families. I implore you to take care that no man's property or person is injured. I rely on you to defend the peace and good order of the city, and if you do this and refrain from further riotous acts, I will see to it that your rights shall be protected. On Saturday last I sent the Adjutant-General of the State to Washington to urge postponement of the draft. The question of the legality of the Conscription Act will go before the Courts, and the decision, whatever it may be, must be obeyed. If the Act be declared legal I pledge myself, the State and the city authorities to see that there shall be no inequality between the rich and poor."

He further pledged himself that money should be raised for the relief of those who were unable to protect their own interests, and asked the rioters to disperse and leave their

interests in his hands. On complaint of an enrolling officer a certain man was arrested and brought before Judge McCunn, during the previous week. Decision was given almost while the Governor was promising that the Conscription Act should be tested in the Courts. The Judge held it unconstitutional because it violated the rights of the people, created a distinction between the people, and was contrary to the Constitution of the United States. In authorizing Congress to raise and support armies, the Constitution provided only for standing armies and not for the volunteer and temporary forces which any emergency might demand. The only forces the President could use, besides the regular army, were the volunteers and militia contributed by the individual States.

By Wednesday rioting had spread to Troy where three hundred men from the Rensselaer Iron Works and the Albany Nail Works marched about the streets declaring no draft should be made, sacked the *Times* office, threatened the African Church, broke open the jail and released the prisoners. Such was the excitement that a Hudson River steamboat, with its negro waiters, left Troy and took refuge at Albany.

Fearing resistance to the draft might spread, the Governor of Connecticut appealed to patriotic citizens to organize two or three battalions to be armed and equipped for three months' service unless sooner discharged. The Governor of Rhode Island ordered troops to protect the property of the State and prevent disturbance of the peace. The Governor of New Jersey reminded the people that violence does not restore individual rights, nor remedy real or fancied wrongs. The law furnished ample remedy. Mobs often originated, without premeditation, from the accidental gathering of crowds. In this time of excitement, therefore, he called on all citizens of New Jersey to avoid angry discussion, discourage assemblies of the people, and put forth every effort to keep the peace.

In Newark the mob sacked the office of the *Mercury;* and broke the windows of the home of the Provost-Marshal; *

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. iii, p. 489.

in Trenton resistance was feared * and the Provost-Marshal ordered that drafting be postponed.†

In New York, during the day, the riot showed signs of dying out. There was less violence but much looting. The anger of the mob was vented chiefly on the negroes who were hunted down, stoned and beaten, their houses almost demolished and some two hundred made homeless. Wednesday night the mob came into York Street with carts, and driving the negroes into the yards carried off furniture and household goods. About midnight their houses were demolished.

The whole body of citizens was then suffering from the acts of the rioters. Business was interrupted; shops were closed; omnibuses stopped running because their drivers were forced to quit work; street cars were no longer operated because their tracks were torn up, and the Gas Company was compelled to appeal to the people to be as sparing in the use of gas as possible because its men had been driven from the works and the supply was getting low. The Alderman and Common Council at a special meeting unanimously passed "An Ordinance to relieve the citizens of New York from the unequal operation of conscription and to encourage volunteers." By it the Comptroller was authorized to pay three hundred dollars for each person drafted and found unable to raise that sum for exemption. If any one drafted should volunteer to serve three years or during the war, the Comptroller was to give him three hundred dollars for the benefit of his family. Two and one half million dollars were to be borrowed on the credit of the city by an issue of bonds redeemable in twenty years.

Despite the doings of the day, the Mayor announced that the riot was in good measure under control; that, save for the absence of the militia the peace of the city would not have been broken for an hour. The mob had parted into bands prowling for plunder. To meet these, and relieve the police and militia from exhaustion, he invited citizens to form associations to patrol the streets, maintain order, and

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. iii, p. 496.
† Ibid.

guard and protect property. All others were urged to resume their usual occupations. Omnibuses, railways, telegraph lines must be put in full operation at once. "The laws must and shall be obeyed."

Troops which had been hurried to Pennsylvania, and as hastily hurried home, now began to arrive. Between the night of Wednesday and that of Thursday, five regiments reached the city. Thursday, therefore, was a day of comparative quiet, though some looting was done. All stores along the east side remained closed; great excitement among the negroes continued, and there was fierce fighting with the troops. Archbishop Hughes, confined to his house by rheumatism, invited the mob to visit him at his residence on the corner of Madison Avenue and Thirty-sixth Street. The invitation was addressed: "To the men of New York who are now called, in many of the papers, Rioters."

The presence of the troops put an end to violence and looting, traffic was resumed, shops were opened, business became normal and the week closed in peace and quiet. Seventy-six persons, the Coroner's office reported, had been killed. Sunday no troops appeared on the streets; all the wards were quiet; and great crowds gathered to gaze at the buildings burned and wrecked by the rioters.

During the following week the police were busy recovering stolen property, household furniture, groceries, dry goods. The Merchants' Relief Committee for Suffering Colored People began to solicit contributions, and the Provost-Marshals, whose offices had been destroyed, sought in vain for places in which to transact their business. In the Ninth District, where the only enrollment list was destroyed, the enrolling officers declined to repeat their house to house visits. Response to the appeal for aid for the despoiled and ruined negroes was prompt. Within a few days thirty thousand dollars were given. Distribution began at once; lawyers offered their services to prosecute claims against the city for damages, and by the middle of August these amounted to a million three hundred thousand dollars.

In Philadelphia the draft began in the Fourth Congressional District on July fifteenth. The quota was five hun-

dred and seventy-five, which, when the usual fifty per cent was added to allow for exemptions, made eight hundred and sixty-two names to be drawn from three thousand on the enrollment sheet. To make the drawing as fair as possible and satisfy the people that men of all walks in life, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, ministers, brokers, workingmen, were subject to the draft, a platform was built on the corner of Broad and Spring Garden streets, the wheel placed upon it, and into the wheel was dropped in the presence of the crowds gathered about the platform, and of representatives of both political parties standing on it, the name of each enrolled man written on a piece of paper enclosed in a sealed envelope. A blindfolded man then thrust his bare arm into the wheel and drew out an envelope which was torn open, the name read aloud and written down by the clerks. The slip of paper after examination by all on the platform was handed down to be passed about among those in the crowd. Not in every district was the drawing made in the street. But everywhere pains were taken to convince the public that no partiality was shown. The Government, it was explained, requires a certain number of men from a certain district. To this is added a third or a half to allow for the exemptions or disabilities provided by law. The drawing goes on until the necessary number is obtained. There is no subsequent drawing. The Enrollment Board then meets to ascertain who are exempt, and who will pay three hundred dollars. On the enrollment list the places of men who buy exemption are left blank. Poor men do not have to go in their stead. The Government will use the money to hire substitutes. If this fails then so many less soldiers go from the district.*

The people of New Hampshire were excited because the unit of draft was the Congressional District and not the town, so excited that the legislature by joint resolution asked that it be changed. Organizations to prevent service of notice of draft were reported to exist in northern New Hampshire and Vermont. Indeed, when an attempt was made to serve them on the quarrymen at Rutland the servers

* New York Herald, July 25, 1863.

were stoned and driven away. So high did feeling run in New York that in many places, Albany, Troy, Utica, Rochester, Buffalo, it was not thought safe to draft until troops could be spared to keep order. The Provost-Marshal-General had such evidence of the existence of organizations to resist in New Jersey that he put off drafting for the present. Fear of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Indiana led to an order to the Provost-Marshal at Indianapolis to hide his books and enrollment sheets where domestic enemies could not find them, if the militia were withdrawn. The Governor of Illinois asked for five regiments. The people, he said, seemed ripe for revolution. Two thirds of the population of Milwaukee, the Provost-Marshal wrote, were foreigners opposed to the war and the Government, and so aroused by politicians that mob violence was certain as soon as the draft began. Business men occupying buildings in the block in which was his office had requested him to go elsewhere lest their property be destroyed.*

August nineteenth drafting was resumed in New York. The city, it was said, resembled a beleaguered town. Thirty thousand troops, it was popularly believed, were in it. Cavalry rode up and down the streets, arsenals and armories were crowded with soldiers, the militia of the city and of Brooklyn were out and batteries of artillery were ready for action. No trouble was made.

When all returns were in it appeared that 292,441 names were drawn from the wheels and that 39,877 men had failed to report, leaving 252,564 for examination. For one reason and another 164,394 were exempted, leaving for duty 88,170, of whom 52,288 purchased exemption which yielded the Government $15,686,400, and left but 35,882 men for service. Of these 26,002 were substitutes.

To test the constitutionality of the Conscript Act a bill in equity praying an injunction to restrain the Provost-Marshal from taking into service a drafted man was filed in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The Court held the Act

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. iii, pp. 481, 491, 492, 513, 526, 529, 530, 534, 540, 565, 566, 574, 625, 665. Series 1, vol. xxvii, Part 2, pp. 930, 934, 936.

to be unconstitutional. The constitutional provision vesting in Congress power to raise and equip armies did not include power to draft the militia; the power of Congress to call forth the militia could not be exercised in the manner provided in the Act; a citizen of Pennsylvania could not be subjected to the rules and articles of war until he was in active military service; he was not placed in such service when his name was drawn from a wheel and ten days' notice thereof served on him; a Congressional draft to suppress insurrection was an innovation that had no warrant in the text of the Constitution.

While the draft was still under way, indeed, before it had begun in some States, Lincoln, October seventeenth, called for another three hundred thousand volunteers. They were to be raised by the Governors, were to serve for three years or the war, and were needed because the term of service of a part of the old volunteers would expire during 1864. In such States as failed to raise their quotas by volunteering, the deficits would be made good by a draft on the fifth of January, 1864. Again desperate efforts were made to get the men without a draft. The Government offered veterans who reëntered the army four hundred and two, and new men three hundred and two dollars bounty. The two dollars were the usual "hand money" paid when the recruit enlisted. Massachusetts offered three hundred and twenty-five dollars in hand, or fifty in hand and twenty a month so long as the soldier served, but not exceeding three years. Three hundred were offered by the City of New York. The State bounty was seventy-five. A veteran who reënlisted would thus become entitled to receive as bounty from City, State and the Federal Government, seven hundred and seventy-seven dollars. Jersey City raised hers to three hundred and fifty because that sum was offered by Newark. Philadelphia promised two hundred; but it was thought too little. Who, it was asked, would be content with this when, by crossing the Delaware, he can get two hundred and seventy in Camden? Supposing that not more than one man in six would be drafted, numbers of "Patriotic Clubs" of six members each were formed in Cincinnati. Each man contributed fifty

dollars. Should one of them be drawn the money was to be used to buy his exemption.* In the Confederacy, as well as in the North, patriotism had long ceased to supply the needs of the army. The passage of the Exemption Act in April, 1862, had been followed by a rush of men, liable to conscription, into every occupation that could save them from service in the field. Schools sprang up in such numbers that in almost every county in some States, it was said, enough teachers could be found to make a company.† Men with little fitness, or with none at all, turned to teaching and served for a pittance, or for nothing, content if they could get the twenty scholars necessary to secure exemption. Drug stores increased and multiplied. Unable to get drugs, and too ignorant to compound them if they had been obtainable, the proprietors dealt "in everything from strawberries and watermelons up to sugar, coffee, molasses and spun cotton including cards." ‡ "A few empty jars, a cheap assortment of combs and brushes, a few bottles of 'hair dye' and 'wizard oil' and other Yankee nostrums is about the only evidence of their being 'apothecaries in good standing.'" § Petty offices, Confederate and State, were eagerly sought by men anxious to serve as postmasters in little towns, constables, coroners, deputy bailiffs. || Cotton and woolen mills, railroads, salt making, tanning and gunsmithing gave exemption to thousands of men of draft age. As the law then stood all residents within the prescribed ages were liable to conscription. Construing the term to include aliens who had acquired domicile, the Secretary of War directed they be enrolled, unless the facts in the case, and not the oath of the party concerned, proved him to be an alien, ¶ and thousands made haste to obtain consular certificates. Before hostilities broke out, said a newspaper, foreigners were scarcely to be found. Now they were everywhere. "Nearly every town and city in the South is full of this class of persons, most of

* Cincinnati Commercial, November 20, 1863.
† A. B. Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy, p. 55.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid., p. 56. Columbus Weekly Sun, September 2, 1862.
|| A. B. Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy, p. 56.
¶ Ibid., pp. 59, 60.

them able-bodied young men who voted at our elections two years ago, and who ought to be in the tented field in defense of the Government of their adoption." * Still others found safety by wandering from State to State, for no man could be conscripted without the limits of the State of which he was a citizen.

Secretary Randolph complained of this. Men, he held, should be enrolled wherever found, and should not be allowed to escape conscription by crossing a boundary line and getting beyond the jurisdiction of a particular enrolling officer.† Congress granted authority to enroll such evaders. Conscription, it was true, did not send many troops to the army, but it held the twelve months' men in the ranks at the very time they were preparing to go home, induced thousands of young men to volunteer, saved the army and greatly contributed to McClellan's defeat. ‡ Four months ago, the Secretary said, our army was weak and disorganized, yielding the sea coast, mines, mountain posts, grain fields, even whole States. Now we are advancing and the enemy is defeated, disheartened and sheltering himself behind defensive works and in gun boats. § Nevertheless the Act needed amendment. He would have the buying of substitutes stopped; it led to great abuses and the men so obtained were generally worthless and often deserted. He would have farmers, millers, salt makers exempt. He would have exemption limited to those whose work at home was far more important than any service they could render in the field.

Davis sent all these suggestions to Congress, asked that the age limit for conscription be extended to forty-five years, and that he be given authority to call out men from thirty-five to forty-five, and by a new act some changes were made. The age limit was extended, and the causes for exemption greatly increased; but substitution and the use of State

* A. B. Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy, p. 61. Columbus Weekly Sun.

† Official Records, Series 4 vol. ii, pp. 42-43. Report to Davis, August 12, 1862.

‡ Richmond Enquirer, June 20, 1862. Richmond Examiner, September 12, 1862. October 1, 6, 1862.

§ Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, pp. 42-43.

officers as enrollers were retained.* Exemption for physical disability was a privilege much abused. So easy was it to obtain certificates from physicians at home that orders were issued to pay no heed to such papers, nor to discharges from service granted before the Conscription Act was passed. Conscripts must be examined at the instruction camps by surgeons especially detailed for that service. Substitutes must be of a class not liable to conscription, must be physically fit, must not be aliens nor boys under seventeen. As a class they proved of little worth. Having collected the bounty of a hundred dollars, and a much greater sum, which conscripts whose place they took in the ranks were forced to pay, they deserted in such numbers that the Department of War was forced to rule that if a substitute were lost, save by the fortunes of war, the man for whom he stood at once became liable for service.† Nevertheless they were much in demand. Having secured one, the conscript must report with his substitute at some camp of instruction and obtain a discharge from the commanding officer. ‡ This led to fraud. Men pretending to be officers from distant camps sold fictitious substitute acceptances, and found so many buyers that detectives were employed, by the Department of War, to run down the miscreants and put an end to the fraud. §

Resistance to the enforcement of the law made by Governors, gave Davis much concern. Letcher of Virginia bade the superintendent of the Military Institute give up no cadet until the Conscription Act had been definitely declared to be constitutional. The Secretary of War, quite sure Letcher did not seek "collisions between the authorities of the State and the Confederacy," proposed that the question be tested in the Supreme Court of the State. ‖ It was tried, the Act was declared to be constitutional, and the Governor made no further objection to the conscription of the cadets. South Carolina had a conscription act of her own. After the passage of the Confederate Conscription Act the two conflicted,

* Act of October 11, 1862.
† Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 648.
‡ Ibid., vol. i, p. 1099.
§ Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 582, 583, 808.
‖ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 123.

the State authorities insisted that men exempt under the South Carolina law should be exempt under the Confederate law, and when a new enrollment was ordered by Confederate officers the Governor and Council made ready to countervail it.* Davis protested. He had been informed, he said, that orders were about to be issued countermanding those of officers charged with enrollment in South Carolina; that the Governor and Council insisted that exemption granted by the State should be accepted by the Confederate Government. If he did not misapprehend the meaning of this, the right was broadly asserted that the State might, at her pleasure, relieve a portion of her citizens from obedience to laws of the Confederate Congress. To assert such a right on the part of a State was to deny the right of the Confederate Government to use its delegated powers, and if carried into execution would make a confederacy an impracticable form of Government. If a State might free her citizens from military duty, she might free them from taxes, from any lawful duty, any payment, any service required by the Government of the Confederacy. The exemption claimed related solely to State troops, was granted long before the passage of the Conscription Act and had nothing whatever to do with it.†

So serious had desertion become by the end of 1862 that the commanding officer at Dahlonega, Georgia, made it the subject of a general order. He had been informed that a number of deserters, Tories, conscripts were resisting the law in northern and northeastern Georgia, and southwestern North Carolina, and had sent a force to put down any insurrectionary movement, arrest skulkers and restore tranquillity to that part of the country. Such malcontents as should report to him within ten days would be put into such companies, battalions and regiments on the coast as were not full, or organized into companies for defense of Atlanta. Should they persist in their desertion he would pursue them into their mountain fastnesses, and use all the power he possessed to arrest and bring them to punishment. The order

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 73.

† Ibid., p. 74. Davis to the Governor of South Carolina, September 3, 1862.

ended with an appeal to accept the offer of amnesty, array themselves under the banner of their country, and prove the Southern blood flowing in their veins by repelling the rapacious invader of their soil.*

Like conditions in North Carolina brought a proclamation from Governor Vance. He was told, he said, by generals in the field, that desertion in the army was alarmingly on the increase, and they had called on him to check it among the troops from North Carolina. From the day he became Governor he had tried to do so, but great difficulties interposed. There was great difficulty in organizing raw and inexperienced militia, and making them efficient in arresting armed soldiers, their friends, neighbors and kindred. After getting them in shape there was a fight between a squad of his officers and deserters and conscripts in Yadkin County. Two of his officers were killed. The slayers were arrested, imprisoned, brought on a writ of *habeas corpus* before the Chief Justice and released. No authority to arrest deserters had been vested in the Governor by express enactment. The power, the Chief Justice held, belonged alone to the Confederacy. Therefore the men had committed no offense in resisting. News of this decision reached the army. The soldiers understood that the Justice had declared the conscript law unconstitutional; that if they deserted they could not be arrested, and, "desertion which had been temporarily checked broke out again worse than before." The causes were homesickness, fatigue, hard fare, failure to redeem the promise that conscripts should have furloughs, and refusal to allow them to join regiments of their choice in which were their friends and relatives. He ended by urging citizens to aid him in the arrest and return of deserters.†

General Pillow, Superintendent of the Volunteer and Conscript Bureau, reported that from eight thousand to ten thousand deserters were in the mountains of Alabama. Many had deserted the second, third or fourth time. To keep them in the army so near home was impossible. As fast as

* General Order No. 1, January 26, 1863. Headquarters Dahlonega.

† Proclamation, May 11, 1863. Official Records, Series 1, vol. ii, Part 2, pp. 709-710.

they were caught and sent back they would desert again, bring off their arms, and steal from their comrades as much ammunition as they could carry. These "deserters and Tory conscripts" had banded together; were "as vicious as 'copperheads'"; had killed several officers and driven small bodies of cavalry from the mountains.*

Losses in the seven days' battles around Richmond, at the second Bull Run, and at Antietam led the Confederate Congress to extend the age of Conscription to forty-five years.† For a while no men over forty were taken. But the thousands killed, wounded and captured at Gettysburg and Vicksburg was a heavy blow to the Confederate army; conscription was at once extended to men of forty-five,‡ and both Lee and Davis appealed to deserters and absentees. By a general order Lee bade all officers and soldiers absent from duty return at once. To remain at home, he said, in this hour of your country's need is unworthy of the manhood of the Southern soldier. § Davis sent forth an appeal to the soldiers of the Confederate States.

After two years of warfare, he said, your enemies continue a struggle in which our triumph must be inevitable. Unduly elated by recent success they are gathering heavy masses for a general invasion in the vain hope that by a desperate effort success may be reached. You know what they mean by success. Their malignant rage aims at nothing less than extermination of yourselves, your wives, your children. They seek to destroy what they cannot plunder. They propose that your homes shall be portioned among the wretches whose atrocious cruelties have stamped infamy on their Government. They intend to incite servile insurrection and light the fires of incendiarism wherever they can reach your houses, and they debauch the servile race hitherto docile and contented by promising indulgence of the vilest passions as the price of treachery. No alternative is left save victory

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* Marietta, Georgia, July 28, 1863. Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 681.

† Act of September 27, 1862.

‡ Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, pp. 635, 648.

§ General Order No. 80, July 26, 1863.

or subjugation, slavery, and the utter ruin of yourselves, your families and your country. If all called to the field repair to the path of düty, victory is within your reach. If all now absent return to the ranks you will equal in number the invaders. Hasten, then, to your camps, summon those absent without leave, and those who have overstayed their furloughs. I grant a general amnesty and pardon to all officers and men who, now absent without leave, return to their posts within twenty days from the date of this proclamation. Wives, mothers, sisters, daughters of the Confederacy were besought to use their powerful influence in aid of the call, and take care that none who owed service were sheltered at home.*

Orders, addresses, appeals, were of no use. Nothing could allay the feeling in the army, after Gettysburg and Vicksburg, that the end was near, that fighting could no longer put off the evil day. One who had been in the mountain region of Virginia found in Bedford, Botetourt, Roanoke, and many other counties a demoralized people. They thought and said, "We are beaten and bound to be overrun and subjugated." The army was dispirited and men deserting by hundreds. The upper counties of North Carolina were in much worse condition. Deserters, passing along the road daily, increased the despondency. They had guns and when halted and their furloughs demanded patted their guns and said: "This is my furlough." They traveled in groups of from six to twenty. When food was wanted they demanded it under threats of violence. Did any one give information, his house was burned, and he waylaid and beaten or murdered. Many such cases were of recent occurrence. The people were cowed. They needed to be informed. The papers gave no information, and if they did were too costly to be bought.†

Another wrote that all the North Carolina counties along the Tennessee border were infested with deserters, conscripts and Tories. They had gathered in the mountains and committed depredations on peaceful citizens and wives of sol-

* Richmond Enquirer, August 7, 1863. Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 687.

† Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, pp. 721-722, August 14, 1863.

diers. He asked that cavalry and infantry be sent from the army of Tennessee to break up the bands.* When the conscript service was organized one of its duties, the Inspectors wrote, was to collect and forward deserters and skulkers. This was under the belief that they would be found lurking about singly, unarmed, and not supported by local opinion. But desertion had assumed such proportions in some parts of North Carolina that no force at hand could cope with it. Deserters were armed, acted in concert, forced the passage of bridges and ferries despite the guards, reached their hiding places, and organized in bands of from fifty to a hundred. In Cherokee County, the Governor believed a band had taken possession of a town and exercised a sort of military occupation. In Withers County five hundred were in an entrenched camp, were organized and drilled. Patrols reported four hundred organized in Randolph County. Large numbers were in Catawba, Yadkin and Iredell. Not only did they kill when resisting arrest, but in revenge. The disaffected fed them from sympathy; the loyal from fear. Letters went to the army encouraging desertion, urging men to come home and promising protection. Generals and Governors, editors and politicians, meantime, offered advice as to how the army might be enlarged. Force deserters and stragglers, they said, to return; withdraw garrisons from cities and towns where they were not needed; abolish sinecure government offices and put the holders of them in the ranks; consolidate depleted regiments and send the surplus officers to duty at the front.† Order into the army the almost countless swarm of young officers to be seen on every railroad train and in every hotel lobby. ‡ Johnston would substitute negroes for detailed soldiers. §

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 733, August 13, 1863.
† A. B. Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy, p. 305.
‡ Governor Brown, Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 733.
§ A. B. Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy, p. 307.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GRAND ADVANCE.

Six months had now passed since Rosecrans entered Murfreesboro. Again and again Halleck and Stanton urged him to go forward but it was late in June before he put his army in motion, began a campaign of brilliant maneuvers, and in nine days, without fighting a pitched battle, forced the enemy out of middle Tennessee and back to Chattanooga. That the town should be captured had long been the wish of Lincoln and his military advisers. But again Rosecrans waited week after week until a peremptory order sent him forward in the middle of August. Without opposition, without a fight, one corps of his army crossed the Cumberland Mountains and on the ninth of September entered the town from the west just as the rear guard of Bragg's army moved out towards the south, and, supposing the enemy in retreat, followed him some twelve miles up the valley. Meantime two other corps crossed Lookout Mountain by passes, one twenty-six, and one forty-two miles south of Chattanooga, and came down into the valley of the Chickamauga River. Bragg did not retreat. He withdrew to Lafayette, and reënforced by troops from Knoxville, from Longstreet, from Johnston, might have fallen on the scattered army of Rosecrans and destroyed it corps by corps. He did not, and Rosecrans gathered his army as quickly as possible and none too soon. For, on September nineteenth Bragg attacked and opened the battle of Chickamauga, "The Great Battle of the West." The fighting that day was desperate, but not decisive; was renewed on the following morning, and all seemed going well when, by an unfortunate order from the bewildered Rosecrans, troops were withdrawn from a part of the line, a gap was made, the enemy rushed in, scattered the right wing and swept it from the field.

The right wing gone, Bragg turned on Thomas, the only

general officer left on the field. He had but twenty-five thousand men. But, all that afternoon and until darkness ended the fight, though beset in front and on his flanks by twice his number of men, withstood every assault, and with ammunition gone, repelled the last with bayonets and won for himself the proud title, "Rock of Chickamauga." During the night Thomas withdrew, and by order of Rosecrans went to Chattanooga where the Union army was drawn up in a semi-circle around the town. Bragg followed, posted his army on Lookout Mountain, in the valley of Chattanooga Creek, on Missionary Ridge, and closed the short routes along which food could be brought to the Union army from Bridgeport. One way only was open and that, sixty miles long, across a rough and mountainous country, was difficult in the best of weather. But the rains came; the road was made all but impassable; Wheeler's cavalry raided it and destroyed several hundred wagons and animals. Such as were left were worked beyond endurance and hundreds died in the traces. "Ten thousand dead mules walled the sides of the road from Bridgeport to Chattanooga. Guards stood at the troughs of artillery horses to keep the soldiers from taking the scant supply of corn allowed these starving animals." Many horses died from starvation and most of those that survived grew too weak for use in pulling the lightest guns.* Trains grew shorter in length, lighter in the load, fewer in number. Rations were cut, and the troops suffered from want of shoes and warm clothing.

Bad as was the condition of the army a month passed and mid-October came before any attempt was made to relieve it. By that time Hooker had been sent from the Army of the Potomac with reënforcements; Sherman, with more troops, was on his way from Vicksburg; the Military Division of the Mississippi had been formed with Grant in command; and Rosecrans had been removed and Thomas put in his place. When Grant arrived late in October, he found General William F. Smith had proposed a plan for shortening the way to Bridgeport by many miles. A pontoon bridge was to be thrown across the river at Brown's Ferry, com-

* General Joseph S. Fullerton, Battles and Leaders, vol. iii, p. 719.

mand was to be secured of a road leading thence over Raccoon Mountain, eight miles to Kelley's Ferry, and food brought there from Bridgeport by steamboat. Once there wagons could easily bring the supplies to Brown's Ferry, and on by road to Chattanooga. How the plan was carried out, how the enemy was driven back from the river, by what fighting the road was secured and held need not be told. Enough to know that it was done, that the "cracker line" was opened, and an end put to all fear that the army would be forced by hunger to surrender or retreat.

Bragg, still sure that he held the Army of the Cumberland in the hollow of his hand, now sent Longstreet to recapture Knoxville and, it might be, Burnside and his army. In hopes of forcing Longstreet to return Grant proposed to attack Bragg at once, but was induced to wait until Sherman came. He came in the middle of November and on the twenty-fourth the attack was to begin.

But a deserter brought word, on the night of the twenty-second, that Bragg was preparing to retreat. The next day, Thomas, who held the center, was ordered to make a demonstration. He was to feel the enemy's line and determine if he was still in force. The movement was made, the enemy was driven from his advanced line of rifle pits, and from Orchard Knob, a steep rough hill which rose from Chattanooga Valley. Hooker was ordered to make a demonstration against Lookout Mountain and if possible take it. The morning opened cold and drizzly. Clouds hid the mountain and coming far down its western slope concealed the movements of Hooker, as his men fought their way up its side to the plateau at the foot of a high palisade. Those on the plain below heard the sound of battle far above them, but saw nothing until the wind lifted the clouds for a few minutes and showed them that Hooker's men had won, "the battle above the clouds."

Sherman was to take the north end of Missionary Ridge and attack Bragg's right. Some of the ridge was taken; but he did not reach his objective, the Tunnel Hill where the railroad passed under Missionary Ridge. That night Bragg withdrew his men from Lookout Mountain to strengthen his

right. Before dawn the stars and stripes were planted on the summit of the mountain. At sunrise Sherman renewed his attack, again and again assaulted the Confederate works, was as often driven back, and by afternoon had made no progress. Seeing him hard pressed Grant ordered Thomas to take a line of entrenchments running along the foot of Missionary Ridge and wait for orders. It was taken at the point of the bayonet. But the troops, finding they were exposed to a galling fire from another line halfway up the slope and a third on the crest, went on without orders, carried the second, chased the enemy up to the crest and put them to flight. The Ridge was won.

Hooker that day came down the mountain, drove the enemy from Rossville, and turning north joined Thomas' right at sundown. During the night of the twenty-fifth Bragg began his retreat to Dalton, and on the following day Granger, with twenty thousand men, was sent off to raise the siege of Knoxville, and Sherman soon followed him. Burnside met Longstreet some thirty miles south of Knoxville and fell back within its defenses. For ten days Longstreet sought to find the weakest point. At last, November twenty-ninth, he made an assault and was driven back. When about to make a second, there was placed in his hands a letter from Davis telling of the defeat of Bragg and the coming of Granger. The assault was not made; he started for Virginia, and all East Tennessee, for the first time since the war began, was in Union hands.

The battle of Chattanooga won and the enemy driven down to Dalton, the Army of the Cumberland went back to its old quarters around the town, and the South cried out for the removal of Bragg. Despondency and gloom, it was said, are fast settling down upon the people, who see their cause sacrificed by incompetent officers and no hope of any change. The President esteems General Bragg, and has confidence in his military ability; but the people have not, and unless they can see some prospect of a speedy change, they may despair of the cause, and the mountain region of East Tennessee, western North Carolina, and Northern Georgia and Alabama may submit to the despotism which incom-

petency has brought upon them. For the sake of encouraging popular hope, reanimating the popular heart, keeping alive the fire of patriotism, we implore the President to yield and dismiss incompetency from all commands. Why further compromise the cause and endanger the Gulf States by retaining Bragg in command? By yielding to the public wish, now almost an open outcry, the President will give a new impetus to the struggle for liberty which is still before us.* So great was the clamor that Davis gave way, removed Bragg, and placed General Joseph E. Johnston in command of the Army of the Tennessee.

In Virginia, whither Longstreet had gone, the course of events was far from pleasing to either side. Lee, after his escape across the Potomac, went up the valley of the Shenandoah, crossed the mountains, and took position at Culpeper Court House. Meade's army entered Virginia east of the mountains and took position on the north bank of the Rappahannock. Two months of maneuvering followed before the armies went into winter quarters with the Rapidan between them.

In the spring Grant joined the Army of the Potomac. Congress in February, 1864, revived the rank of Lieutenant-General, a rank never before bestowed on any one save Washington and Scott, and Lincoln, as was intended, gave it to Grant and appointed him commander-in-chief of the Union armies. He made his headquarters at Culpeper Court House, and began preparations for the coming campaign. Sherman, who became commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi, was to move against Johnston with Atlanta as his objective. Sigel, just placed in command of the Department of West Virginia, was to move up the Shenandoah Valley. Butler, who since November was in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, was to bring the Army of the James up the James River and take Petersburg and Richmond. The Army of the Potomac, under Meade, was, if possible, to destroy the Army of Northern Virginia under Lee. Sheridan was brought from Chattanooga and assigned to the command of two cavalry

* Richmond Enquirer, November 27, 1863.

corps. Could Grant have had his way Banks would have moved by land against Mobile to assist the navy to capture the city. Unhappily, he was then on his ill-fated expedition up the Red River. A corps under Burnside, at Annapolis, was to act as a reënforcement and go wherever needed. Heretofore the armies had acted separately. Grant changed this and made all the forces east of the Mississippi one great army under his command. The Army of the Potomac was the center; the Army of the James the left wing; and all the troops between the Mississippi and the mountains of eastern Tennessee and as far south as Memphis and Chattanooga, the right wing. Troops further south became a force in the enemy's rear.* As one great army it was to move against the enemy on the fourth of May.

That its strength might be maintained, and more than maintained, despite the casualties of war, Lincoln, on the first of February, ordered that on the tenth of March there should be a draft of five hundred thousand three-year men less so many as had been drafted, or had volunteered, or might volunteer before the first day of March.† This, it was explained, was not a call for five hundred thousand men, for it was the consolidation of that of October for three hundred thousand with the present which was thus really for but two hundred thousand, with credit for all men obtained between the first of October and the first of March. It was no time for cavilling, for political dissensions, for complaints of inactivity or incompetence. The South was gathering strength for one last desperate struggle. The Union must meet it. Davis was sweeping into the ranks of his traitorous armies every fighting man in the States which owned his sway. It was no longer a secret that in the next campaign the attempt would be made to carry the war to Northern soil. Should it fail, the rebellion would go hopelessly down. That it might fail utterly more men were needed in the Union army. Hence the call. ‡

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* Grant, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, pp. 102, 103.

† Papers and Messages of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 232.

‡ New York Tribune, February 1, 1864. Also, Governor Morton to the People of Indiana, February 4, 1864; Cincinnati Commercial, February 5, 1864.

A Southern journal found much encouragement in the draft ordered for the tenth of March. Clearly the war spirit of the North, it said, has broken down. Draft has followed bounties, as bounties followed volunteering. First came patriotism, then money, and lastly force. These are the three features which characterize the war as waged by our enemies. Patriotism ran its course during the first year of the war, and expired with the failure of McClellan in the Peninsula. In the second year came bounties, which valued a Yankee soldier at about the price of a first rate negro before the war. Bounties in their turn are now "played out," and a draft has been resorted to, and will run its course and expire with the presidential election, or overthrow the party that has dragged men from their homes to continue a war of which the people are heartily tired.*

While preparations for the draft were under way, they were interrupted by the passage of a new enrollment bill on which Congress had been busy for some weeks past. Negro men from twenty to forty-five years of age were to be enrolled; quotas were to be based on the number of men liable for military duty and not, as heretofore, on population; deficiencies were to be made good by drafting; substitutes must be aliens or veterans. No alien who had voted could be a substitute; commutation secured exemption only for a particular draft and in no case for more than one year; members of religious bodies who would swear they were conscientiously opposed to bearing arms and were forbidden to bear arms by the rules and articles of their faith were exempt; but when drawn were to be considered noncombatants and assigned to hospitals, or to the care of freedmen, and must pay three hundred dollars for the benefit of the sick and wounded.†

The draft fixed for the tenth of March was now put off, ‡ and a new one ordered for two hundred thousand more men for service in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. § The

* Richmond Enquirer, February 6, 1864.

† Act of February 24, 1864.

‡ Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 154.

§ Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 235. March 14, 1864. Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 181.

call of February first, it was said, had not sent many new men to the army. Nine states had filled, and more than filled, their quotas under earlier calls. Credit given for veteran regiments that reënlisted had helped to fill quotas without adding a new man to the army. More troops must be had. As a means of getting them at once, the governors of five Western states, as they had done in 1863, tendered Lincoln eighty-five thousand men to serve anywhere for a hundred days. During the past winter the enemy, they said, had been gathering his strength for the summer campaign. This the Government must meet with the greatest force it could bring to bear. A vast extent of territory, embracing many States and Territories, many thousand miles of sea coast, the whole length of the Mississippi had been wrested from the enemy. To hold this country and this long line of sea and river coast large stationary forces were necessary. Posts, garrisons, cities and towns situated in the midst of hostile populations and requiring for their defense a large part of the army were almost innumerable. Veteran troops occupying such posts might be relieved, and sent to swell the ranks of the army soon to take the field, by the hundred-day men who could garrison and hold the captured places.* Grant did not quite approve of accepting men for so short a time.† But Lincoln did, and the governors set about raising them.

Drafting began early in May in such states as had not filled their quotas, but scarcely was it well under way when there appeared in the New York *World* and the New York *Journal of Commerce* a proclamation calling for four hundred thousand volunteers. Dated at the Executive Mansion, and bearing the names of Lincoln and Seward, it recommended that May twenty-eighth be a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, and in view of the expiration of terms of service of one hundred thousand troops, called for four hundred thousand men between eighteen and forty-five, and appointed June fifteenth as the time for beginning a

* Governors of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, April 21, 1864. Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, pp. 237-238.

† Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 239.

draft.* No such document had been issued, and when the truth concerning it came out it appeared that about three o'clock on the morning of May eighteenth a messenger who well counterfeited the regular messenger of the New York Associated Press visited all save one of the editorial rooms of newspapers in that city served by the Association, and delivered at each a sealed envelope containing a manifold copy of the proclamation. The lateness of the hour left no time for consideration of its authenticity, and the copy, cut into small pieces was given to compositors. At the *Herald* office the fraud was discovered after a large number of newspapers had been run off; but they were not allowed to go out. The *World* and the *Journal of Commerce* did not discover the fraud until the whole editions had been distributed.†

Dix at once telegraphed Seward asking if the proclamation was genuine.‡ He replied it was an "absolute forgery," and as it was steamer day held the *Scotia* and sent off dispatches to Adams and Dayton. § Stanton described it to Dix as a "base and treasonable forgery." Lincoln, in a statement to the public denied its authenticity, and Dix ordered the arrest of the editors, managers, publishers and owners, and suppressed the *Journal* and the *World*. || Stanton ordered the arrest of the superintendents, managers and operators, and seizure of the offices of the Independent Telegraph Company in New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Baltimore and Washington, and of the Inland Telegraph Company at Pittsburgh, ¶ and bade General Wallace seize all copies of the *Journal* and the *World* the moment they arrived in Baltimore.** The Associated Press offered a thousand dollars reward for evidence leading to conviction of the author.†† The United States Marshal offered five hundred

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, pp. 386-387. May 17, 1864.

† Statement of the editors of the Tribune, Express, Herald, Sun, to Lincoln, May 19, 1864. Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, pp. 392-393.

‡ Ibid., p. 387.

§ Ibid., p. 388.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid., p. 389.

** Ibid., p. 392.

†† New York Herald, May 19, 1894.

dollars and immunity to the messenger who delivered the envelopes if he would reveal himself.* The editors of four New York newspapers now appealed to Lincoln, stated how the fraud occurred, declared the editors and owners of the *Journal* and the *World* innocent of all knowledge of the proclamation until they read it in their newspapers, and asked for their release. Stanton, convinced that the author resided in Washington, had already revoked his order of arrest.

Dix now announced that the author had been found, arrested, and imprisoned in Fort Lafayette. He was a journalist "known as Howard of the *Times*," had made a frank confession, said his object was to affect the stock market, and exonerated the newspapers, the telegraph companies and all others concerned.† The *World* and the *Journal* were thereupon given back their presses and property, and the officials and operators of the Telegraph Companies were released. But, for some days their offices were kept under guard.

Meantime the fourth of May had come and the grand advance of the armies had begun. Towards midnight on the third the Army of the Potomac left its winter quarters, crossed the Rapidan without opposition on the fourth, entered the Wilderness and camped at night on the battlefield where, a year and a day before, Hooker met his crushing defeat. Early the next morning, about five o'clock, Lee fell upon Grant's right. A desperate struggle between infantry followed. So dense was the tangled jungle of scrubbaks, stunted pines and cedars that no officer could see the length of his command; that the oncoming of opposing lines was made known only by the noise of their passage through the underbrush; ‡ that there was no room for maneuvers, no possibility of a bayonet charge, no help from artillery, no help from cavalry, only close fighting face to face. With an

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* New York Herald, May 20, 1864.

† Dix to Stanton, May 20, 1864. Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 394.

‡ General Law, C. S. A. in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, p. 122.

occasional lull the battle raged until after dark. Grant intended to attack on the morrow, but Lee opened the battle soon after dawn, and another day of carnage followed. During fourteen hours, with a lull now and then, the fighting at close quarters, fighting by regiments, by brigades, continued until darkness ended the Battle of the Wilderness. There was no fighting on the seventh. On the night of that day Grant set off for Spotsylvania Court House; but Lee reached it first, blocked the Union advance and another battle was fought on the eighth. Little was done on the ninth. On the tenth the fighting was more desperate than ever before.

While Grant was fighting north of Richmond, Butler was moving toward it from the south. Carried on a fleet of old river steamboats, coasters, tugs, ferry boats, barges, schooners, sloops, canal boats, his army made its way up the James River to City Point and Bermuda Hundred, went a few miles inland, and built a line of entrenchments from the Appomattox to the James. In due time the army moved against the works at Drewry's Bluff, was met by the Confederates under Beauregard, and was forced back to the line of entrenchments on the neck. Beauregard followed, entrenched his army opposite this line, and Butler was harmless.

It was then the seventeenth of May. On the eighteenth a last effort was made to force the enemy's lines at Spotsylvania. Again the assault failed; the line could not be broken; more men were added to the tens of thousands killed or wounded since the army crossed the Rapidan, but nothing was accomplished.

Grant now started for the North Anna River. Lee hastened thither by a shorter route, and reached the south bank before the Army of the Potomac appeared on the north. Unable to accomplish anything Grant slipped away one night and moved southward, fighting as he went, until he came to Cold Harbor, two miles from Gaine's Mill, where almost two years before Porter made his gallant stand. Some fighting followed on the first of June, but it was not until half past four on the morning of the third that the whole

army moved against the Confederate trenches, five miles long, reached the works, fought desperately, and in less than two hours was repulsed with frightful losses. "I had seen the dreadful carnage in front of Marye's Hill at Fredericksburg, and on the 'old railroad cut' which Jackson's men held at the Second Manassas; but I had seen nothing to exceed this. It was not war; it was murder." *

During ten days the army remained within its lines, then crossed the Chickahominy and the James and started for the defenses of Petersburg. Lee was outgeneraled, lost touch with his enemy, and expecting an attack on Richmond from the south remained north of the James, while General Smith assaulted a part of the outer works around Petersburg and carried them. He might have gone into the town, for it was defended by but twenty-two hundred men.† But he did not and the opportunity was lost. That night Beauregard withdrew his troops from in front of Bermuda Hundred and sent them into Petersburg. Meade's army was then coming in fast, and on three days ‡ desperate assaults were made, but despite some gains the city was not taken. Had the army been what it was at the Rapidan the result might have been very different. § But the great loss of superior officers and the thinning of the veteran ranks || by the slaughter in the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania, at Cold Harbor; the poor quality of the raw recruits sent to take their places; days of continuous marching and fighting without victory had seriously affected the morale of the men and shaken their confidence in their commanders. ¶

Lee by this time had entered Petersburg and the Army of the Potomac settled down to a long siege.

In the course of the assaults the troops under Burnside gained a position close to the enemy's line and in front of a

* General E. M. Law, C. S. A. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, p. 141.

† Beauregard, Ibid., p. 541.

‡ June 16, 17, 18.

§ Life and Letters of General Meade, vol. i, p. 207.

|| Between the Rapidan and the James those killed, wounded, and missing, numbered 54,929. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, p. 182.

¶ Under the Old Flag, General J. H. Wilson, vol. i, p. 400.

strong work called Elliott's salient. This work Colonel Henry Pleasants, commanding a Pennsylvania regiment, composed almost entirely of miners from the Schuylkill region, proposed should be mined, blown up, and an opening made in the entrenchments. The plan was approved, and in four weeks' time all was ready for the explosion and the assault. To make the assault Burnside chose a division of negro troops; but Meade and Grant disapproved. Thereupon Burnside sent for the commanders of his three white divisions, bade them "pull straws," and in this way the division of General Ledlie was chosen. The mine was to be sprung at half past three on the morning of July thirtieth, but it was two hours later when "the earth along the enemy's lines opened" and cannon, sandbags and living men shot up into the air.* The order to advance was given. The General stayed behind, but the men went into the crater, climbed the opposite slope, attempted to reform within the enemy's line, were met by a fire in their rear, and driven back into the crater. More troops followed and passing around the crater captured colors and prisoners, but they too were driven into the crater where all were held by the fire of the enemy. Early in the afternoon the firing suddenly ceased, the enemy poured into the crater and a short hand to hand fight ensued, as the Union troops fled towards their own lines.† All was lost because of the "inefficiency" of the commander of the corps, and the "incompetency of the division commander who was sent to lead the assault." ‡

Half of the year was now gone; yet no victory of any importance had been won on land or sea, not one such as the people longed for, and had expected. After seven weeks of almost constant fighting Richmond had not been captured; Lee's army had not been destroyed. Could it be that he was invincible, his men unconquerable? Was the name of the victor at Fort Donelson, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, to be added to the long list of generals who had met Lee and failed?

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* In the Crater. Major C. H. Houghton, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, p. 561.

† About 87 officers and 1652 men were captured. Ibid., p. 558.

‡ Grant's Personal Memoirs, vol. ii, p. 315.

Disappointed and discouraged the people entered another period of gloom which the course of events intensified as the weeks went past. Every day brought bad news. That which now came from the Shenandoah Valley was alarming.

Grant's plan for a general advance of all the armies required Sigel to go up the Valley and capture Lynchburg. Early in May he started, met the enemy at the little town of New Market, was beaten, fled back to Cedar Creek, was there relieved by Hunter * and given command of the Reserve Division defending Harper's Ferry and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.†

Hunter advanced to Staunton, destroyed clothing, shoes, factories belonging to the Confederate Government, tore up the railroad, demolished warehouses and seized supplies. From Staunton he went on to Lexington, burned the Virginia Military Institute, burned the home of Governor Letcher, and would have burned Washington College had he not been dissuaded by his officers. Pushing on he burned a fine residence in Buchanan and came before the defenses of Lynchburg. Grant had expressed a wish that it might be occupied, if only for a single day. Hunter found this impossible, for all the night long after his arrival he heard the whistles of locomotives bringing train loads of reënforcements into the city. To Lee the possession of Lynchburg was of the utmost importance for, from it, ran a railroad to Petersburg, one of the great arteries which brought food to his army and to Richmond. On the very day, therefore, on which Grant began his march from Cold Harbor, Lee sent Early from Gaine's Mill with orders to drive back Hunter, go down the Shenandoah Valley, and make a demonstration against Washington.

The trains which Hunter heard on the night after he reached Lynchburg were those which brought the troops of Early. Short of rations, short of ammunition, convinced he could not take the city, Hunter retreated westward to Charleston on the Kanahwa River. Early followed for three

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvii, Part I, p. 492.

† Sigel's account, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, pp. 487-491. Imboden's account, pp. 480-485.

days,* then turned northward and came down the Shenandoah Valley to Winchester. Sigel, at Martinsburg, reported the fact to Halleck, who telegraphed Grant who answered, "Early's Corps is now here." † That he might be sure, Grant telegraphed to Meade asking, "Is it not certain Early has returned to your front?" ‡ The only information Meade could gather came from deserters who declared Early had returned from Lynchburg.§ July sixth he crossed the Potomac and while a part of his army went on to Maryland Heights, others destroyed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the aqueduct over Antietam Creek, the canal locks and boats, and a force of cavalry entered Hagerstown. Twenty thousand dollars and fifteen hundred suits of clothes were exacted as the price to be paid to save the town. The whole population of the country round about took to flight. All roads northward were choked with fugitives in wagons, carriages, carts, on horseback, muleback, on foot. Stores and valuables were hidden in the mountains, cattle were driven off, for wherever the Confederates went horses were eagerly sought, and so were shoes. At Middletown, fifteen hundred dollars in money, three thousand in goods, and many horses were taken. At Frederick, on the ninth, the Mayor was sent for and handed a written demand for two hundred thousand dollars. The city council was convened, and, supported by the citizens, begged for an abatement. If the demand were not at once complied with, they were told, the troops would help themselves. The banks then paid over the money, the council pledged itself to refund to the banks, and such government stores as were in the place were destroyed or carried away.

While this was going on in Frederick the rest of Early's army came upon a force under General Lew Wallace, posted on the eastern bank of the Monocacy River some three miles from the town. A sharp fight ensued, Wallace was beaten and retreated towards Baltimore, and Early moved on to-

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* Early, in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, pp. 491-498.
† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvii, Part II, p. 15, July 3, 1864.
‡ Ibid., July 3, 1864, p. 15.
§ Ibid., July 3, 1864, p. 16.

wards Washington and bivouacked four miles from Rockville.

While at Frederick, Early sent forward a force of cavalry under Bradley T. Johnson, to threaten Baltimore and cooperate with a force to be sent to release some seventeen thousand * Confederate prisoners at Point Lookout where the Potomac River enters Chesapeake Bay. Baltimore was thrown into a state of panic. The Governor and the Mayor in a joint appeal declared the city was in imminent danger and called on every loyal man to prepare to meet it. The invading army, they said, is approaching the city. Men, all that can be had, are wanted to man the fortifications. Come at once, come in your leagues, or in military companies, but come quickly.† News of the defeat at Monocacy having reached the city the alarm bell was rung at six o'clock in the morning. At nine the streets were full of men, marching with fife and drum to man the fortifications, and an order was issued to barricade the streets against an attack by cavalry. ‡ Every hour brought reports of devastation. The enemy were at Reistertown, sixteen miles northeast of the city. § They had cut the North Central Railroad at Cockeysville and were moving on towards Philadelphia. || They had burned the bridge over Gunpowder Creek. They had captured two trains at Magnolia halfway between Baltimore and Havre de Grace, robbed the passengers and burned the station. ¶ They had burned the home of Governor Bradford, some four miles out of the city, in retaliation for the destruction of the residence of Governor Letcher in Lexington.** While engaged in such work the vandals were recalled by Early who had found it necessary to retreat. The Governor of Pennsylvania, now in great alarm, appealed to the Mayor of Philadelphia and the people of Pennsylvania.

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* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xl, Part III, p. 143.

† July 9, 1864.

‡ July 19, 1864. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xl, Part III, p. 180.

§ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvii, Part II, p. 175.

|| July 10, 1864. Ibid., p. 175.

¶ Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 12, 1864.

** The burning of the house is described in the Baltimore American, July 11, 1864.

You are not, said he, responding freely. Enemies of your Government are dissuading you from the belief that any considerable number of the enemy is in your vicinity. Yesterday, Wallace with ten thousand men was forced back towards Baltimore. The wires between Harrisburg and Baltimore were cut this morning below Cockeysville. Your country requires your immediate service, and the safety of your soil and of your good neighbors in Maryland may depend on your promptness.*

The Governor of New York called for volunteers, and the Governor of New Jersey, though not requested to furnish troops believed the Capital to be in such danger that he summoned the men to form companies to serve for thirty days in Pennsylvania, Maryland and the District of Columbia, and Grant, in response to an appeal from Halleck sent troops to the relief of Washington.† Lincoln felt that Grant should come. ‡ But the General, "on reflection," believed "it would have a bad effect" and stayed at City Point. § Until help came, Washington was all but defenseless. All forts and earthworks around about it had been so stripped of troops to send to Grant that raw militia, invalids, convalescents from the hospitals, clerks from the Departments and some hundred-day men were all that remained to meet Early. ‖

From Rockville on the eleventh, Early took the pike which led to Seventh Street, and by noon was within the District in front of Fort Stevens. On the way thither the home of Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair at Silver Spring was burned. That of Mr. Frank P. Blair was saved by the intercession of his old friend General Breckinridge.

A bold assault would have brought Early into Washington; but the day was intensely hot, his men were exhausted by the heat and the rapid march and he put off action until the morning of the twelfth. When morning came he beheld

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* May 10, 1864.

† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvii, Part II, pp. 119, 120, 133, 134.

‡ Ibid., p. 155.

§ Ibid., p. 156.

‖ Ibid., vol. xxxvii, Part I, p. 247.

the parapet lined with troops. They were the men of the Sixth Corps, and some from the Nineteenth. They began coming in during the afternoon of the eleventh, and after dark relieved the provisional forces in Fort Stevens. The strength of the Fort and the character of the defenders made an assault hopeless. Nevertheless, Early remained all day in front of the works, drove back, after a sharp skirmish, a force sent out to ascertain his strength and position, and about dark began a retreat. Crossing the Potomac unmolested, he returned to the valley with all his plunder, and stopped at Strasburg. There he turned about, beat the little force pursuing him, drove it across the Potomac and sent McCausland's cavalry on a raid against Chambersburg.

On the morning of the thirtieth of July, an officer with five hundred cavalrymen entered the town. The Chief Burgess was away, but a number of citizens were seized and told that if they did not pay a hundred thousand dollars in gold, or five hundred thousand in greenbacks, he would burn the place.* To gather so great a sum was impossible; thereupon the officer drew from his pocket a written order from Early to burn the town "in retaliation for the depredations committed by Major-General Hunter" in his raid up the Valley.† The order was at once carried out. Fire was set to the Court House, the Town Hall and the bank, while a party of troopers, having broken into a drug store, made cotton balls, soaked them in turpentine, and going about the streets set fire to the balls and threw them into the shops and dwellings. Nearly two-thirds of Chambersburg was destroyed. Driven from their homes the women and children took refuge in the fields and woods, or were cared for in the barns and houses of farmers. To relieve this suffering, a carload of provisions was hurried from Philadephia, and another, dispatched by the women of Harrisburg, was stopped, as it came on, at every station and crossroad, by kindly people eager to contribute blankets, clothes and cooked food. Without giving any time to remove private property,

* Report of General Couch, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvii, Part I, p. 333.

† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvii, Part I, p. 334.

said the citizens in a public appeal for help, and scarcely enough for the removal of families, they fired the houses of our citizens in some fifty places. Over two hundred and fifty houses in the heart of town, including all the public buildings, or about two-thirds of the town of six thousand people were burned.*

Three hours after McCauseland left Chambersburg, Union cavalry reached the town and gave chase. At the little village of Hancock McCauseland demanded thirty thousand dollars and five thousand cooked rations. General Bradley T. Johnson, one of his officers, explained to him that there were but seven hundred people in Hancock, and then advised the people to collect all the money they could. While they were doing so, the Federal cavalry appeared in the distance and the Confederates went on to Cumberland.†

Word now came from Chambersburg that the people did not need food, but did need clothes and money as some eighteen hundred of the three thousand whose homes were burned had lost everything they possessed in the world. At a meeting in Harrisburg ten thousand dollars were raised for their relief. ‡ At a public meeting in the Philadelphia Board of Trade Rooms speeches were made by eye witnesses of the destruction of Chambersburg, money was given and a committee appointed to collect more. § The women of Philadelphia met, pledged themselves to do all they could for the relief of the sufferers; resolved that the spirit shown by the women of Chambersburg in preferring the destruction of all their worldly goods to the payment of a cent of tribute was worthy of the days of the Christian martyrs; asked the pastors of all churches to appeal for aid to their congregations; asked the merchants to give muslin, calico, flannel, delaines; opened a depot for receipt of goods and money, and appointed a committee to issue an appeal. || The legislature, after a visit to Chambersburg, voted one hundred thousand

* New York Herald, August 1, 1864.

† Report of General Johnson, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvii, Part I, p. 355.

‡ Philadelphia Public Ledger, August 3, 1864.

§ Ibid., August 4, 1864.

|| Ibid., August 8, 1864.

dollars for the relief of those who had no income and no resources outside the town.*

Aroused by the demonstration against Washington, the burning of Chambersburg and the ease with which raids were constantly made from the Shenandoah Valley, Grant visited Hunter at Monocacy Bridge, and ordered him to push up the valley. In doing so he was to see "that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return." He was to take all provisions, forage and stock needed for the use of his command, and destroy what could not be used.† Finding Hunter desirous to be relieved, Grant obtained an order from Lincoln uniting the Middle Department and the Departments of Washington, West Virginia and the Susquehanna in one, known as the Middle Military Division, and, put Sheridan in temporary command.‡ With a large force of infantry and cavalry, Sheridan set off from near Harpers Ferry, and, fighting as he went, made his way up the valley as far as Strasburg. Conditions in his rear, and the report that heavy reënforcements had come to Early, now forced him to retreat down the valley. As he did so his cavalry began the destruction of grain, hay, live stock, of everything which could be eaten by man or beast from Cedar Creek to Berryville. Driving before them every horse, cow, sheep, calf, hog in the country, it was said, and burning every bushel of wheat in stock, barn or mill, they have literally destroyed everything in the way of food in those counties.

With Early close on his heels, Sheridan fell back to Bolivar Heights. But he had kept Early constantly busy, had prevented him rejoining Lee at Petersburg or going south to aid Hood at Atlanta. Grant was satisfied, though the people were not, met him at Charlestown, listened to his plans, and bade him "Go in." Four days later at Winches-

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* From such information as could be obtained it then appeared that 265 houses were burned and 300 families or 3000 persons made homeless. More than 2000 were in absolute want. The insurance was $400,000. Real estate, exclusive of public buildings, burned, $710,000. Cost of public buildings, $100,000. Relief, contributed less than $100,000.

† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvi, p. 29, August 4, 1864.

‡ Ibid., vol. xliii, Part I, pp. 709, 719.

ter he won a decisive victory over Early, drove his troops in confusion from the field, and sent them in flight up the valley to Fisher's Hill some three miles south of Strasburg. Sheridan followed, beat him again, and a second time Early retreated up the valley, and made his way to Brown's Gap in the Blue Ridge.* Sheridan kept up the pursuit to the neighborhood of Port Republic, and sent cavalry to Staunton and to destroy the railroad to Waynesboro in Rock Fish Gap, and harry the countryside. "Do all the damage to railroads and crops you can," were Grant's orders. "Carry off stock of all descriptions, and negroes, so as to prevent further planting. If the war is to last another year we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste.† More cavalry went into Luray Valley, drove off six thousand head of cattle and five hundred horses, and burned hay, grain, flouring mills, distilleries, tanneries and barns. October sixth Sheridan withdrew his advanced posts and began his march northward to Cedar Creek. By that time "the whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain" he wrote, had been "made untenable for a rebel army." He had "destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat, hay and farming implements," and over seventy mills "filled with wheat and flour" and "not less than three thousand sheep" had been killed "and issued to the army." Rockingham County Court appointed a committee to fix the value of property destroyed in that county. Twenty-five million dollars was the estimate. Fifty thousand bushels of corn, one hundred thousand bushels of wheat, more than six thousand tons of hay, one furnace, three factories, thirty dwellings,

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, Part I, pp. 24, 26, 27.

† Grant to Sheridan, August 26, 1864, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, p. 917. Also New York Herald, October p, 1864, which stated that Grant also required his order to be so carried out that a crow flying across the valley would have to carry his rations with him. In a letter to Halleck written July 14, Grant said, referring to the pursuit of Early after his retreat from Washington: "If the enemy has left Maryland, as I suppose he has, he should have upon his heels veterans, militiamen, men on horseback, and everything that can be got to follow to eat out Virginia clear and clean as far as they go, so that crows flying over it for the balance of this season will have to carry their provender with them." Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxvii, Part II, pp. 300-301.

thirty-one mills, four hundred and fifty barns and a great quantity of household furniture and utensils, farming tools had been burned, and thousands of horses, cattle, sheep and hogs carried away.*

As Sheridan moved northward, Early followed and pitched his camp at Fisher's Hill. To stay there was impossible; food was not to be had in the valley. He must withdraw or fight. He chose to fight and at dawn on the morning of October nineteenth fell upon the left wing of Sheridan's army and crushed it. Taken wholly by surprise, aroused suddenly from sleep, men and officers after a slight resistance abandoned everything and fled half-dressed, and Crook's Army of West Virginia became a mass of fugitives in flight for a place of safety. Sweeping on, the enemy occupied Middletown. The Union line was then a mile and more north of the town and three miles from its camps of the morning. The battle had been lost. Driven from its camps and earthworks, the army had lost four and twenty guns, and fifteen hundred prisoners. A part had been put to rout and thousands were fleeing down the pike to Winchester. For disasters far less serious many an army had left the field. But at this crisis in the battle there occurred a dramatic incident which turned the current of affairs and brought victory from defeat.

Sheridan, a few days before, had gone to Washington and on his return spent the night of the eighteenth at Winchester. About six o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth a picket officer reported the sound of artillery firing in the direction of Cedar Creek. Sheridan gave it no heed, finished his breakfast and just before nine set out for headquarters. But he had not ridden far when, as he reached the crest of a rise, there burst on his view "the appalling spectacle of a panic-stricken army, hundreds slightly wounded, and throngs of others unhurt, but all demoralized." † They told him the army was cut to pieces, was in full retreat, that all was lost. Unable to go up the pike, he took to the fields ‡

* Richmond Enquirer, November 15, 1864.
† Sheridan's Personal Memoirs, vol. ii, pp. 75, 76.
‡ Ibid., p. 80.

with an escort of twenty men and galloped towards the front. At Newtown the streets were choked with fugitives. To make haste he was compelled to ride around the town. As he drew near Middletown he came on the rear of a division of the Sixth Corps and some cavalry behind a barricade of fence rails. "the only troops in the presence of and resisting the enemy." "Jumping my horse over the line of rails, I rode to the crest of an elevation, and there, taking off my hat, the men rose up from behind their barricade with cheers of recognition." When at last he had collected such fugitives as he could, and it was plain the enemy would soon attack, Major Forsyth "suggested that it would be well to ride along the line of battle before the enemy assailed us, for though the troops had learned of my return, but few of them had seen me. Following his suggestion I started in behind the men, but when a few paces had been taken I crossed to the front, hat in hand," * and passed along the entire line of infantry, greeted at every foot of the way with frantic cheering.

About one o'clock Early attacked, was beaten back, and thenceforth gave his attention to getting away with the captured guns and wagons. About four o'clock Sheridan attacked, and drove the enemy in rout from the field. Pursuit by the infantry stopped at Cedar Creek, but the cavalry kept on to the foot of Fisher's Hill.

Mortified by this new defeat he laid the blame upon his men who stopped to plunder the camps. He had hoped, he said in a long address; "To Soldiers of the Army of the Valley," to congratulate them on a splendid victory. On the morning of the nineteenth they had surprised and routed two corps of Sheridan's army, had driven the remaining corps several miles, captured eighteen guns, fifteen hundred prisoners, small arms, wagons, ambulances and the entire camps of the two routed corps. But, by their subsequent misconduct, all the benefits of victory were lost and a serious disaster produced. Had they remained steadfast to their colors the victory would have been one of the most brilliant

* Sheridan's Personal Memoirs, vol. ii.

and decisive of the war, and the reverses at Winchester and Fisher's Hill would have been retrieved.*

While Grant was fighting his battles around Richmond, the Provost-Marshal-General was beginning to receive returns of the draft begun in May. Of fourteen thousand seven hundred and forty-one men examined, more than thirteen thousand four hundred were made exempt because they were unfit, because they paid commutation, or because they found substitutes. Physical disability could not be prevented; but commutation could, and that five thousand and fifty able-bodied men should be allowed to go free because they paid three hundred dollars each so discouraged General Fry that he appealed to Stanton and urged that the practice be stopped.†

Congress was of much the same opinion as Fry, and sent Lincoln a new enrollment bill which he approved on the fourth of July. It empowered him to call for any number of volunteers to serve for one, two, or three years; abolished commutation; ordered that if a quota were not filled within fifty days after the call, a draft must be held to fill the quota with men to serve for one year, and must be repeated until the deficit was made up; that it should be for one hundred per cent more than the number required, and that agents might be sent into any State in rebellion, except Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, to recruit volunteers. For one-year men the bounty was one hundred dollars; for two-year men two hundred dollars; for three-year men, three hundred dollars, payable one-third when mustered, one-third at the end of half the term of service, and one-third when service was completed. ‡

Lincoln waited until Early had been driven back across the Potomac and then, under the Act of July fourth, called

* October 22, Richmond Examiner, October 26, 1864.

† Fry to Stanton, June 6, 1864. Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 241.

		Paid $300	5,050
Number examined	14,741	Substitutes	1,416
Exempt for cause	7,016	Held for Service	1,259
	7,725		7,725

‡ Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, pp. 474-475, July 4, 1864.

for five hundred thousand to serve for one, two, or three years,* fixed September fifth as the end of the fifty days' limit allowed by law, and ordered that as soon as possible thereafter a draft of men to serve one year be made in every town, township, city ward, precinct or election district which had not filled its quota with volunteers.

Now that exemption could not be purchased, every man drafted must go, or find a substitute who must be an alien, a veteran who had served two years, or a boy under twenty. Substitute brokers and their runners, seizing the opportunity, became more active than ever and filled the newspapers with tempting advertisements. The commutation clause, said one, having been stricken out, it is clearly to the interest of every man liable to military duty to procure an alien substitute at once and save dollars, cents and worry. The price of substitutes will soon reach twelve hundred dollars because of the great bounties that will be offered by cities, towns and States.† By a recent order, said another, patriotic gentlemen too old to fight may furnish substitutes, or, as they are officially termed, representative recruits. Ladies can secure exemption for friends or be themselves represented.‡ The Merchants and Bankers General Representative Volunteer Association found representative substitutes, and promised that orders from ladies would be given priority and promptly filled. § Two ladies offered twelve hundred dollars for two substitutes to represent them. || So many men of means had applied to Fry for permission to send a personal representative to the army that in June he granted it. Their patriotism was worthy of encouragement, and Provost-Marshals were ordered to afford every facility, and note the name of the person each recruit represented on the enlistment and descriptive roll that a certificate of personal representation might be sent by the Provost-Marshal-General. ¶

Advertisements for substitutes wanted by drafted men,

* Proclamation, July 18, 1864.
† New York Herald, July 22, 1864.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid., September 6, 1864.
|| Ibid., July 22, 1864.
¶ Order of June 26, 1864. Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 454.

and of aliens offering as substitutes, filled columns of the New York *Herald.*

Wanted, so reads a broker's advertisement, Irishmen, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Germans, Frenchmen, men of all nationalities, to enlist as volunteers. Who, reads another, wants a one year's substitute for eight hundred dollars? Forty-one were furnished by us on Monday, said another. Thirty-four more are wanted at the same price, nine hundred and fifty dollars each.* Those in New York City who sought substitutes were advised not to pay such prices, but go before the Supervisors' committee, enter their names in a book, and pay three hundred and thirty-five dollars each. The committee then stood pledged to find a substitute, or return the money. The thirty-five dollars was for the person bringing the substitute, who must be an alien, or a veteran of two years' service, or a lad under twenty years of age.†

"A drafted man gets no bounty, better volunteer before the draft," said a broker in his advertisement offering one-year men eight hundred and ninety-two dollars, of which seven hundred was bounty. Three-year men would receive in that time fourteen hundred and seventy-six dollars bounty and pay. Avoid brokers, said an officer recruiting for a New York regiment then in the fortifications before Washington. There is no reason why you should share your bounty with brokers and runners when you can enlist with an army officer and get every cent yourself. For one year's service a recruit would receive seven hundred dollars bounty and one hundred and ninety-two dollars pay, or seventeen dollars and fifteen cents a week "which is more than any man can earn at home." The Common Council of Jersey City voted to pay three hundred dollars for a substitute for each man drafted, or give the draftee four hundred if he joined the army; but in September it was forced to offer six hundred because other counties and townships in the State had raised their bounties far above that promised by the city. ‡

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* New York Herald, August 31, 1864.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid., September 3, 1864.

In Philadelphia, the Citizens' Volunteer Substitute Committee, made up of well-known men, received applications from citizens seeking substitutes or representative recruits, invited aliens and veterans to enlist as substitutes, offered six hundred and fifty dollars over and above the Government bounty, and charged no brokerage or commission.* Reduction in the Government bounty by the act of July forced up local bounties. Delaware gave her recruits two hundred dollars, her drafted men five hundred dollars with which to find a substitute, and forbade her citizens to enlist in a regiment of any other State. For those who did there was a fine of from twenty-five hundred to five thousand dollars and imprisonment of from two to five years. The Governor of Maryland asked that the draft in his State be postponed in four counties which had been raided.† The Mayor and Council of Hagerstown appealed to Fry. While other parts of the State, they said, had enjoyed peace, and had been able to fill their quotas, the people of Washington County, and Hagerstown in particular, had been constantly threatened and alarmed by the presence and imposing forces of the enemy. Five times between early July and mid-August they had invaded Washington County. Four times they had occupied Hagerstown. Business had been stopped, employments neglected, and eighty thousand dollars' worth of stock, grain, merchandise and food carried away. At the very time the call was made the town was in the hands of the enemy and not for many days did the citizens know that it had gone forth. Before preparations to meet it could be made, and after it was issued, the enemy came twice more. Not until August thirteenth was the town finally rid of them. They wished for an extension of sixty days.‡ Chambersburg thought that all her men should be exempt because of the suffering and poverty caused by the burning of the town.§

In Cincinnati the newspapers were full of advertisements. "Six hundred dollars cash paid for substitutes." "Six hun-

* Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 25, 1864.
† Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 685.
‡ Ibid., pp. 737-738; also 685-686.
§ Ibid., p. 642.

dred dollars for aliens and veterans." "Four hundred and fifty dollars for volunteers for gunboats"; the same to men to go to the Rocky Mountain Cavalry service, and twenty-five dollars to any person who would bring a recruit.* Six representative recruits were wanted, must be, "men of education and good habits only, to represent gentlemen of wealth and position in this city." † In time the price rose to seven hundred, a thousand, twelve hundred, fifteen hundred dollars for a substitute. ‡ Those who had no money offered land. One would give "a nice farm of eighty acres worth six hundred dollars" for a one-year substitute; another for two substitutes to serve three years, two hundred acres of farming land in Illinois which two years before sold for three thousand dollars; § another three hundred dollars in cash and eighty acres in a good neighborhood, two miles from a railroad, for a one-year substitute. The land was worth one thousand dollars. || Still another offered forty acres, part under cultivation, and three hundred dollars in cash, or forty-two acres, all under cultivation, a one and a half story four-room frame house and a stable. ¶

Alarmed by rumors of preparations to resist the draft, the Governor of Ohio addressed the people. Had it not been for exertions made to discourage enlistments the quota would have been filled and there would have been no draft. He was loath to believe that the people of Ohio would array themselves in factious opposition to the law of the land. But there were signs of such a spirit he could not disregard. Let those who would have insurrection look well to the civil and military penalties that awaited them, heavy fines, long imprisonment, or both. These were the penalties for conspiracy, a mere combination to do an unlawful act. Resistance to law by armed bodies of men was treason, and the penalty for treason was death. He was addressing the Sons of Liberty.

In Indiana, due to their secret work, opposition to the

* Cincinnati Commercial, August 13, 1864.
† Ibid., August 12, 1864.
‡ Ibid., August 20, 1864.
§ Ibid.
|| Ibid., October 20, 1864.
¶ Ibid.

draft was so general in the southern part of the State that the Governor appealed to the Secretary of War for military aid.* Excited by the activity of the Sons, and, by disturbances in several counties, the Governor of Illinois asked that the State be made a military district and an officer put in command.† In Wisconsin and Minnesota, as the date for the draft drew near, men of military age fled the States. A report from one Wisconsin town stated that nearly all males from eighteen to forty-five were leaving, going to make "visits." ‡ A report from Milwaukee made mention of the "stampede of miserable, cowardly Copperhead scoundrels," and of the thousands passing through from Minnesota bound to Canada.§ General Sanford at New York reported to Stanton that he had reliable information that if the draft were enforced in that city the office of every Provost-Marshal would be sacked. Stanton replied that "if those in command have not nerve, the Government will try to find some who have." || The Provost-Marshal of Albany wrote that a stampede to Canada was under way in the northern part of New York, that it threatened to be serious, and asked if the men could not be stopped at the border. ¶

Despite these forebodings volunteering was going on well the country over when Seward one night in September ** made a speech in Auburn. "We shall have no draft," said he, "because the army is being recruited at the rate of from five to ten thousand men a day by veterans." The moment Grant read the words he telegraphed Stanton not to postpone the draft to allow time to fill the ranks with recruits. The men he had been getting in that way nearly all deserted. Out of five reported North as having enlisted he did not get more than one.†† Stanton answered he did not intend to delay the draft a single day after credits were made up and

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* Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 585, August 5, 1864.
† Ibid., p. 581, August 6, 1864.
‡ Ibid., p. 683.
§ Ibid., p. 684.
|| Ibid., p. 686.
¶ Ibid., p. 580.
** September 3, 1864.
†† Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 707. September 10, 1864.

quotas assigned, and asked for a telegram for publication urging the immediate filling up of the army by draft. There was likely to be great difficulty in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois for candidates wished to hold their men until after election. Not a single regiment had come from Indiana. Not a regiment, not even a company had been organized in Illinois.* Grant replied that Seward's Auburn speech suggested his telegram; that the whole number of men called for by the President ought to be raised in the shortest possible time. A draft was soon over and ceased to hurt after it was made. The agony of suspense was worse than the measure itself. Prompt action in filling quotas would have more effect on the enemy than a victory over them. They professed to believe, and made their men believe, there was such a party in the North in favor of recognizing Southern independence that the draft could not be enforced. Let them be undeceived.† Stanton answered that Seward's words had cut down recruiting to fifteen hundred a day, ‡ and made public such parts of Grant's reply as he thought proper. § Sherman, assured that Seward had no authority to say what he did and that the draft would be enforced, || replied he was glad to hear it and gave his reasons. His telegram was also made public.

The President did not flinch. The draft was ordered, began in September, and was still under way in some of the States when November drew to a close. When at last it was over and the returns in, Lincoln once more sent forth a call for three hundred thousand volunteers, and fixed the date of the draft to fill deficiencies as February fifteenth, 1865.

As part of the grand movement in May, Sherman had been ordered to attack the army of Joseph E. Johnston, break it up, go into the interior of the enemy's country, as far as he could, and do all the damage he could to their war resources. May fourth, accordingly, his army, composed

* Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, pp. 709-710, September 11, 1864.
† Ibid., pp. 712-713, September 13, 1864.
‡ Ibid., p. 713.
§ New York Herald, September 15, 1864.
|| Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 713.

of the Army of the Cumberland under Thomas, of the Army of the Tennessee under McPherson, and the Army of the Ohio under Schofield, began its march towards Dalton a few miles from which lay the Confederate Army strongly entrenched. Then commenced a campaign in the course of which, fighting incessantly, the enemy was steadily forced southward to the outer defenses of Atlanta. Johnston would then have given battle; but because he had "failed to arrest the advance of the enemy to the vicinity of Atlanta," and because he expressed "no confidence" that he could "defeat or repel him," he was directed to immediately turn over command of the army to General John B. Hood.* The new commander fared no better than the old, and as the result of several sharp battles around the city found himself forced to abandon his works on the night of the first of September. Ere he went surplus provisions in the storehouses were distributed to the people, rolling stock was gathered, loaded with ammunition that could not be carried away and with the depot, storehouses, and all that could be useful to the enemy, were set on fire about midnight. The explosions which followed were heard in the camp of Sherman and in that of Slocum at Chattahoochee bridge, from which early in the morning a force went out to reconnoiter. As it drew near to the city it was met by the Mayor and some citizens and a formal surrender made.

Once in his possession Sherman ordered every family, the male representative of which had entered the service of the Confederacy, or gone south, and every Northerner not connected with the army, to leave Atlanta within five days, unless leave to remain was granted by General Thomas or himself.† The town should be held for military purposes alone. That the removal might be made in an orderly way he proposed that a truce of ten days be declared. ‡ Hood agreed, but denounced the removal. "Permit me to say," he

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* General Joseph E. Johnston, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, p. 274.

† General Order No. 3, September 5, 1864. New York Herald, September 16.

‡ Sherman to Hood, September 8, 1864.

wrote, "that the unprecedented measure you propose transcends, in studied and ingenious cruelty, all acts ever before brought to my attention in the dark history of war. In the name of God and humanity I protest, believing that you will find that you are expelling from their homes and firesides the wives and children of a brave people." *

Sherman answered that it was not unprecedented, that Johnston all the way down from Dalton had very wisely and very properly removed families; that Hood himself had burned dwellings along his parapet; that fifty houses had been made uninhabitable because they stood in the way of his forts and his men; and that Hardee did the same thing at Jonesboro.† The Mayor and two aldermen, all that was left of the city government, protested. Some, they said, were tending the sick, some had no houses to go to, no means to buy or build or rent. Some had no parents, relatives or friends to shelter them. As the army advanced the people in northern Georgia fell back, and before it arrived a large part of the population of Atlanta went south. The country to the south was already so crowded, and so wanting in houses in which to lodge them, that the refugees were sleeping in churches and buildings of various kinds.‡ The place of the truce was within a circle drawn around Rough and Ready with a radius of two miles. The time was from daylight on September twelfth to daylight September twenty-second, and within that time all who were going south were carried to Rough and Ready. Those going north were taken to Chattanooga.§

On the same day on which Sherman's report of the fall

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* Hood to Sherman, September 9, 1864; New York Herald, September 17, 1864.

† Sherman to Hood, September 10, 1864; ibid., September 22, 1864; Hood's long reply to Sherman, September 12, 1864, is in the Herald, September 26.

‡ Mayor Cahoun to Sherman, September 9, 1864; New York Herald, September 17, 1864.

§ Sherman, in a letter to the Louisville Agent of the Associated Press, says that 446 families, making 705 adults, 860 children and servants with 1651 pounds of furniture and household goods for each family, were carried to Rough and Ready. Ibid., September 26, 1864.

of Atlanta reached Washington, came the news that Farragut had forced an entrance into Mobile Bay, won a great naval victory, captured the ram *Tennessee,* justly considered the most powerful vessel of war afloat on any waters, and that Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan which guarded the entrance, had surrendered. Such victories would at any time have called forth popular rejoicings; but in that dark hour of the presidential campaign they were doubly gratifying and brought from Lincoln an order that on certain days a salute of a hundred guns should be fired at every arsenal and navy yard in the United States because of "the recent brilliant achievements of the fleet and land forces of the United States in the harbor of Mobile, and the reduction of Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan," and because of the "brilliant achievements of the army under command of Major General Sherman in the State of Georgia and the capture of Atlanta." Coupled with the order was a request that on a certain Sunday, in all places of public worship, "thanksgiving be offered to Him for His mercy in preserving our national existence against the insurgent rebels." *

* Richardson. Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, pp. 238-239.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONDITIONS IN THE SOUTH.

The fourth year of the war found the South suffering more than ever before from the evils of a worthless currency, high prices, and scarcity of food and men for the army. Treasury Notes had nearly lost their purchasing power. In many places barter was becoming the only means of exchanging commodities. A manufacturing company needing a large quantity of lard from which to press oil, offered a yard of sheeting or a yard of osnaburgs for a pound of lard. But it would also exchange for food, giving a yard of sheeting or osnaburgs for a pound of bacon, a yard and a half for a bushel of corn or peas, and thirty yards for a barrel of flour.* A month later it was offering forty yards for a barrel of flour, three yards of osnaburgs for a gallon of syrup, and two and a quarter of sheeting for a bushel of corn or peas.† The Georgia Relief and Hospital Association of Augusta announced, that by the liberality of the Augusta Factory Company it was enabled to offer fifteen yards of light sheeting for one blanket, or two comforts for three blankets, and reminded the people that here was a good chance to supply blankets to the soldiers without stripping the family of bed clothes.‡ A salt maker offered one bushel of salt, or a gallon of sorghum, or five yards of sheeting or seven and a half pounds of nails for five pounds of lard or bacon sides; two bushels of salt for a pair of shoes; four of salt for five of peas or corn, and ten for a barrel of flour. §

Remedies of many sorts were suggested as sure cures for the currency troubles. Shall the monster evil, it was asked,

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* Charleston Courier, January 23, 1864, Graniteville Manufacturing Co.

† Ibid., February 27, 1864.

‡ Savannah Republican, January 27, 1864.

§ Charleston Courier, May 14, 1864.

be stopped, in its march to national ruin, with a strong hand and at a single blow, or shall the more dilatory, more uncertain and revolutionary method of taxation, so heavy as to be impossible of collection, be used? Act directly on the currency and fund it under penalty of confiscation. Call in every dollar by April first and issue a new, less in amount and therefore of greater value. Draw back five hundred millions by a ten per cent *ad valorem* tax on property, real, personal and mixed. To this it was objected that money was not held in the same ratio as property; it was chiefly in the hands of jew traders, extortioners, speculators who owned no property. Use cotton and tobacco, was another suggestion. They were near enough in value to specie for all purposes of the government, and could be exchanged or bartered for supplies because they possessed qualities of convertibility not possessed by the currency. Advertise for proposals for fifty millions of army rations to be paid for in cotton and tobacco and test the scheme.

Doubt as to what Congress would do, if indeed it did anything, was soon put at rest by the passage of a bill to reduce the currency. Each and every holder of Treasury Notes bearing no interest, and of a face value greater than five dollars, was given until April first, if he lived east of the Mississippi River, and until July first, if he lived west of that river, to fund them in twenty-year four per cent bonds. From all such notes not funded, or used in payment of government taxes or dues, before April or July was to be deducted thirty-three and a third per cent, and thereafter, every postmaster, every tax collector, every government officer when tendered any of them in payment of postage, taxes, or dues must receive it at two-thirds of the value expressed on its face. At the same rate they were fundable until January first, 1865.

After April first the Secretary of the Treasury could issue no more of the old notes, but might issue new, payable two years after the ratification of a treaty of peace, and not exceeding five hundred million dollars in amount. They were to be exchanged at the rate of two dollars in the new currency for three in the old.

Notes under five dollars were fundable at their face value until July first east of the Mississippi River and until October first west of that river when they, too, became subject to the tax of thirty-three and a third cents on each dollar of face value. Treasury Notes of one hundred dollars face value, bearing no interest and not funded before April first and July first, then ceased to be receivable for public dues, and, besides the tax of thirty-three and a third cents on the dollar, became subject to an additional tax of ten per cent a month until funded. October first all outstanding became worthless.*

The passage of the bill was instantly followed by no little confusion while shopkeepers, traders, commercial men, financial institutions, were striving to adjust their business to the new conditions under which, in a few weeks, it must be transacted. When the news reached Macon, tradesmen were at their wits' end to know what to do, for the partial repudiation of the old currency was a great surprise. Some, for the time being, closed their shops and refused to sell. Others increased their prices by a third.† Banks in Savannah gave notice to all having deposits, balances, collections, certificates of deposit to come and settle before March twenty-first, or their respective claims would be funded in four per cent bonds. Until that date Treasury Notes would be received; after that day only notes of five dollars and under. ‡ If you have surplus funds on deposit in banks, or anywhere, said the Charleston *Courier,* go to the office of the Treasury and exchange them for bonds receivable for taxes or dues during the year. Estimate the amount of currency needed to pay your daily family expenses, retain this sum in bills and exchange them for the new currency on the basis of three dollars of the old for two of the new. §

Five-dollar notes, it was intended, should pass at face value until the first of July, and thereafter at three dollars and thirty-four cents each. But, by the close of April, they

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, pp. 159-161. Act of February 17, 1864.

† Macon Telegraph, February 18, 1864.

‡ Savannah Republican, February 28, 1864.

§ Charleston Courier, February 27, 1864.

were passing from hand to hand in Richmond at a discount of fifteen per cent. A meeting called by the Mayor of Savannah resolved that five-dollar bills were worth three and a quarter "each and no more." * A meeting in Atlanta refused to express any opinion as to the right of individuals to refuse to take them at par, and left the question to be settled by the citizens themselves.† The Common Council of Columbia instructed its clerk not to receive them for taxes or dues except at a discount of thirty-three and a third cents on each dollar, and required the Mayor to exchange all old notes in the Treasury for notes of the new issue as soon as possible. ‡ Charleston tradesmen, if they took five-dollar bills at all, did so at three dollars and thirty-three and a third cents each.§ As the first of July drew near Richmond banks gave notice that after June tenth five-dollar notes of the old issue would no longer be received on deposit, and that depositors must withdraw their money before June twenty-fifth or it would be converted into new money and placed to their credit. || Dealers in Mobile rated five-dollar bills at three dollars and a half each, or raised their prices and took them at par.¶

Failure of the Treasury to furnish notes of the new currency and redeem those of the old promptly, aroused distrust among the people. By midsummer few would take the old if they could possibly avoid it. Distrust spread to even the new notes and because of it, the reduction in the volume of the currency did not bring the expected fall in prices.

Extortion practiced in Richmond, it was said, is frightful. To show how great was the extortion practiced by the bakers the editor of a Richmond journal bought a loaf of bread for one dollar. It weighed eight ounces. Allowing for the weight of water, salt and other materials used in making bread, he found that a barrel of flour costing three hundred and fifty dollars would produce five hundred and twenty-

* Charleston Courier, May 20, 1864.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.
|| Richmond Enquirer, June 10, 1864.
¶ Charleston Courier, May 13, 1864.

three loaves. The barrel would sell for four dollars. The baker's profit therefore, was one hundred and seventy-seven dollars, or, deducting cost of labor, salt, heat, at least one hundred and fifty dollars on each barrel of flour. Councils should pass an assize ordinance.* Sources of supply, it was complained, are contracted to the narrowest limit. Wants of the army take priority over the needs of the citizen, and defense against extortion lies prostrate.† Farmers, fearing impressment, no longer bring their carts into the city. If they did they would find it hard to get out, for they must have passports and may be stopped at every street corner.‡ Old flour sold for three hundred dollars a barrel; new for four hundred at retail, and brought three hundred and fifty-six at auction wholesale. The Young Men's Christian Association appealed to the people of the Confederacy for help. So scant was the supply of food, so hard was it to get more, that the fund for the poor could do little. Three thousand families were seeking employment by the Government in the Clothing Bureau, and seeking in vain. Even the few who got it were not fully employed and their pay was so low that it did not afford them a living. A newspaper suggested that women, German and others, whose husbands had gone over to the Yankees, and who lived on charity, be sent into the Union lines. This was harsh, but necessary, for there was not food enough "to supply our own people." §

It was the same everywhere. For months past, Governors, Generals, Commissaries, had been complaining of the difficulty of procuring food and supplies and appealing for a remedy. In Longstreet's corps were three thousand barefooted men. Johnston's men were without blankets and clothing. Lee's army needed blankets and socks. Bacon was nearly gone. Old cattle were gone, young cattle were slaughtered, and the day seemed near when milch cows must be killed in order to get meat and leather. ‖ The Governor of Virginia urged a State maximum. Many people had, he

* Richmond Enquirer, November 4, 1864.
† Ibid., June 30, 1864.
‡ Ibid., June 8, 1864.
§ Richmond Whig, June 8, 1864.
‖ Ibid., January 1, 1864.

said, accepted the prices fixed by the Schedule of the Commissioners. Others refused because of the high prices offered by speculators, and resorted to hoarding, hiding, to any shift, to avoid contributing to the support of the army. A State maximum based on that of the Confederate States would stop this. He knew that the proposal had already been opposed. But what was the condition of affairs? Cut off from the world by the enemy as completely as if on an island in mid-ocean, and no products from abroad suffered to come in competition with those of the South, there could be no market price for commodities in the sense of the economist. The currency was blamed for high prices. This was wrong because when the supply of necessities was short, not the currency but the conscience of the seller fixed the prices. The maximum was not unknown. Rates of fare across toll bridges and ferries were prescribed by law. The rate of interest on money was prescribed by law. Difficult to enforce? So was the commercial law.* The Secretary of War was reminded that unless planting was carried on, the armies of the Confederacy could not be fed, and that without iron, planting could not be carried on; that the iron makers of Alabama had contracts with the Government for every pound of iron they could smelt; that planters could get none with which to repair their implements, and was asked that the iron-masters be allowed to sell some.† The president of the Mississippi Railroad complained to General Polk that the road was destitute of tools for making repairs. Axes, shovels, files must be had. They could not be obtained within the Confederacy, but could within the Union lines for cotton, or for Federal money at ten dollars in Confederate notes for one in United States currency. Polk sent the letter to the Secretary of War with the remark that he could see no reason why cotton should not be used to buy from the North supplies not to be had elsewhere.‡

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*Richmond Enquirer, January 2, 1864.

† Governor of Alabama, January 6, 1864, Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 3.

‡ January 6, 1864, Ibid., p. 9.

The Commissary at Richmond reported that the entire stock of breadstuffs in the city was gone, that he was unable to supply requisitions from Lee's army, that the reserve of flour and hard bread had been consumed, and that the receipts of corn for a week past was totally inadequate for the daily need of the army.* Before the month ended rations were cut. This reduction, Lee told his men, was caused by circumstances beyond the control of those charged with the duty of supplying food. He hoped it would be but temporary. "Continue," he said, "to tread with no unequal steps the road by which your fathers marched through privation and blood to independence."†

Johnson, finding his army without meat, ordered whiskey to be issued instead. To get the liquor his Commissary contracted to furnish grain to distillers and wrote the Governor asking if any steps were necessary to enable them to carry out the contracts. Brown answered that the laws of Georgia did not allow the use of grain in that way. With the country so hard put for bread he should grant no licenses, but prosecute any man who ran a still without one. The Commissary explained that the corn belonged to the Confederate Government, had been collected under the tax-in-kind law, and asked if the Governor intended to prevent the distillation of grain owned by the Confederate States. Ownership, the Governor replied, had nothing to do with the matter. The demand for bread, in the army and at home, was far greater than the demand for whiskey, and there was not corn enough for both bread and whiskey.‡

Judges of Probate and Commissioners of several counties in Florida could not get corn enough to supply the families of soldiers. The Governor, hearing that large amounts gathered as tithes at many depots could not be moved before they would be damaged by the weather, asked for an order on the officers for ten thousand bushels of corn to be paid for according to the schedule price. In southern Georgia

* Commissary of Substance to Commissary General, January 3, 1864. Official Records, Series 1, vol. li, p. 808.

† January 22, 1864. New York Herald, February 2, 1864.

‡ Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, pp. 117-118, January 18 to February 6, 1864.

was a great quantity awaiting transportation. Let the Government, by impressment, take passenger trains for a few weeks, remove the seats, and send the corn to the army.* Impressment of milch cows in West Florida caused such discontent that troops from that part of the State were deserting. The Governor would have every impressment agent not in service conscripted and sent to the front, and asked for an order forbidding officers of the Confederate Government to seize cows, calves or any stock not fit for food.†

The Confederate Congress now authorized the President, when public necessity required, to order the impressment of meat for the army from any supply in any part of the country. Notice must be given the owner of the quantity to be taken, of the price offered, and of the necessity. After notice the owner must hold the cattle impressed subject to claim at any moment. The stock of no one person must be reduced to less than one half the quantity usually allowed for his family and dependents for a year. ‡ The Adjutant-General promptly declared that necessity, as provided in the law, existed, and authorized Commanders of Departments to impress. §

The Commissary-General complained that at times the Commissariat of Virginia did not have a day's rations on hand and put the blame on the railroads. Supplies were plentiful in many parts of the Confederacy. Depots along some railroads in the South were full of stores awaiting shipment. There was no shortage in rolling stock to cause this delay. The trouble was that the railroads were not worked to the full capacity, for passenger trains still ran. This should be stopped and all the cars and locomotives used to transport food. || General Bragg believed want of "harmonious action between the roads" was the real cause of delay.

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* Governor of Florida to Secretary of War, January 11, 1864. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 15.

† Governor of Florida to Secretary of War, January 26, 1864. Ibid., pp. 46-47.

‡ Act, February 17, 1864. Ibid., p. 249.

§ March 24, 1864. Ibid., pp. 249, 250.

|| Commissary-General to Secretary of War, April 7, 1864. Ibid., p. 851.

None would allow its cars to leave its own tracks. Breaking bulk at so many places caused serious detention. There should be military supervision to secure the passage of freight cars over connecting roads without breaking bulk. Travel should be limited to one mail train daily.*

Supplies for the army might have been had from abroad. But foreign trade was in the hands of blockade runners and speculators far more concerned in the profits reaped by importing luxuries, and articles needed by the people, than in selling clothing, shoes, medicines, to the Government. At an auction sale of blockade goods at Wilmington, alpaca brought nine dollars; delaines, seven dollars; Welsh flannel, eight; woolen cloth, thirty; blue broadcloth, sixty-five; black broadcloth, eighty-five; and prints, six dollars a yard.† In Richmond, at an auction sale, English pins sold for twenty-three and a half dollars a pack; needles for nineteen dollars a thousand; spool cotton for forty-two dollars a dozen; ladies' kid gloves for thirty-three a pair; linen shirt collars for forty-seven and a half a dozen; handkerchiefs for twenty-five each; alpaca umbrellas for thirty-five, and hoop skirts for fifty-five each. ‡ At Savannah, quinine, brought in by a blockade runner, sold for one hundred and ten dollars an ounce; opium gum for three hundred an ounce; common knives and forks for thirty-six a dozen; Rogers' knives and forks, seventy-two dollars a half dozen; scissors, seven dollars each; pocket knives, two hundred and twenty dollars a dozen, and ladies' gaiters, sixty dollars a pair. §

During 1863, attempts were made by the Confederate Government to trade on its own account, and contracts were made with private runners under which one-third their tonnage when bound outward was reserved for Government cotton, and one-third when inward bound for army supplies. But rates rose so rapidly that the scheme was soon too costly. In one, an extreme case, two million dollars in Confederate money was asked for a three-hundred ton steamer to carry

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 852.
† New York Tribune, January 6, 1864.
‡ Richmond Enquirer, March 11, 1864.
§ Savannah Republican, April 27, 1864.

supplies from a West India island to a Southern port. And well it might be asked, for great were the profits of a successful run. The blockade runner *Herald* made eighteen trips, carried out some twelve thousand bales of cotton which, at fifty pounds sterling a bale, amounted to six hundred thousand pounds sterling.* With Confederate money at twenty dollars in paper for one in gold, this return would have been sixty million dollars. The *Robert E. Lee,* a small vessel, in twenty-one trips carried out cotton worth two million dollars in gold.† Before capture the *Banshee* made eight trips and paid her shareholders seven hundred per cent.‡ The receipts of one voyage of *Banshee No. 2* were eighty-five thousand pounds sterling.§

The folly of the Government refraining from engaging in this profitable trade, the folly of holding aloof while aliens filled their pockets by the sale of cotton, every bale of which was needed to establish credit at home and abroad, was again and again brought to the attention of the administration. Bulloch reported to the Secreatry of the Navy that between January first and October first, 1863, a hundred thousand bales of cotton had reached Liverpool, reminded him that the sale of cotton was the surest way of raising money abroad and begged him to resort to blockade running.‖ The agent at Paris, in charge of the Erlanger loan, wrote the Secretary of the Treasury, that at the modest estimate of forty pounds sterling a bale, the hundred thousand bales brought to Liverpool must have sold for four million pounds sterling, a sum nearly twice what the loan would yield if all the bonds were sold. Let the Government buy all the cotton in the South, take over the export and import trade, and get the profits which then went to speculators and extortioners. ¶

Congress at last acted, and in February, 1864, placed on

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* Bermuda Advocate, New York Herald, February 19, 1864. Richmond Enquirer, April 2, 1864.

† Wilkinson, Narrative of a Blockade Runner, pp. 100, 175.

‡ Taylor, Running the Blockade, p. 85.

§ Ibid., p. 144.

‖ Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe, vol. ii, p. 224.

¶ C. J. McRae, October 7, 1863, Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, p. 982.

the statute books two acts intended to regulate this trade. One forbade the import of luxuries after the first day of March.* All imported articles must be necessary and in common use. By the other, passed that same February day, an act to impose regulations on foreign commerce, no cotton, tobacco, naval stores, sugar, molasses, rice, could thereafter leave a Confederate port save under such uniform regulations as should be made by the President of the Confederate States.†

When made, the regulations required that vessels owned by private persons should be considered, on every voyage outward and inward, as chartered by the Government to the extent of one half their tonnage, and that private owners of cargoes exported from Southern ports must bring back supplies to the value of one half the proceeds of the cargo exported. The several States were at liberty to charter the other half of each vessel and were free to send out and bring back in that half any cargo they pleased. ‡

Great opposition arose at once. During several weeks many private owners declared they could not do business and kept their vessels idle. Hearing that the regulations were to be enforced as vigorously against vessels owned wholly, or in part, by North Carolina as against private vessels, Vance protested. The right of a State to export its own produce and import articles needed for the welfare of her soldiers could not be disputed, he wrote Davis. §

The President answered that the regulations did not affect the right of a State to export; but no exemption would be granted to vessels owned in part by a State nor to persons shipping goods in such vessels. ‖ Vance then appealed to the Governor of Florida. The Confederate Government, he said, would not allow the States to export their produce in their own ships unless they gave it the use of one half the tonnage. Would he join with the Governors of other States

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* Act of February 6, 1864. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 78.
† Ibid., p. 80.
‡ Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, pp. 187, 554.
§ Ibid., Series 1, vol. li, Part II, p. 837, March 17, 1864.
‖ Ibid., p. 841. March 26, 1864.

in asking Congress to repeal the restriction?* The Governor of Florida declined to do so. It was not proper for the Governor of a State, or for the Governors of States, to ask Congress to legislate on any matter. A joint resolution by the legislature of the aggrieved State, instructing its representatives, was more consistent with State Sovereignty.†

The Governors of North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, were troubled with no such notions, and willingly joined in a memorial to Congress. The States, they said, had need of many articles which could be obtained nowhere save abroad. Their legislatures had made appropriations for the export of cotton and the import of clothing, shoes, blankets, for the comfort of their troops in the Confederate service. These exports and imports were to be made at the risk and expense of the States in vessels which they owned or chartered. Now they were stopped by an order forbidding Customhouse officers to clear vessels owned or chartered by the States unless one half the tonnage was reserved for the Government on terms that would cause great loss. To this they could not consent. They believed their States were exempt from all restrictions thrown around private owners, and appealed to Congress to remove them. Congress had no right to lay such restrictions on the States, nor force them to submit to such terms. Power to regulate commerce did not give power to destroy the commerce of the States nor detain State vessels until they gave up half their tonnage. ‡ The prayer was heard, Congress amended the act of February sixth, and State vessels were exempted from the regulations.

Davis vetoed the bill. Before the passage of the act of February sixth, he said, the Government had no means of shipping its cotton and tobacco abroad for the purchase of supplies necessary for the efficiency of the army and the conduct of the war save by two or three vessels owned by the Departments, or by those chartered from private owners. But the prices charged were too great to be borne, while

* April 13, 1864.
† April 14, 1864.
‡ New York Herald, July 18, 1864.

the profits of the private owners enabled them to pay extravagant wages and secure the best of pilots, engineers and officers for the service. Most of those engaged in the trade were foreigners who, aided by the fortifications and defenses built and maintained at the expense of the Confederacy, made fortunes while they depreciated the currency, and exhausted the country of products which were its most valuable resource for obtaining needed supplies. Complaints were rife that the commerce of the country was almost entirely in the hands of aliens; that cotton, tobacco, naval stores, were drained from the States, and cargoes of liquors, wines, articles of luxury received in return; that imported goods, held in limited quantities and by a few, sold at prices so high that blockade runners after buying fresh cargoes of cotton still had in hand large sums of Confederate currency which they invested in gold and foreign exchange; and that the whole tendency of the trade was to demoralize the people, depreciate the currency, impoverish the country and weaken its defense. Congress believed these complaints well founded and in that belief he fully concurred.*

Despite the restrictions blockade running flourished as never before. The harbors of Bermuda and Nassau continued to be crowded, and new companies were formed in England. The prospectus of one set forth that "The Atlantic Trading Company, Limited," was to have a capital of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, was to build five first-class paddlewheel steamers of light draft, great speed, and tonnage for eight hundred bales of cotton each, and was to use them in trade with the Confederate States of America and share in the great profits of blockade running. Arrangements were being made with the Confederate Agent to carry in merchandise and bring out cotton in exchange for supplies. The first would sail in April, the second and third in May, the fourth in June, the fifth in July. Allowing two successful trips to each vessel they would bring out eight thousand bales, each weighing four hundred and fifty pounds, which, sold at Liverpool at two shillings net per

* Veto message, June 10, 1864. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, pp. 554, 555.

pound would yield three hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. The profits would be one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.* The estimate of two voyages for each vessel was moderate. Many a blockade runner made more than ten before she was wrecked or captured.† One company paid a dividend of eight hundred dollars. another a thousand, a third fifteen hundred a share.

In this trade the Confederate Government now engaged in earnest. Cotton was shipped, and before the first of December the Secretary of the Treasury reported more than ten thousand five hundred bales of cotton had reached foreign ports in safety. In March, Frazer, Trenholm and Company were asked to build four or six blockade runners, swift, light of draft and of great carrying capacity, to be paid for by the proceeds of cotton taken out on the first and second voyages. ‡ In September, Bulloch reported that four paddlewheel steamers, the *Owl,* the *Bat,* the *Stag,* the *Deer,* each with a carrying capacity for eight hundred bales, had been purchased on the stocks, and that ten more were building. § Of this little fleet of fourteen, six were finished in time to be of service. Six were not completed and two were on their way to Southern ports when Lee surrendered, when the President and the Secretaries fled from Richmond and the Government went to pieces.

While thus doing the best it knew how to restore the currency and provide food and supplies for the army, the Confederate Congress did not fail to seek ways and means to increase the number of fighting men. It abolished substitution; || it deprived those who had already sent substitutes of the exemption thereby gained and made them liable to military service; it cut down the list of causes of exemption, and

* Prospectus, The Atlantic Trading Co., Ltd., London Daily News, April 7, 1864. Charleston Courier, May 18, 1864.

† Antonica, 28 trips; Alice, 18; Fannie, 18; Margaret and Jessie, 18; Banshee, 16; Beauregard, 16; Hansa, 14; Pet, 14; Flora, 13; Syren, 11; Kate, 15. The Index, quoted by Richmond Enquirer, June 15, 1864.

‡ Mallory to Bulloch, March 21, 1864, Official Records Navy, Series 2, vol. ii, p. 615.

§ Bulloch to Mallory, September 15, 1864. Ibid., p. 721.

|| Act of December 28, 1863.

made subject to enrollment almost the entire male population "from the cradle to the grave." * All white men from seventeen to fifty were declared to be in the army for the rest of the war. Lads from seventeen to eighteen and old men from forty-five to fifty must enroll within thirty days and form reserves which were not to be required to fight outside the boundaries of their States. Men from eighteen to forty-five, then at the front, were to be held until the war ended.† Free male negroes, excluding those made free under the treaty with France in 1803, and under that with Spain in 1819, were to be liable to service in hospitals, on fortifications, or in the production of materials of war. Male slaves, not more than twenty thousand in number, might be used for the same duties. It might well be that slaves could not be had. In that event the Secretary of War might impress. But the only slave of an owner must not be taken, nor more than one in five. ‡ The President might detail such persons as he thought necessary to insure production of food for the army and the families of soldiers, and one man for each mile of railroad actually in use for military purposes, but none fit for service in the army were to be so employed. Duties of provost and hospital guards; of clerks, agents, employees; of laborers in the Commissary and Quartermaster's Departments, Ordnance Department; of clerks and employees of Navy Agents, and of those engaged in the execution of the enrollment act, must be performed by persons from eighteen to forty-five unfit for service in the army. Nobody was to be exempt unless included in one of the classes mentioned in the law. §

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* Act of January 5, 1864. Official Records, Series 4, vol. ii, pp. 996, 1041.

† Act of February 17, 1864. Ibid., vol. iii, pp. 178-181.

‡ Act of February 17, 1864. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 208.

§ Act of February 17, 1864. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, pp. 178-181. Those unfit: Vice-President, members of Congress and of State Legislatures and such Confederate and State officers as the President and the Governors certified were necessary for administration of government; ministers; superintendents and physicians of deaf, dumb, blind and insane asylums; one editor for each newspaper and such employees as he declared on oath were necessary; one apothecary

Another act, passed because of the urgent request of Davis, suspended the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*. This was necessary, he believed, in order to cure certain evils which arose from the actions of the courts. There could be no longer any doubt, he said in his special message, that the zeal with which the people sprang to arms had been lessened by the magnitude and long continuance of the struggle. While brigade after brigade were proving their patriotism by reënlisting, discontent, disaffection, disloyalty were rife among those who enjoyed quiet in safety at home. Public meetings had been held and treasonable designs openly avowed. Conventions had been advocated for the pretended object of redressing grievances, but with the real design of accomplishing treason under the guise of law. There was strong suspicion that secret societies and associations were forming for evil purposes. In districts overrun by the enemy disloyal persons were furnishing valuable information to the injury and frustration of military movements. Arrested again and again these persons were discharged by the civil authorities because the Government could not procure testimony from within the enemy's lines. Twice the Government had received secret information of plots to release the prisoners in Richmond. But, on suspicion only, it was idle to arrest the guilty and see them discharged because the testimony was not competent. He understood that the constitutionality of the law putting in military service those who had furnished substitutes was to be tested in the courts. Let one judge in any State hold it unconstitutional, and that State would furnish no troops from that class. Every application would be made to that judge and he would discharge every petitioner. In every case the enrollment of such persons would be followed by a writ of *habeas corpus*. It would then become impossible to hold the man in service, for when the hope of a speedy reënforcement of the armies was thus

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for each shop existing October 1, 1862; physicians thirty years old and in practice seven years; professors and teachers in colleges, theological seminaries, academies, and schools if employed for the past two years; teachers of a private school of twenty scholars; public printers, Confederate and State; men detailed by the President.

destroyed, desertion would become the order of the day. And who would arrest the deserter when most of those at home were setting the Government at defiance? Organized bands of deserters would patrol the country, burning, plundering, robbing. For these great evils there was but one remedy, suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.* It was suspended until the second of August, ninety days after the opening of the next session of Congress.†

The real intent and purpose of the act was to enable the Government to meet resistance to the law making liable for service all who had sent substitutes to the army. Enacted early in January, it was followed four days later by an order requiring the principals to report, without delay, as volunteers or conscripts. Some fled the country. Some sought government clerkships, contracts to carry the mails over petty routes, any kind of work that would keep them exempt. ‡ Others defied the law, the order, the enrolling officer, and when arrested sued for a writ of *habeas corpus*. They had, they said, contracted with the Government for exemption if substitutes were provided. Substitutes had been provided, the contract had been carried out, and Congress had no authority whatever to abrogate it. The courts in general thought otherwise. If, they held, there were contracts they were legislative and could be set aside by any succeeding legislature. Nay, more; supposing they were good and valid, nothing in the Constitution forbade Congress to impair them. § On the other hand there were judges who declared that the act conscripting men who had furnished substitutes was unconstitutional. Among them was Judge Pearson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina who, sitting at chambers, granted the writ to every man who applied for it. Nor was he in the least deterred by the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, but went on discharging man after man.

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* Message, February 3, 1864. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, pp. 67-70.

† Act of February 15, 1864. Ibid., p. 203.

‡ Jones, A Rebel War Clerk's Diary, vol. ii, p. 123. Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy, p. 48.

§ A. B. Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy, pp. 45, 46.

Vance was fearful that evil consequences would follow from Pearson's acts.* Should the enrolling officers, acting under orders, resist the execution of the writ, there would surely be a direct and unavoidable conflict of State and Confederate authorities, for he was bound by his oath of office to summon the whole military power of the State to enforce the process of the Court. He must protect every man released. Seddon could see no possibility of a conflict.† Enrollers had been instructed to go on with their work; but no attempt would be made to arrest the men discharged. How then, could any obligation rest on Vance to protect them? Pearson's decisions at chambers were not final, did not settle beyond all question the unconstitutionality of the law. That the question might be finally settled an appeal had been ordered. When the case came before the Supreme Court of the State the law was declared to be constitutional, and Pearson submitted.

Meantime the legislature of Georgia declared that suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* was unlawful. Under the Constitution of the Confederate States, it said, power to suspend the privilege of the writ is derived not from an express delegation, but by implication. This power, found nowhere in the Constitution, but in words copied from the Constitution of the United States, must yield to the later amendment of 1789, also copied into our present Constitution, an amendment which contains the words, "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." Due process of law for seizing persons is a warrant issued on probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and describing the person to be seized. Issuing such a warrant is a judicial power, and if done by any other branch of Government is a violation of the provision of the Constitution which invests that power in the courts alone. Therefore, all seizures of persons by officers of the Confederate Government without warrant is unconstitutional. The recent act of Congress suspending the privilege of the writ in

* Vance to Secretary of War, February 29, 1864. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 176.

† Seddon to Vance, March 5, 1864. Ibid., p. 198.

cases of arrest ordered by the President, the Secretary of War, General Officers of the Army, is unconstitutional, and a dangerous assault on the courts and the liberties of the people.*

Quite as hateful to the Governors was the Conscription Act. South Carolina required her Governor to claim exemption for a host of State officials from Lieutenant-Governor down to tax collectors and cadets in the Military Academies, and whenever he thought proper, of men in civil life from editors down to artisans, mechanics in State factories and laborers on public works, and of as many persons as he thought necessary for the government of slaves and the policing of the country.† Watts, of Alabama, denied that officers could be conscripted without the consent of the State, and warned Seddon that he would resist with all the forces of the State. ‡ Vance claimed exemption for all persons actually employed by North Carolina in any department where the law required their employment. §

Every effort to fill the ranks was still hindered by the old trouble with deserters. Lee, in midsummer, tried to bring them back by a general order, promising leniency to such as returned. Vance followed it almost immediately by a proclamation appealing to them, as misguided men, to wipe from their names the foul stain of desertion by returning to the post of duty within thirty days. || If they did not, he would use all the power at his command to capture or drive them from the State. The Commandant in Alabama reported to his chief at Montgomery that the unwillingness with which conscripts took service, the tardiness with which men returned at the end of their furloughs, the presence and increasing number of deserters, the reluctance of planters and farmers to respond to the call for slave labor, made it necessary that officers in the conscript service should have troops if they were to carry out orders. There were, on the De-

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 234. March 19, 1864.
† Ibid., p. 980.
‡ Ibid., pp. 817-818. Watts to Seddon, November 9, 1864.
§ Ibid., p. 754.
|| Ibid., Series 1, vol. v, Part II, p. 1030. August 24, 1864.

serters' Book, in his office the names of nearly eight thousand men who had deserted, since April first, from Alabama regiments in the armies of the Tennessee and Northern Virginia. More than five thousand had returned, leaving more than three thousand still absent. In counties bordering on Georgia, Florida and Mississippi, enrolling officers were unable to enforce orders, because of armed bands of deserters and Tories.*

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 880. November 30, 1864.

CHAPTER XX.

ATLANTA TO THE SEA.

The fall of Atlanta was keenly felt over all the South. Leaders of public opinion, indeed, affected to make light of Sherman's presence in Georgia. If the advances by Lee and Early into Pennsylvania were but raids, then was the advance by Sherman into Georgia but a raid. He must soon go back whence he came. The fall of Atlanta was a bitter pill to swallow, but the thing was done and down the pill must go, however distasteful. No good could come of repining. The only manly course to pursue was to look disaster in the face and contest every foot of soil with the enemy. He had paid heavily for his prize. He was in no condition to follow up the advantage the possession of Atlanta gave him.* Though the fall of the city was a fatality we would gladly have avoided, we must not stand idly by, mourning.† Its capture has not caused nearly as much despondency in the public mind as might naturally have been expected; not so much as it would earlier in the war. Not so much as did the fall of Vicksburg. Some, with temperaments prone to magnify evils, were utterly disconsolate and hopeless. But the campaign was not a failure. The enemy had, indeed, gained an important position. But he was too crippled to use it. Meantime, an undiscouraged and determined army of veterans confronted him. Raiders and guerrillas swarmed in his rear, and from the west marshalling hosts were slowly, but steadily, approaching to crush the desperate adventurer.‡

Davis was sure Atlanta could be recovered. The effect of disaster was always to spread a gloom deeper than the occasion required. No one was more anxious than he to save Atlanta. He was not one of those who deemed its fall inevitable the moment the enemy crossed the Chattahooche. He still believed it could be recovered. If the absentees could

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* Augusta Constitutionalist.

† Southern Confederacy, Richmond Enquirer, September 13, 1864.

‡ Richmond Enquirer, September 13, 1864.

be sent back to Hood, and if the men of Georgia, exempt by law from military service, would give temporary aid, Sherman's army could be driven out of Georgia, perhaps utterly destroyed.* Indeed, he had a plan for its recovery and started for Jonesboro to lay it before Hood and his generals. As he passed through one city after another the people came forth to greet him, and he spoke to them. Though misfortune had befallen the army, the cause was not lost, he said to the people of Macon. Sherman could not keep up his long line of communication. Retreat, sooner or later, he must. And when that day came the fate that befell the Emperor of the French on his retreat from Moscow was the fate that would overtake Sherman on his retreat from Georgia. Cavalry, and the people, would harass his army, as the Cossacks did that of Napoleon, and the Yankee general would escape, if escape he did, with but a little bodyguard. How could this be most speedily effected? By the absentees from Hood's Army returning to their posts. And would they not? Could they see the banished exiles, could they hear the wails of their suffering countrywomen and children and not come? He knew the deep disgrace felt by Georgia when the army fell back from Dalton. But he was not one of those who held Atlanta lost when the enemy crossed the Chattahoochee. He put in command a man he knew would strike a manly, honest blow for the city, and many a Yankee's blood was made to enrich the soil before the prize was won. It did not become him to revert to disaster. Let the past bury its dead. Let us with one arm and one effort strive to crush Sherman. If one half the men absent without leave would return to duty the enemy could be defeated.†

He would not attempt to conceal the fact, he said at Montgomery, that there had been great disasters of late. The enemy had forced the army back into the heart of Georgia, threatened the borders of Alabama, and occupied the Bay of

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* Davis to Herschel V. Johnson, September 18, 1864. Rowland, Jefferson Davis, vol. vi, p. 336.

† Speech at Macon, September 23, 1864. Rowland, Jefferson Davis, vol. vi, pp. 341-346. Macon Telegraph, September 24, 1864.

Mobile. The time for action was at hand. There was but one duty for every Southern man and that duty was to go to the front.*

At Columbia he declared it was within the power of the men of the Confederacy to plant their banners on the banks of the Ohio, and say to the Yankees: "Be quiet, or we shall give you another lesson." Within the next thirty days much was to be done. Within the next thirty days, therefore, let all who had deserted, and all who ought to be in the army, go promptly to the ranks.† Every able-bodied man, he said at Augusta, must go to the front, and all others devote themselves to the cause at home. Let there be no pleadings for exemptions. We are fighting for our existence. We must beat Sherman. We must march into Tennessee. There we shall draw to our standard twenty thousand men, and, so strengthened, push the enemy back to the Ohio and give the peace party in the North such encouragement as no puny editorials could give it. ‡

Just at this time the Governors of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi met at Augusta, reviewed the state of public affairs and gave their views in a series of resolutions. They could see nothing to cause any abatement in the zeal of the South to fight on until peace, based on independence, was won, and to encourage the brave soldiers in the field they would do their best to fill the armies. The interests of each State, in the present struggle for self-government, were the interests of all. The military forces of each should aid the military forces of the others against invasion. To this end they would urge their legislatures to repeal all laws forbidding Governors to send militia out of their States. They would ask Congress to put in the field every able-bodied man, in any of the departments, whose place could be filled by a disabled officer or soldier, and to dispense with provost guards, save

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* Charleston Courier, October 6, 1864. Rowland, Jefferson Davis, vol. vi, pp. 345-347.

† Ibid., pp. 349-356.

‡ Richmond Dispatch, October 10, 1864. Rowland, Jefferson Davis, vol. vi, pp. 356-361.

in cities where the presence of large bodies of troops made such guards necessary. They would appeal to their legislatures to pass stringent laws for the arrest and return of deserters and stragglers from the army. The enemy had proclaimed the freedom of slaves. Owners, therefore, should remove their slaves from the line of the enemy's approach. If they did not, then the civil authorities should have power to remove them. It was their firm and unalterable purpose to maintain the right of self-government, uphold the sovereignty of the States, and establish independence, or perish in the attempt.*

Davis was indulging in no idle talk. The plan had been formed, and Hood, while the President was speaking, was moving north. His purpose was to tear up the railroad between the Chattahoochie and Chattanooga, push north, and destroy the great bridge across the Tennessee at Bridgeport. This done, Atlanta would be cut off from Chattanooga; Chattanooga would be cut off from Nashville, and Sherman, deprived of his two bases of supplies, would be forced, it was expected, to begin a retreat as disastrous as that of Napoleon from Moscow. Late in September Hood put his army in motion, crossed the Chattahoochie early in October, marched north to Dallas, turned eastward, tore up the railway from Big Shanty to Ackworth Station, and sent a force to capture the garrison at Allatoona Pass, where was stored an immense quantity of rations for the use of the Federal Army.

Sherman, after reading the speeches of Davis in September, sent Thomas to Nashville. He was to organize the new volunteers, watch the movements of Forrest, and meet Hood if he attempted to cross the Tennessee. When aware that Hood had really started, Sherman sent General Corse to Rome, ordered Slocum to hold Atlanta, signaled Corse to hurry to Allatoona Pass, and on the fourth of October set off after Hood. Corse obeyed with great promptness. It was well he did, for scarcely had he reached the town when the rebels were upon him. That day, October fifth, Sher-

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 736.

man reached Kenesaw Mountain and from the top of Pine Mountain saw the destruction of the railroad, saw the smoke of the burning ties, saw the smoke of battle at Allatoona some eighteen miles away, and signaled Corse to hold the fort. The battle raged from eight in the morning until two in the afternoon. Overpowered by numbers, the Union force was driven from the town to the entrenchments on the ridge and from the entrenchments to the fort. Beaten back again and again in their assaults, the enemy gave up the attempt to take the fort and went back to Dalton. Allatoona was made a wreck. Nearly half the garrison was killed or wounded, but the stores were saved and the fort and the Pass were held.

After destroying six miles of track between Ackworth and Allatoona, Hood moved on to Resaca and demanded its unconditional surrender. If so surrendered, all white officers and men would be paroled. If carried by assault, no prisoners would be taken. "If you want it, come and take it" was Colonel Weaver's reply. Hood did not want it badly enough to make an assault; passed on to Dalton which surrendered on demand, and spent ten days tearing up the railroad as far as Tunnel Hill. Sherman followed to Resaca, but Hood, unencumbered with heavy trains, moved with great rapidity to a narrow gorge in the mountains not far from Gadsden, Alabama. Sherman followed to Gaylesville. At Gadsden, Hood was joined by Beauregard who assumed command of the Military Division of the West.

While Sherman's army rested at Gaylesville, living on the country, the railroad was repaired, and before October ended trains were running from Chattanooga to Atlanta. Hood had failed to destroy his communication. He had, indeed, drawn Sherman out of Georgia. But would he stay out? Could he have his way he would not attempt to hold his connection with the North. He would destroy the railroad, destroy Atlanta, and, living on the country, he would march across Georgia to the sea. Again and again he appealed to Grant for authority so to do. Why would it not do, he wrote, to leave Tennessee to Thomas, destroy Atlanta, march across Georgia to Savannah or Charleston, wrecking the

roads and doing irreparable damage? * Now that Hood, Forrest, Wheeler, and whole batches of devils were turned loose without home or habitation, it would be impossible to protect the roads. He could make the march and make Georgia howl.† He was then chasing Hood hither and yon. He would infinitely prefer to make a wreck of the road and of Atlanta, rid himself of his wounded and worthless, and with an effective army move across Georgia, smashing things, to the sea. Hood might turn into Tennessee and Kentucky, but he believed the enemy would follow him.‡ And now, with many misgivings, Lincoln consented, Grant approved, and authority was given Sherman to go.§

At Gaylesville, therefore, he began preparations for the great march. Hearing that Hood was moving toward Decatur, he sent two corps to Nashville, delegated to Thomas authority over all troops in his Military Division, save those going into Georgia, and moved by easy marches towards Atlanta. All surplus artillery, all sick and wounded, all refugees, great stores of provisions, forage and machinery gathered at Atlanta and elsewhere, were sent to Chattanooga. Corse, still at Rome, was ordered to destroy mills, warehouses, shops, any property that could be of use to the enemy, and come to Kingston. All garrisons north of Kingston were sent to Chattanooga, the railroad from the Chattahoochie to the Etowah River he ordered to be utterly destroyed, and the rails north of Resaca taken up and carried away. November eleventh the last train north left Atlanta. November twelfth the last message north was telegraphed to Thomas, the wire cut, and communication with Washington ended. For two and thirty days no word came from Sherman. During that time the people in the North knew nothing of where he went, or how he fared, or what he did, save what Southern journals thought fit to make public.

By November fourteenth the army had gathered about

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* October 1, 1864. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxix, Part II, p. 64.

† October 9, 1864. Ibid., Part III, p. 62.

‡ October 11, 1864. Ibid., p. 202.

§ October 13, 1864. Ibid., p. 240.

Atlanta, and on the fifteenth the destruction of the city began. Incendiaries, a few days before, had started fires that consumed a score of buildings and brought from Slocum an offer of five hundred dollars for the detection of any soldier engaged in such work. Destruction was in charge of the Chief Engineer of the army, and was done thoroughly according to plan. The railroads in and near the city were torn up, and the rails heated on piles of burning ties and twisted, given at least one complete turn. Neither fire nor powder was used until the buildings to be destroyed had been laid in ruins by battering down walls, pulling down tall smokestacks, breaking up furnace arches, smashing steam machinery, and punching holes in all boilers.* Then the torch was applied to the heaps of ruins of what had once been passenger depots, freight sheds, round houses, machine shops, mills, the tannery, the laboratory, the oil refinery, places of amusement and all the hotels save one. Private dwellings and churches were spared, but the business part of Atlanta was laid in ashes, not by order of Sherman, but by lawless persons, the Chief Engineer reported, who crept through back alleys and fired buildings not intended to be burned.† Eighteen hundred buildings were said to have been destroyed.

While the city was burning the march began. Special Field Orders announced what must, and what must not, be done. The army was divided into two wings; the right under Howard, the left under Sherman. The order of march would be by four roads as nearly parallel as possible, and converging at points to be announced. Each separate column must start every morning at seven and march some fifteen miles. There would be no general trains of supplies. The army would forage liberally on the country. Foraging parties under discreet officers were to gather along the route, corn, forage, meat, vegetables, whatever was needed, taking care to keep in the wagon-trains, at all times, ten days' provisions for the command, and three days' forage.

* Report of General Poe, Chief Engineer, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliv, p. 63.

† Ibid.

Soldiers must not enter any dwelling, nor commit trespass. During a halt, or when in camp, they might gather vegetables and drive in stock, for foraging at any distance from the road must be done by none save the regular foraging parties. In districts where the army was unmolested, no property was to be destroyed. Should guerrillas or bushwhackers molest the army, should the people burn bridges, obstruct roads, or in any way show hostility, then the corps commanders were to order a devastation more or less relentless.

Thus instructed, the army began its march from Atlanta on November fifteenth. The right, under orders to reach Gordon in eight days, moved southward with Kilpatrick's cavalry, tore up the railway to Lovejoy Station, made a demonstration on Macon, swept the country clean of forage and provisions, burned ten thousand bales of cotton, burned a large cotton mill on the Ocmulgee, and on the way burned many private dwellings, broke open trunks, and carried off silver plate. This sacking of private houses, Howard promised to take measures to prevent.* Gordon was reached on time.

The left wing, with Sherman, moved eastward as if against Augusta, wrecked the railroad to Madison, burned stations, warehouses, cotton, and the bridge over the Oconee, and turning southward reached Milledgeville at the end of seven days.

As the army advanced consternation spread. An order from Howell Cobb, in command of the Georgia reserves, required every white man able to bear arms, in or near Macon, to join some organization. No one was to be excused on any pretense. Every man refusing to join would be arrested. The provost guard must examine every man and see that he had a certificate of membership.† The legislature, before it fled, bade the Treasurer remove the public funds, and by law ordered "a levy *en masse*" of the whole free white male population from sixteen to fifty-five

* Howard's report to Sherman, November 23, 1864, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliv, p. 67.

† Special Order, November 17, 1864, New York Herald, November 27, 1864.

years of age, residing, or domiciled, in Georgia. From Corinth, Mississippi, Beauregard appealed to the men of that State. Arise, said he, for the defense of your native soil. Rally around your patriotic Governor and gallant soldiers. Obstruct and destroy the roads on Sherman's flank and rear, and his army will soon starve in your midst.* Senator Hill begged the people to remove all food from the invader's path, and put every obstruction in his way they could. Every citizen with his gun, and every negro with his spade and axe, could do the work of a good soldier. "Georgians be firm. Act and fear not. Never before have you had so good a chance to destroy the enemy."†

"Our cities," said Governor Brown, "are being burned, our fields laid waste, our wives and children driven from their homes. We must strike like men for freedom, or submit to subjugation. Death is preferable to loss of liberty." Therefore, under authority of the late act of the legislature, he called all white men from sixteen to fifty-five, except ministers, telegraphers, and railroad employees, and invited members of the legislature and the judges, to come to Macon prepared to serve for forty days.‡ Georgia members of Congress assured the people that the President and the Secretary of War would do whatever was possible to help them. But let every man fly to arms. Remove negroes, horses, cattle. Burn what could not be removed, burn bridges, block the roads, assail the invader in front, flank and rear.§

All able-bodied men living in Augusta were ordered to join some local military body and prepare at once to defend their houses. An insolent foe was in the very heart of their beloved State, burning, pillaging, desolating the country he passed over. He was coming "with his hell hounds thirsty for plunder," and the torch "was red in his hands." He

* Corinth, November 18, 1864. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliv, p. 867. New York Herald, November 26, 1864.

† November 18, 1864. New York Herald, November 26, 1864.

‡ Proclamation, November 19, 1864. New York Herald, November 29, 1864.

§ November 19, 1864. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliv, p. 869, New York Herald, November 26, 1864.

would leave beautiful Augusta a smouldering heap of blackened ruins. If not dead to all sense of honor every man would rally, rally at once to meet the coming foe. All having horses, saddles, or bridles were asked to turn them in for temporary use.*

The Mayor of Augusta summoned every merchant, every business man, every citizen, every refugee in the city, every man able to render service to report at once.† Planters living in near-by counties were ordered to send their able-bodied slaves to Augusta to work on the fortifications.‡ The President of the Senate, because Governor Brown was cut off, by the enemy, from communication with the State east of the Oconee, assumed command of that section and called all fighting men east of the Oconee to come to Augusta.

The press of Richmond made light of the march. It was of no importance, could be of no advantage to the North, was formidable only because novel, was a diversion to draw Beauregard from Tennessee. Never before had there been such an opportunity to destroy the army of Sherman. His march was a confession that he could not hold Atlanta as a conquered, subjugated, reclaimed part of his own country. Rather than confess failure by a retreat into Tennessee, he kept up appearances and marched on, not to conquer, but to devastate and ruin, and to a new base on the coast. The people of Georgia had now an opportunity to rival Virginia. If they opposed him in front, harassed his flanks, hung on his rear, captured and destroyed his foragers, and burned stores along his line of march, the disgrace of his advance through the heart of the Confederacy would be saved the country. § Will the people of Georgia show a spirit and devotion suitable to this occasion? If every man will do his duty, as he should, Sherman will be utterly destroyed. If Georgians fail from timorous, jealous, selfish considerations, retribution will surely overtake them. ||

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* General Fry's order, November 19, 1864. Augusta Register, November 22, 1864.

† Augusta Constitutionalist, November 24, 1864.

‡ Ibid., November 23, 1864.

§ Richmond Enquirer, November 21, 1864.

|| Richmond Sentinel, November 21, 1864.

An Augusta journal had no fear of any serious result of the raid. It did not believe Sherman intended to visit Macon, Augusta, Savannah. Force of circumstances had driven him from Atlanta, and not expecting to retrace his steps he had proclaimed the devastation and desolation of the country over which he passed. He had taken up his march more to save the remnant of his army than to capture cities. A firm, unfaltering heart, a determined resolution, were all that was needed, at present. Finding his way north closed by a bold and defiant army; he had made a retreat by the rear. It was the anabasis of Sherman. His only object was to get to some base. But he must move fast, or he would be lost.*

We must retard, harass, starve, destroy the army of Sherman. The opportunity is ours. The hand of God is in it. If given, as it should be, the blow may end the war. Remove all forage, provisions, horses, mules, negroes, and stock, and burn the rest.† If the people of Georgia would coöperate with the army, the invaders would be successfully met and resisted. Let every Georgian follow the advice given in the patriotic addresses of the Members of Congress and General Beauregard. Those in the path of the invaders should not fail to burn and destroy everything that could be of the least use to the enemy. ‡

Even if Sherman does reach the coast what will he have accomplished? Neither Savannah nor Charleston are of any great strategic importance to the enemy. Should he capture them our people will close up the gap, repair the damage in his rear, and stand ready to hold him on the coast. The great heart of the country will still be intact, the "rebellion," instead of being "crushed out," will be more concentrated than ever, more ready for decisive blows. Twenty such "grand expeditions" could not put out the flame of Southern independence. §

At Macon every man was in the trenches. Members of

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* Augusta Constitutionalist, November 19, 1864.
† Ibid., November 20, 1864.
‡ Savannah Republican, November 21, 1864.
§ Richmond Enquirer, December 1, 1864.

the legislature passing through the city had been arrested, and an attempt made to put them in the ranks. But they were exempt by law and would not serve.* Many believed the enemy would pass by Macon, fearing to attack the splendid fortifications encircling the city, and defended by the large force gathered behind them. They could be held against any force Sherman could bring.† The *Southern Confederacy* and *Intelligencer* did not think so, packed up, and left.

The army did not enter Milledgeville. A few regiments were sent in, burned magazines, arsenals, storehouses full of government property, seventeen hundred bales of cotton, railroad buildings and factories. No private dwellings were injured. In response to a call some of the troops entered the Capitol and held a mock session of the legislature. A Speaker was elected. Seats were contested. Members were laid on the table for want of bills. A Committee on Federal Relations was appointed and reported resolutions to the effect that the Ordinance of Secession was a farce and ought to be repealed. Scarcely was the repeal carried than a soldier rushed in, cried, "the Yankees are coming," and the legislators "absquatulated with precipitate haste." Not a bad travesty on the last hours of the last session, said a Confederate journal. ‡

From Milledgeville the left wing went on to Sandersville while the right wing moved on to Tennille, opposite Sandersville, destroying the railroad as it went. The two wings were now near together, and Sherman shifted headquarters to the right wing. Kilpatrick was sent to cut the railroad between Millen and Augusta, threaten that city and move rapidly on Millen and liberate the Union prisoners there confined. But when he reached Waynesboro, some thirty miles south of Augusta, he heard that the prisoners had been removed, made no demonstration on Augusta, but, harassed on flank and rear by Wheeler's cavalry, rejoined the army at Louisville. From there Sherman sent him back towards

* Augusta Constitutionalist, November 22, 1864.
† Macon Confederate, November 20, 1864.
‡ Augusta Chronicle, December 9, 1864.

Waynesboro with orders to fight Wheeler if he wished to fight. He met him near that town, drove him from three lines of barricades, drove him through the town and over Briar Creek and rejoined the left wing twenty miles east of Millen. The whole army then moved southward between the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers, and on December ninth and tenth closed in on the defenses of Savannah. Two days were spent in putting the troops in position, building earthworks and placing batteries. When this was done the army lay stretched across the peninsula, its left on the Savannah three miles from the city; its right some ten miles away on the great Ogeechee near King's Bridge, where the dirt road from Augusta crossed the river. To communicate with the fleet, announce his arrival and establish a base of supplies by means of vessels from Port Royal to Ossabaw Sound was Sherman's next care. His presence had already been made known to the North by Richmond newspapers, which came almost daily through the lines. Sherman's entire force, said one, is combined east of the Ogeechee twenty-five miles from Savannah. His men are fatigued and their spirit is lagging. The country in rear of them is swarming with stragglers and deserters begging and pilfering at every house. The whole country is being pillaged by masses of soldiers without officers. Wheeler is operating on the confused mass at every step.* Stanton had announced that the Richmond papers reported Sherman fifteen miles from Savannah on the twelfth.† But not until the fifteenth did the people of the North know that the army had reached the city. On the ninth Captain Duncan, a scout officer, bearing a dispatch to Admiral Dalghren was sent with two companions down the Ogeechee in a skiff. Hiding in the rice swamps by day they made their way down the river, ran past Fort McAllister and the picket boats in a storm, and on Ossabaw Sound were picked up by the *Flag,* a tender of the Union gunboat *Dandelion* and carried to Hilton Head. Thence the glad tidings went on to the

* Richmond Enquirer, December 10. New York Herald, December 13, 1864.

† New York Herald, December 14, 1864.

War Department, and on the fifteenth the people read in their newspapers that on the ninth the army was within ten miles of Savannah, was advancing to the attack, was in the best of spirits and condition, had lived on the country, and had accumulated a great number of horses, and that Duncan had brought from Howard this dispatch: "We have met with perfect success so far. The troops in fine spirits and near by."*

To communicate with the fleet and get the supplies needed by the army the Ogeechee River must be used. But the river was closed by Fort McAllister which stood on the right bank some six miles from sea. As soon as possible, therefore, a force under General Hazen was sent to capture it. As the troops marched down the right bank of the river, Sherman and Howard took their stand on the roof of a rice mill on the left bank, to watch the progress of the fight, and keep a sharp lookout for the long-expected vessel from the fleet. A thin cloud of smoke, and what seemed a smoke-stack moving above the top of the sedge, gave reason to believe she was coming. But hour after hour passed, and the sun was low in the heavens before she was near enough to signal the words: "Who are you?" "General Sherman," was the reply. "Is Fort McAllister taken?" "Not yet, but it will be in a few minutes," was the answer, for Hazen's troops were seen advancing to the assault. In fifteen minutes they had broken through the abatis, crossed the ditch, and planted their flags on the parapet.

Sherman and Howard at once went down the river to the fort, and that night Sherman was rowed out to the *Dandelion*, at anchor in the Sound, and there wrote a dispatch to Stanton.

The press of the South belittled the arrival of Sherman and his army before Savannah. Indeed, it pronounced the whole march a failure. Neither Macon nor Augusta had been captured. Nor had the Union prisoners been set free. If the capture of these cities and the liberation of the prisoners formed a part of his plan of campaign, then was it a failure. If they did not, then was his march without an

* New York Herald, December 15, 1864.

object, and had far more the character of a retreat than an invasion. What then has he gained and at what cost? He has given up the country from Tennessee to the Atlantic and the Gulf, the conquest of which had cost nearly four years of bloody struggle, and expects to gain Savannah, a seaport long closed and which commands nothing whatever save a little area of marshy land. The fall of Fort McAllister does not mean the fall of Savannah. He cannot take it by assault, and if he does not cut off all land communication and entirely invest it, how can he take it at all? Even if he does capture it Savannah is not the Confederacy, nor yet Georgia, nor anything else than simply Savannah. Its surrender would count about as much toward the conquest of the South, as the capture of Chicago would toward the conquest of the North.*

Sherman did not have to cut all land communications nor entirely invest the city. Hardee had no intention of standing a siege, and on the night of December twentieth, his army passed over the Union Causeway and set off for Charleston. The next morning the Union troops took quiet possession. More than two hundred and fifty heavy guns and thirty-one thousand bales of cotton fell into their hands. Sherman now sent off his famous dispatch making the President a Christmas present of the city. It reached Lincoln on Christmas Eve and the next morning the people of the North read in their newspapers of the splendid gift from Sherman.†

Again the press of the South thought little of Sherman's triumph. It was painful to hear that any new piece of territory, any city or town had passed to the enemy. But in all the South there was not another city that could be given up with so little loss of fighting power. Savannah was a gate to no interior, was on no railroad of importance, never

* Richmond Whig, December 17, 1864.

† "Savannah, Georgia, December 22, 1864.
"To His Excellency, President Lincoln:
"I beg to present you as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.
"W. T. Sherman, Major General."

was a military depot, never was a manufacturing town, had not been a port for years. All its cotton stores had long since been carried inland. Evacuation does the Confederacy no harm. Loss of it does not interfere in any way with transportation. Nay, as the garrison is safe, the loss is a gain, for the troops will go to increase the army in the field. There was no army in Georgia when Sherman left Atlanta. It was, therefore, no great feat to walk down to Savannah, plundering and oppressing old men, women and children who lived in the farm houses along the way. Many quiet cottages had been burned and destroyed; many defenseless persons had been ruined or murdered; but a band of escaped galley slaves could have done as much.*

There is a vast difference between invasion and conquest. Sherman has traversed many a league of territory, but what soil, save that under the feet of his army, is subject to Yankee authority? The allegiance of what solitary citizen has he secured for the United States? Who proposes to abandon the war because of anything Sherman has done? Is not the country through which he has passed just as hostile to him, just as devoted to our cause now, as before he marched through? Invasion never produces any effect save to intensify hostility. Look at the valley of Virginia. Look at New Orleans; is it subjugated? Who doubts that Norfolk, and Nashville, and Vicksburg are as faithful to us now as when the flag of the Confederacy floated over them? †

Our reverses have been considerable. To deny it would be folly. But no calamity is without a remedy to a people determined not to be cast down by misfortunes. Such our people are, for they think no more of submitting now than they did on the day when they fired the first gun on Sumter.‡

As the Union troops marched into the city they found the blinds on all the private houses shut, and most of the stores closed. Some had been broken into by Wheeler's cavalry during the night before evacuation, and such of their contents as had not been carried off had been thrown into

* Richmond Examiner, December 27, 1864.
† Richmond Whig, December 28, 1864.
‡ Ibid., December 30, 1864.

the street. "None of the better class" were abroad, but a mob of poor white women, negroes and thievish soldiers soon broke into grocery stores and began to pillage. This was quickly stopped, and order and quiet restored. By Christmas women "of the better class" began to appear on the streets, and on that day the churches were opened and prayers made for peace, but not for the guidance of the President of the United States, nor for that of the President of the Confederacy.*

Before the entry Confederate money had so depreciated as to become almost worthless. After the entry it became mere bits of paper, and the people were left without money with which to buy food. Nor was there much to buy. Cut off from its sources of supply the city was facing a famine when the Mayor called a meeting of the citizens to consider what should be done. The meeting adopted a resolution setting forth that they accepted the situation, and in the language of Lincoln sought "to have peace by laying down our arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution." They did not put themselves in the position of a conquered city asking terms of the conqueror, but claimed all the immunities offered in Lincoln's proclamation and message, and promised to appeal to the Governor to call a Convention of the people of Georgia that they might vote on the question whether they did, or did not, wish the war to continue.† It was then agreed that an agent should be sent North to purchase food, and that the City Council pledge itself to pay for the supply by shipments of rice. Colonel Julian Allen offered to go at his own expense, was duly appointed, was ordered by the Mayor to buy bacon, pork, lard, brown sugar, corn meal, potatoes, white beans and hard bread, and with a letter from the Mayor and another of approval from Sherman set off for New York. There he appeared before the Chamber of Commerce, told of the dire suffering to which the poor of Savannah would be reduced for want of food unless speedily assisted, and asked for help. A committee was appointed to appeal to the citizens in gen-

* Correspondent New York Herald, Savannah, December 25, 1864.
† New York Herald, January 5, 1865.

eral for money, and special committees to solicit contributions from the bankers, the brokers, the shippers, the grocers, the Corn Exchange, and the dry goods and hardware merchants. Members of the general commitee were divided in opinion as to what should be done. One did not believe in "fattening rebels to fight us again." Another did not believe in bringing back rebels by conciliation. Armed force was the true way. A third did not wish to give aid and comfort to the enemy. The matter should be better understood before acting. Others thought such objections of little moment, were sure no great harm could result from sending food, and believed a shipload of provisions might do a deal of good, would not fail to do more to bring the people of Savannah back to loyalty than any amount of armed force that could be used against them.

The Produce Exchange now offered to join with the Chamber of Commerce in the good work; a cooperage firm offered to put casks and cases in condition for shipment, without charge; the New York and Washington Steamship Company tendered the use of one of their ships; the merchants of Boston met in Faneuil Hall and chose a committee to receive contributions; the merchants of Philadelphia promised to assist and by the middle of January two steamships laden with food reached Savannah.

In the North the campaign was hailed as a great success. Everything Sherman planned had come to pass. He had taken Atlanta, had marched to the sea, had captured Savannah, and Thomas had crushed Hood's army in front of Nashville. When Hood left Gadsden late in October he marched his army westward and crossed the Tennessee in the neighborhood of Florence. As he came on the garrisons were withdrawn from Athens, Huntsville and Decatur, and Schofield fell back to Franklin, where was fought one of the most desperate battles of the war. Thirteen general officers of the Confederates fell, more than six thousand men were killed, wounded and captured, and thirty-two of their battle-flags were taken. On the night of the day after the fight Schofield set off for Nashville where Thomas had drawn up his army on the hills around the town. Hood fol-

lowed and for ten days and more the two armies faced each other.

Meantime Grant was urging Thomas to fight. The country was alarmed, the Administration was alarmed, he was alarmed lest Hood should elude Thomas and go north.* The President feared Thomas might stay in his fortifications too long. It looked to him as if the McClellan and Rosecrans strategy of "do nothing and let the enemy raid the country" was to be repeated and he wished Grant to consider the matter.† Grant considered, and three times telegraphed Thomas, warning him of what would happen if he did not act at once. He would "lose all the road back to Chattanooga and possibly have to abandon the line of the Tennessee." He would suffer incalculable injury to his railroads if Hood were "not speedily disposed of." He should attack Hood "before he fortified"; he should "move out of Nashville with all his army" and force the enemy to retire or fight upon ground of his own choosing. Hood "should be attacked where he is. ‡ Thomas was not ready, and when he made no move Grant lost patience, sent the order "Attack Hood at once," § and telegraphed Stanton if the attack were not made promptly, Thomas ought to be replaced by Schofield. || Halleck answered if he wished Thomas relieved, he must give the order himself. ¶ It was given, and was ready for the signature of the Secretary of War,** when a telegram from Thomas announced that a terrible storm of freezing rain had come on since daylight, that the country was covered with a sheet of ice, that it was impossible to march, that he regretted to hear that Grant was dissatisfied and if removed would submit without a murmur.†† A message of like purport was sent to Grant. As soon as Halleck received

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* Grant's Personal Memoirs, vol. ii, p. 380.

† Stanton to Grant, December 2, 1864. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlv, p. 15.

‡ Grant to Thomas, December 2 and 5, 1864. Ibid., p. 17.

§ Ibid., December 6, 1864.

|| Ibid., December 7, p. 84.

¶ Ibid., December 8, p. 96.

** Ibid., December 9, p. 114.

†† Ibid., December 9, p. 114.

his, he forwarded it to Grant and asked if the order for removal should go forward. Grant directed that it be suspended.* The storm continued for several days, the ice lay thick on the ground, to march was impossible and Thomas made no movement. Then Grant again lost patience, sent General Logan to relieve him and take command, and himself set off for Nashville. At Washington he heard that Thomas would attack on the following morning and went no further. At Louisville Logan heard that Thomas had beaten Hood badly, and waited for further orders. The battle opened on the morning of the fifteenth, and continued until long after dark, by which time the enemy had been driven back some two miles with a heavy loss of guns and prisoners. That night the Union Army bivouacked on the field of battle, renewed the attack on the following day, and despite a spirited resistance drove the enemy from their entrenchments in headlong flight. "I beheld," said Hood, "for the first and only time a Confederate army abandon the field in confusion.† During ten days Thomas followed it in hot pursuit. By that time the remnant of Hood's shattered army had crossed the Tennessee River and there the chase ended. As an organized body Hood's army had ceased to exist. Thousands deserted and went home. A few were sent to Mobile. Nine thousand made their way eastward and joined the army in Carolina. Said an officer in Alabama, the straggling, scattered, disorganized, undisciplined condition and consequent lawless conduct of the Army of the Tennessee when passing through the State has added much to the success of disloyal efforts to increase despondency, spread discontent, and organize opposition to the Government and to continuance of the war. Deserters and stragglers by hundreds are scattered broadcast over the State and such is the condition of public feeling that in half the counties they remain with impunity. ‡

* Grant to Thomas, December 2 and 5, 1864. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlv, pp. 115, 116.

† J. B. Hood, The Invasion of Tennessee, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. iv, p. 437.

‡ General Withers to Secretary of War, February 7, 1865. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 1065.

CHAPTER XXI.

LINCOLN OR McCLELLAN.

From the campaigns conducted in the field by the generals, the attention of the people in the North had, for some months past, been drawn to a campaign conducted by the politicians, for the day was near when electors of President and Vice-President must be chosen at the polls. No sooner had the year opened than Union members of State legislatures, the press, public meetings, conventions, hastened to put forward their favorite candidates. New Hampshire Republicans in State Convention declared Lincoln was the choice of the people. Every Union member of the Pennsylvania Legislature signed a letter asking him to become a candidate. Union members of the New Jersey Legislature appointed a committee to draft a memorial approving his war policy and recommending his nomination. A Union State Convention at Hartford bade its delegates to the National Convention give him their united support. The members of the General Assembly of Maryland and of the legislatures of Minnesota, Kansas and California were all for him.

A convention of German-American Clubs at Newark declared abolition of slavery and confiscation of the lands of rebels were the most important issues before the country, would not vote for any man who would not support this policy, and would accept Frémont or Butler, or any radical man, but not Lincoln.

The New York *Herald* was for Grant because Lincoln was not the man to bring the rebellion to a speedy close, not the man to be relied on when the rebellion was suppressed for a quiet, orderly rebuilding of the Union. It did not believe in the boasted capacities of Chase. It had not lost faith in the abilities of McClellan as a soldier, nor in his fitness for the presidency. But, if put forth as a candidate,

the misunderstanding between him and the Administration would arouse a partisan controversy so violent, so inflammatory, as to endanger law and order everywhere. The candidate must be one who stood clear of party animosities, whose public services were beyond dispute, and whose popularity was beyond the grasp of disorganizing politicians.*

The coming administration, the *Independent* held, would have its hands full with the complicated issues the next four years would surely bring. Establishment and security of human rights and liberty; reconstruction of a broken Republic; readjustment of the rights of the States and the Federal Government; the status of the negro and his conversion into a citizen; punishment of treason; the Mexican question, the Monroe Doctrine, the finances of the nation; absorption of the army, these, and many more problems still unforeseen, were the issues the new Administration would have to meet, and it must be equal to the emergency. The country could not afford to risk any second-rate committee chosen haphazard to be its President and Cabinet. The president about to be chosen must be a man born to command, a man with clean hands, a man whose palms are unvexed with the itch for gain. He must have no old political favorites to reward, no old debts to former place owners, no bargains to settle with balance-holding factions, no consultations to hold with dry, rotten lobbymen, in Albany and Washington. Who is that man? Let sober-minded people ponder over the question. It was no time to rashly nominate, but to prudently think.†

Many others thought Lincoln unfit. To radical men he was slow, halting, irresolute, without definite purpose and wanting in energy. Anti-slavery men blamed him for revoking the proclamations of Hunter and Frémont, and found fault with him for putting off the emancipation proclamation so long. His unwise choice of generals made him responsible for the failure of the Peninsula campaign, for the defeat at the second battle of Bull Run, for the failure to capture Lee after Antietam, for the disasters at Fredericks-

* New York Herald, January 6, 1864.

† The Independent, quoted by the Tribune, February 18, 1864.

burg and Chancellorsville. Still others could not understand how a man who joked, told humorous stories and read Artemus Ward could be fit to be Chief Executive of the country in this hour of trial. And there were others who thought, as did Chase, that no President should be reëlected. None had been since Jackson.

Horace Greeley was of the same mind. Lincoln, he admitted, had done well. He was not infallible, was not a genius, was not one of those rare men who mould their age. But, considering his antecedents and experience in public affairs, considering that nobody expected this terrible war he had been forced to wage, the verdict of history would be, "Well done, good and faithful servant." Admitting that Lincoln was the first choice of the great majority of those who supported his administration, Greeley dissented from the deduction that he should therefore be renominated. It had been settled, and well settled, by the deliberate action of both parties that a President in office should not be reelected save under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances. For over forty years it was the general rule to reelect them. For the last thirty years no president had been reëlected. The real question then was, had Mr. Lincoln proved so uncommonly able that all consideration of the merits, abilities, services of others should be postponed, forborne, disregarded? No. Freely admitting that he had done well it did not at all follow that Governor Chase, General Frémont, General Grant could not have done just *as* well. If so, then the one-term principle counseled the choice of another.*

Radicals in Congress had already adopted the one-term principle, had formed a committee of Senators, Representatives and citizens, and had selected Chase to be their candidate. A sub-committee had listened to his modest objections to the use of his name, had taken them into consideration, had assured him they felt he ought not to refuse to be a candidate, and he had consented. Of course, he wished to have Ohio on his side; but if the majority of his friends

* New York Tribune, February 23, 1864.

there should express a preference for another, he would submit with cheerful acquiescence.*

The Committee made Senator Pomeroy of Kansas, its chairman; adopted a circular bearing his name, and sent it by mail to a chosen few. So long, it reads, as no effort was made to forestall political action by the people, it was wise for all friends of the Government to devote their efforts to putting down the rebellion. But, when party machinery and official influence were being used to perpetuate the present administration, those who believed the interests of the country, and of freedom, demanded a change in favor of vigor, purity and nationality, had no choice but to appeal at once to the people. Even if the reëlection of Lincoln were desirable it was impossible. Should he be elected his tendency to compromise, and temporary expediences, would become stronger in his second term than they had been in his first; the cause of human liberty and the honor of the country would suffer, and the war languish until the public debt had become a burden too great to be borne. So great was the patronage due to war needs, and so loosely was it placed, that the one-term principle was absolutely necessary to the safety of Republican institutions. United in Chase were more of the qualities needed in a President during the next four years than were to be found in any other available candidate statesman or administrator.† Whoever received a copy of the circular was urged to organize his section of the country at once.

What the Committee was doing, Chase did not know. Great was his surprise therefore, when, one Saturday late in February, he beheld, in a Washington newspaper, a copy of the Pomeroy circular. ‡ Without delay he wrote Lincoln, told of his relations with the sub-committee and of his consent to the use of his name, denied all knowledge of the circular until he saw it in the newspaper, and said, "I have thought this explanation due to you as well as to myself. If there is anything in my action or position which, in your

* To J. C. Hall, January 18, 1864. New York Herald, March 14, 1864.

† New York Tribune, February 23, 1864.

‡ Washington Constitutional Union, February 20, 1864.

judgment, will prejudice the public interest under my charge, I beg you to say so. I do not wish to administer the Treasury Department one day without your entire confidence." * Receipt of the letter was promptly acknowledged, but a week passed before Lincoln was able to reply. "Whether," he then wrote, "you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I shall not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service; and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change.† Nevertheless the change soon came. The Secretary had never been an earnest supporter of the President, had often criticized his acts of administration, had often resented his appointments to office, and again and again had tendered a letter of resignation. He did so in December, 1862, when the Radical Senators attacked Seward. He did so in February, 1863, because of a disagreement with Lincoln over an appointment of a collector of internal revenue in Connecticut. He did so in May, 1863, because of the removal of a collector at Puget Sound. He did so in February, 1864, because of his nomination to the Presidency, and in June because Lincoln would not appoint his nominee assistant treasurer at New York. Then the President accepted his resignation, and forced the office of Secretary of the Treasury on Senator William Pitt Fessenden of Maine.

It was on the twenty-second of February that Chase tendered his resignation because of the publication of the Pomeroy circular. On that day the National Republican Committee met in Washington and summoned all voters who wished for "unconditional maintenance of the Union, supremacy of the Constitution, and suppression of the rebellion" to elect delegates to a Convention to be held at Baltimore on the seventh of June to name candidates for President and Vice-President. ‡ Three days later Union members of the Ohio Legislature met in caucus and declared that Abra-

* February 22, 1864. Schucker's Life of Chase, pp. 500, 501.

† Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, vol. viii, p. 322. Schucker's Life of Chase, p. 502, February 29, 1864.

‡ New York Herald, February 23, 1864.

ham Lincoln was their choice for President. Chase then withdrew his name and asked that no further consideration be given it.*

Opposition to the renomination of Lincoln now took the form of an attempt by the friends of Frémont to obtain a postponement of the Baltimore Convention until autumn. The call was but a few weeks old when some men of prominence in New York City, with William Cullen Bryant at their head, addressed "The Executive Committee of the Union and Republican Parties," and asked that the meeting of the Convention be put off to a day not earlier than the first day of September. The country was not then, they said, in condition to enter a Presidential contest. It was important that all parties friendly to the Government should be united in support of one man, and that, whoever the candidate might be, he should be accepted by all loyal sections of the country. Such unanimity did not then exist. Indeed, it might be doubted if it could be had by the seventh of June. On the results of the efforts of the Administration to end the war, during the coming spring and summer, would depend the wish of the people to continue their present leaders in power, or seek others from whom they might expect richer and better results.† Approval came from many sources. A Boston journal believed the patriotic, patient, determined people were sick of politics. They fully realized that our finances, prestige of power, self-respect, national integrity, the dear old flag, were all inevitably staked on the result of the summer campaign. The loyal common sense of the people insisted that the convention be postponed until September. ‡ Said another, in the opinion of political friends of the Administration the Convention has been called too early. Military operations will hardly be well under way by the first week in June. Until then, and after, every effort of the people ought to be united in the utmost harmony, in furthering a triumphant prosecution of the war. Every

* To J. C. Hall, March 5, 1864. New York Herald, March 12, 1864. Schucker's Life of Chase, p. 503.

† March 25, 1864. Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia, 1864, p. 785.

‡ Boston Transcript, New York Tribune, April 1, 1864.

man, every dollar, ought to be devoted to the common cause. Now, the interposition of an exciting political canvass must have an evil effect on this good work. Attention will be drawn from it, and partisan interests will be substituted.

Three calls for a third party convention, the party into which it was feared these men might go, were made public in May. The first, in point of time, was addressed, "to the People of the United States," and set forth that the signers felt bound to declare that the time had come for independent men to unite to resist the swelling invasion of a shameless, unrestrained patronage which threatened the rights of the people and the safety of the country. Sure that in a time of revolution, a time when public attention was centered on the success of the armies and therefore was less vigilant of public liberty, the patronage derived from the organization of an army of a million men seriously threatened the stability of republican institutions, they felt compelled to declare that the principle of one term ought to be adhered to in the coming election. They did not see in the Baltimore Convention any of the essentials of a truly national convention. Nearness to Washington and the influence of the administration; remoteness from the center of the country; the mode of call did not permit the people to assemble and deliberate freely. Therefore, they invited their fellow-citizens to meet in mass convention at Cleveland, on the thirty-first day of May, for consultation and concert of action respecting the approaching presidential election.*

The second call, addressed "To the Radical Men of the Nation," issued by a committee of the Central Frémont Club of New York City, invited radicals in every State, County and town in the United States to attend the Cleveland Convention in order to then and there nominate John Charles Frémont for president. The vacillating and imbecile policy of the administration, being just weak enough to waste its men and means to provoke the enemy, and not strong enough to conquer him, called in thunder tones on the lovers of justice to come to the rescue of the imperilled nationality, and the cause of universal freedom. The things

* New York Tribune, May 6, 1864.

that must be had were: immediate extinction of slavery by Congressional action; absolute equality of all men before the law without regard to race or color; such reconstruction as would conform to the policy of freedom for all; and the enforcement, with vigor, of the law for the confiscation of the property of rebels.* To this summons Elizabeth Cady Stanton gave hearty support because, she wrote the Club, it was the only call ever issued for a political convention demanding the right of suffrage for the black man, without which emancipation was a mockery; and because, when a body of men consecrate themselves to freedom and peace and declare their high resolve to found a republic on principles of justice, they have lifted politics into the sphere of morals and religion and made it the duty of all true men and women to work with them.†

The third call came from office-holders at Albany, was addressed, "To the People," and invited all citizens of the United States who meant to uphold the Union, who believed that the rebellion could be put down without infringing the rights of the States, who regarded the extinction of slavery as among the political results of the war, who favored an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery, and demanded integrity and economy in the administration of Government, to attend the Cleveland meeting "for consultation and concert of action in respect to the approaching presidential election." ‡

When the day came some four or five hundred men met at Cleveland, nominated Frémont and General John Cochrane of New York, and adopted a radical platform. The Union must be preserved. The rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms and without compromise, and freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the writ of *habeas corpus* must be held inviolate. Slavery having been destroyed by rebellion, the Constitution must be so amended as to prevent its reëstablishment. The Monroe Doctrine having become a recognized principle, the establishment of an anti-republi-

* New York Tribune, May 17, 1864.
† Ibid., May 18, 1864.
‡ Ibid.

can government on this continent by any foreign power could not be tolerated. The President should have but one term, should be elected by direct vote of the people, and the work of reconstruction should be done by the people through their representatives in Congress, not by him. Lands of the rebels should be confiscated and distributed among the soldiers.*

A week after the radicals finished thier work at Cleveland and went home, the delegates to the Union Convention assembled at Baltimore. Save the two and twenty who came from Missouri, every man present cast his vote for Lincoln. The Missourians voted for Grant, but, before the result of the ballot was announced, changed their vote and Lincoln was unanimously chosen. The choice for Vice-President fell on Andrew Johnson of Tennessee.

The platform, as did that of the radicals, called for suppression of the rebellion by force of arms. No compromise whatever with rebels in arms, and no terms of peace save absolute and unconditional surrender. Slavery must be driven from the United States and the Constitution so amended that it could never be reëstablished. The policy of the President, especially the Emancipation Proclamation and the enlistment of negro troops, was approved. There were thanks for the soldiers and sailors; pledges to encourage immigration, favor the construction of a railroad to the Pacific, redeem the national debt, maintain the Monroe Doctrine; and there was a plank setting forth that it was "essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National Councils, and that we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially endorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government." † A plank, understood to call for changes in the Cabinet.

"The age of statesmen," said the *World,* "is gone; the age of rail-splitters and tailors, of buffoons, boors and fanatics, has succeeded. . . . In a crisis of the most appalling magnitude, requiring statesmanship of the highest order, the

* New York Tribune, June 1, 1864.
† New York Herald, June 9, 1864.

country is asked to consider the claims of two ignorant, boorish, third-rate backwoods lawyers for the highest stations in the government. Such nominations, in such a conjuncture, are an insult to the common sense of the people. God save the Republic." * The *Tribune* could not but feel that it would have been wiser and safer to have spiked the most serviceable guns of the Democrats by nominating another for the Presidency; believed the Confederacy would have lost some of "its cohesive venom" from the hour in which it was known that a new President would be inaugurated on the fourth of March. Now all the hates and spites and slights of four years of momentous struggle would be conjured up against him, and not only against him, but against all who battled for him. All the false charges, false as false could be, that he did not want the rebellion put down, wanted the war to go on indefinitely, did not support generals in the field, left this or that commander to be sacrificed, made campaigns subordinate to carrying this or that State, would be revived. Unprincipled knaves would assert all these and more, and hot-headed partisans would believe them.†

To a delegation from the National Union League which came to congratulate him, Lincoln said, "I do not allow myself to suppose that either the Convention or the League have concluded that I am either the greatest or the best man in America, but rather they have concluded it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river." As the campaign progressed the Democrats delighted to tell him they were ready to swap, and would swap on the eighth of November.

To the committee which came to inform him of his unanimous nomination, Lincoln said, he found no reason why he should not accept it, but perhaps he should not so declare before he read and considered what was called the platform. He would say, however, that he approved of the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the land. ‡ That he should, on such an occasion, pick out this one plank of the platform and make

* New York World, June 9, 1864.
† New York Tribune, June 9, 1864.
‡ Ibid., June 10, 1864.

it subject of comment was no mere accident. He was speaking to the House of Representatives which had before it, at that moment, the Joint Resolution which afterwards became the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Sent down by the Senate in April, the House took it up on the last day of May and still had it under consideration when the National Union Convention met in Baltimore.* To the temporary chairman Lincoln suggested that in his opening address he urge the Convention to demand an amendment prohibiting slavery in the United States.† He did so; the permanent chairman renewed the request, and the plank appeared in the platform. But, a week later, when the House voted on the passage of the Joint Resolution, sixty-four members voted nay, and it failed for want of a two-thirds majority.‡

Each one of the sixty-five votes was cast by a Democrat. Thus have they, it was said, made up this great issue for the campaign. They have chosen to take their stand and fight their fight on the maintenance and perpetuity of human slavery.

The day was now near when the Democratic Convention was to meet at Chicago and decide what two men it should place before the people as its candidates. But there had arisen within that party a difference of opinion as to whether the Convention should, or should not, meet on the appointed day. The war wing was strong for the Fourth of July. Put it off, and the loose material would drift away to Lincoln or Frémont. Hold it on the appointed day, and nominate a popular soldier, McClellan or Grant, and the shoddy Republicans could be easily beaten. The peace wing was for postponement until autumn. Everything seemed to be going their way. The Army of Northern Virginia had not been destroyed, nor captured. Grant was no nearer Richmond than McClellan had been two years before. The Union dead and wounded were greater in number than the army of Lee when Grant crossed the Rapidan. The incapacity of the

* Congressional Globe, 38th Congress, p. 2612.
† Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, vol. x, p. 79.
‡ June 15, 1864.

Administration to carry on the war was now more evident than ever before. Wait a little and see what else would happen. The fond hope of victory and triumph had been shattered, disappointment, despondency, gloom were fast settling on the country, and men were beginning to wonder if a change in the administration might not be for the better. They had their way and later in June it was announced that, in deference to the wishes of "a very large number of the leading members of the Conservative Union Democratic party," throughout the Union, the convention had been put off until the twenty-ninth of August,* in order that the events of the war might point out to all the ticket of the party, and the way to harmony and success.†

Never since the war began had the country known a gloomier period than the months of July and August, 1864. The high hopes and expectations with which the people had seen the great armies go forth to battle in May, had not been realized. Grant was not in Richmond. Sherman was not in Atlanta. Early had all but entered Washington and his troops had threatened Baltimore. The national debt was over one billion seven hundred million dollars; the cost of the war was two million dollars a day and not a victory to show for it; the Treasury was almost dry and the Secretary was striving to sell two hundred million dollars of 7-30 Treasury Notes; the President had called for five hundred thousand volunteers and another draft was sure to be made; and to make matters worse the national credit sank to its lowest depth. On the first business day of the year gold rose to one hundred and fifty-one, and with some fluctuations continued to rise, until in April it touched one hundred and seventy-five. Chase beat down the premium by the sale of seven million dollars of gold in New York; but the Wall Street speculators forced it up so steadily that by the middle of June one dollar in gold was worth one dollar and ninety-eight cents in paper. Congress then interfered, forbade time sales and decreed fines and imprisonment for any one who should sell, for future delivery, gold he did not have

* New York Herald, June 23, 1864. Official Notice.
† Ibid., June 28, 1864.

when the sale was made.* Unhappily there are evils which cannot be stamped out by law, and this speculation in gold was one of them, for, despite the law, the premium went on rising and on the first of July, just after Chase resigned, two and a half dollars in paper was asked for one in gold. On the following day Congress repealed the act. Early was then at Winchester. On the eleventh he was on the outskirts of Washington, and on that day of gloom the speculators, Copperheads, traitors, they were called, forced the price of gold to two hundred and eighty-five, the highest it ever reached.

The shortcomings and evil-doing of Lincoln and his party were now set forth in an address to the "People of the United States and especially to those of the States which adhere to the Federal Government." The signers were forty-three members of Congress, Peace Democrats politically opposed to the Administration. Their object was to show the people that there were good reasons for a change in the present administration and policy of the Government. These reasons were, the placing of all power of the Government in the hands of one political party, thereby leaving it free and unchecked to do its will and pleasure; military interference with elections; bogus State Governments set up in West Virginia, Louisiana, and recently, an attempt to set up one in Florida. Troops had been raised by conscription and not by the constitutional method of State coöperation, thereby causing great expense to the Treasury and creating an unnecessarily large number of Federal officials. Bounties had been paid by the United States, by State Governments, by cities, counties and municipalities of all sorts. Negro troops had been raised and put on a par with white troops, thus breaking down the barriers between the races. Public revenues had been needlessly wasted by the expenditure of enormous sums on foolish and fruitless military expeditions. A system of Government paper money had been introduced, a system which, not possibly, but probably, would come crashing down in the future. There was danger under the

* Act of June 17, 1864.

present rulers that some foreign Power would intervene in the pending struggle. The Union should be reconstructed with the States as they were before the war, save for such changes as they might agree on among themselves. The Constitution was the only bond of Union among the States and should be left as it was. There should be a general amnesty save for particular offenses.*

Far more savage was the attack which Lincoln now brought upon himself, from his own party, by his recent treatment of the Congressional plan for reconstruction of the rebel States. In his Amnesty Proclamation of the eighth of December, 1863, he promised that when, in any rebel State, except Virginia, a number of persons "not less than one-tenth in number of votes cast in such State at the presidential election" of 1860 should, under certain conditions, organize a government he would recognize it as the government of that State and under this pledge, governments had been set up in Arkansas and Louisiana. To his party in Congress this was a deliberate usurpation of powers that did not belong to him, for, under that clause of the Constitution which guarantees to each State a Republican form of government, it was Congress, not the Executive, that should reorganize them when rebellion within their bounds had been crushed. Lest the President's plan should be carried further, Congress proceeded to make a plan of its own, passed "An Act to guarantee to certain States whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government," and sent it to Lincoln in the last hours of the last day of the session. The President, following the usual custom, was in his room in the Capitol signing bills rushed through at the end of the session, when that embodying the Congressional plan of reconstruction was laid on his table. To the deep disgust of his party in Congress it was neither signed nor vetoed and failed to become a law. He did not intend to aid in the destruction of his own plan. Nor did he intend that his refusal to approve that of Congress should be used against him in the campaign by the Democrats, by

* New York Herald, July 19, 1864.

the Radicals, or by the disgruntled members of his party. Four days later, therefore, he issued a proclamation explaining his action and defining his position.

The bill authorized the President to appoint in each State, declared in rebellion, a Provisional Governor to carry on civil government until a State Government had been formed and recognized by Congress. The Provisional Governor, as soon as military resistance had been put down and the people had become obedient to the Constitution and laws of the United States, was to direct the Marshal to enroll all white male citizens resident in the State. After a majority of these had taken the oath of allegiance they were to elect delegates to a convention that must put three provisions into the State constitution. These were that no person who had held, under the usurping power, any civil or military office, State or Confederate, except offices ministerial and military officers below the rank of Colonel, should vote for, or be a member of the legislature, or governor. Slavery must be forever prohibited and freedom of all persons guaranteed. No debt, State or Confederate, created by, or created under the sanction of the usurping power, should be recognized or paid by the State. When the Constitution, as framed by the convention, had been ratified by the voters and approved by Congress, the President, by proclamation, must recognize the Government as established, and none other, as the constitutional Government of the State. Then, and not before, Senators, Representatives and electors of President and Vice-President might be chosen. Until that time the laws of the United States, and laws of the State as they were before its secession, were to be enforced by the Provisional Governor.

This bill, Lincoln said in his proclamation, had come to him less than an hour before the end of the late session of Congress, and was not signed by him. But in it was a plan for restoring to the Union the States in rebellion, a plan which expressed the sense of Congress on that matter and which it seemed fit should be laid before the people for consideration. While unwilling to be bound to any single plan of restoration by approving the bill, while unwilling to set aside and hold at naught the constitutions and the

governments already set up in Arkansas and Louisiana, while unwilling to admit the right of Congress to abolish slavery in any State, while sincerely hoping for an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout the nation, he was, nevertheless, fully satisfied that the plan of restoration contained in the bill was one very proper for loyal people in any State to adopt if they thought it wise to do so. And to such people he would give Executive aid and assistance just as soon as military resistance had been put down, and they had returned to their obedience to the laws and Constitution of the United States. Then Military Governors would be appointed and ordered to proceed according to the bill.*

With all possible speed two members of Congress, Henry Winter Davis, who reported the bill to the House, and Benjamin F. Wade, who reported it to the Senate, addressed a protest "To the supporters of the Government" and gave it to the press. The document was of great length, passed in review almost every line of the proclamation and bitterly attacked every statement made by the President.†

While Davis and Wade were writing their manifesto sundry private citizens, weary of what they considered the weakness of Lincoln and his inability to bring about peace, undertook, on their own account, to show him how easily it might be brought about.

The arrival in Canada of Clement C. Clay of Alabama, James P. Holcomb of Virginia, sent thither on a secret mission by the Confederate Government, James Thompson of Mississippi and George N. Sanders of Kansas, inspired one, calling himself William Cornell Jewett of Colorado, to attempt to bring about a conference of Northern and Southern men to discuss the terms of peace. So minded, late in June he wrote a long and silly letter to Lincoln and applied for help to Greeley. ‡

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* The proclamation and the bill are in Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, pp. 222-226.

† New York Times, August 5, 1864. New York Herald, August 7, 1864. Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia, 1864.

‡ Jewett's statement to the New York Herald, July 25, 1864. Letter to Lincoln, June 30. Reply of Greeley, July 3, 5, 1864.

Greeley sent both letter and telegram to Lincoln; assured him the South was longing for peace, and "ventured to remind" him "that our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country also longs for peace, shudders at the prospect of fresh conscription, of further wholesale devastation, of new rivers of human blood, and a widespread conviction that our Government and its supporters are not anxious for peace"; urged him to make overtures for peace and suggested a basis for action.* "If you can find any person, anywhere," wrote Lincoln to Greeley, "professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis, in writing, embracing the restoration of the Union, and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it may embrace, say to him he may come to me with you, and that if he really brings such proposition he shall at least have safe conduct with the paper to the point where you shall have met him." † Jewett now came to New York, saw Greeley, told him that Clay and others had power to negotiate and wished to go to Washington with Sanders.‡

Believing this to be true, Greeley at once wrote Lincoln that he had information on which he could rely that two persons duly commissioned to negotiate for peace were at that moment at Niagara Falls, that they were Clement C. Clay and Jacob Thompson, and wished to confer with the President. Weary of this fruitless exchange of letters Lincoln telegraphed, "I was not expecting you to send a letter, but to bring me a man or men," and sent a letter to Greeley by the hand of Major John Hay. In it he bade Greeley bring the commissioners, if they would come. "I not only intend a sincere effort for peace, but I intend you shall be a witness that it is made. Greeley now asked for safe conduct for Clay, Thompson, Holcomb and Sanders, received it, went to Niagara Falls, and with Jewett as a go-between, wrote to Clay, Thompson and Holcomb. He was informed, he said, that they were credited from Richmond as bearers of propositions looking to the return of peace, wished to visit Washington and desired that Sanders go with them. If

* Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, vol. ix, p. 186.
† Lincoln to Greeley, July 9, 1864. Ibid.
‡ July 12, New York Herald, July 25, 1864.

these were the facts he had authority to tender safe conduct, and accompany them to the Capital.* They had not been accredited from Richmond, they replied, as bearers of peace propositions, "were in the confidential employment of the Government," knew its wishes on the subject of peace, and doubted not if the facts made known in the correspondence were sent to Richmond they would be clothed with authority to act. Thompson, they said, was not then with them at the Falls and had never been with them since they landed in Canada. They asked, therefore, for safe conduct for themselves and Sanders.† Lack of authority to act so changed the situation that Greeley telegraphed to Lincoln for further instructions. ‡ They came in a letter which Major Hay brought to Greeley at Niagara Falls. It read: "To Whom it May Concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways." §

Armed with this letter Hay and Greeley, ignoring Jewett, crossed over to Canada, and met Holcomb, to whom Hay delivered the note. Greeley now formally appointed Jewett, his agent, to receive the reply, and went home. Hay remained, waited a day for a reply, and then wrote Holcomb asking when he might be favored with one. || "Mr. Holcomb greatly regrets," was the reply, "that Major Hay has been detained by any expectation of a reply." The letter was accepted as an answer to one to Mr. Greeley and to him a response had been transmitted. ¶ It was sent to Jewett to be by him forwarded

* New York Herald, July 22, 1864. McPherson, History of the Rebellion, p. 301.

† McPherson, History of the Rebellion, p. 301. July 17, 1864.

‡ Ibid., p. 301. July 18, 1864.

§ Ibid., New York Herald, July 22, 1864.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

to Greeley. Instead of so doing, Jewett, by way of revenge for the slight he felt had been done him by Hay and Greeley going direct to Holcomb, gave the letter to the press. The gist of it was that in place of the safe conduct requested, they had received a document which provoked as much indignation as surprise. Addressed "To Whom It May Concern," it cut off negotiation, laid down in advance the terms of peace, and was a return to the old policy of "no bargaining; no negotiations, no truce with rebels except to bury their dead, until every man shall have laid down his arms, submitted to the Government and sued for peace." To send it to Mr. Davis would be an indignity to him, dishonorable to them, and would bring down on them the well-merited scorn of their countrymen. If there were in the North a military autocrat entitled to offer the conditions named in this manifesto, there was none in the South authorized to consider them. Yet good might come of the correspondence. If there were in the Confederacy any citizen who had clung to a hope that peace was possible with the present administration of the Federal Government, it would strip from his eyes the last film of delusion. If there were any whose hearts had grown faint under the suffering and agony of this bloody struggle, it would fire them with fresh energy to endure and brave whatever might yet be necessary to preserve to themselves and to their children all that gives dignity and value to life, all that gives hope and consolation to death.*

The letter "To Whom it May Concern" was instantly seized on by the Democrats as fine campaign material, was attacked by their presses and cited by their orators as proof, if proof were needed, that Lincoln was not for peace, but for disunion; for never, as he well knew, would the South abandon slavery. In his ultimatum, "To Whom it May Concern," it was said, he lays down the abolition of slavery as one of the terms of peace. Where did he get his authority for this? What section of the Constitution authorizes it? When was the war for the Union turned into a crusade against slavery?

* McPherson, History of the Rebellion, pp. 301, 302. New York Herald, July 22, 1864.

If the South wishes to come back into the Union what party will dare oppose her return? Northern people care nothing for slavery. What they want is the Union.* Lincoln addressed his note "To Whom it May Concern." Well, it concerns everybody and has sealed his fate in the coming presidential election. The people have never before been officially told that the abolition of slavery will be insisted on as a *ne plus ultra* in the terms of peace, and are by no means pleased with the idea.†

While Greeley was busy at Niagara Falls, two other seekers for peace were holding a conference with Davis in Richmond. One was the Reverend Colonel James Frazier Jaquess. The other was James R. Gilmore, a writer well known to that generation under his pen name of Edmund Kirke. The two obtained from Lincoln leave to go on their self-appointed mission, and armed with a pass and a request from the President that Grant would allow them to go South through his lines, made their way to the Army of the Potomac. Grant complied, and one day in early July Lee received from him a note asking that they be allowed to meet Colonel Ould, Commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, somewhere between the lines. ‡ The letter was referred to Davis. He gave his consent. Ould met them and reported that they came, not on business connected with his duties, but with a request to go to Richmond and meet the President. To this Davis assented and, on the night of July sixteenth, they were taken to Richmond and lodged in the Spotswood House under guard. From there, on the following day, they addressed a note to the Secretary of State, Benjamin. Benjamin consented to see them, and escorted by Ould they were taken to a room in the old United States Customhouse and into the presence of a "short, plump, oily little man in black, with a keen black eye, a Jew face, a yellow skin, curly black beard, curly trimmed black whiskers, and a ponderous gold watch chain." He was seated at a table which was covered with a green cloth and piled with

* New York Herald, July 29, 1864.
† Ibid., July 26, 1864.
‡ Grant to Lee, July 8, 1864.

State papers. After some questioning he told them that, as the day was Sunday, Mr. Davis would be in church that afternoon, and bade them come at nine o'clock in the evening. At that hour, again escorted by Colonel Ould, they returned, found Benjamin in his accustomed place and at his right hand "a spare, thin-featured man with iron-gray hair and beard, a clear gray eye, full of life and vigor, a broad forehead, a mouth and chin denoting great energy and strength of will." We have asked, Jaquess said, for this interview in the hope that you may suggest some way to stop the war. Our people want peace. Your people want peace. Your Congress has recently said you do. We have come to ask how it may be brought about. In a very simple way, said Davis. Withdraw your armies from our territory and peace will come of itself. But we cannot let you alone, said Jaquess, so long as you repudiate the Union. Can you as a Christian man leave untried any means of bringing peace? No I cannot, Davis replied. I wish peace as much as you do. I deplore bloodshed as much as you do. But not one drop of blood shed in this war, is on my hands. I did my best for twelve years to avert war. But the North was mad and blind and would not let us govern ourselves, and the war came and now it must go on until the last man of this generation falls in his tracks and his children seize his musket and fight our battles, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are not fighting for slavery. We are fighting for independence, and that or extermination we *will* have. We have no wish, replied Jaquess, to exterminate you, but we must crush your armies and exterminate your government, and is not that nearly done? You are without money and at the end of your resources. Grant has you shut up in Richmond. Sherman is at Atlanta. Had you not better accept terms while you retain your prestige?

We are not exactly shut up in Richmond, said Davis. If your papers tell the truth it is your Capital that is in danger, not ours. Some weeks ago, Grant crossed the Rapidan to whip Lee and take Richmond. Lee drove him in the first battle, and then Grant executed what your people call a

"brilliant flank movement," and fought Lee again. Lee drove him a second time, and then Grant made another flank movement, and so they kept on, Lee whipping and Grant flanking, until Grant got where he is now. And what is the net result? Grant has lost seventy-five or eighty thousand men, more than Lee had at the outset, and is no nearer taking Richmond than at first. And Lee, whose front has never been broken, holds him completely in check and has men enough to spare to invade Maryland and threaten Washington. As to money, we are richer than you are. You smile. But admit that our paper is worthless, it answers as a circulating medium and we hold it ourselves. If every dollar of it were lost we should have no foreign debt, be none the poorer. But it *is* worth something. It has the solid basis of a large cotton crop, while yours rests on nothing and you owe all the world. We have arms and ammunition and a wide territory from which to draw supplies.

In time the question of terms of peace was reached, Jaquess and Gilmore had none to offer. No authority had been given them to offer any. But let us suppose, said Jaquess, that the two governments agree to something like this. To go to the people with two propositions. Peace with Disunion and Southern independence as yours; Peace with Union, emancipation, no confiscation and universal amnesty as ours, and the citizens of the United States as it were, vote yes, or no. Wholly impractical, said Davis, who after some further conversation asked if Lincoln had authorized them to offer such terms. When answered no, he said they are very generous. Amnesty applied to criminals. We have committed no crime. Confiscation is of no account unless it can be enforced. Emancipation! You have already emancipated two millions of our slaves, and if you will take care of them you may emancipate the rest. You may emancipate every negro in the Confederacy, but we will be free. We will govern ourselves. We *will* do it, if we have to see every plantation sacked, and every Southern city in flames. When, finally, Jaquess and Gilmore were about to leave, Davis said: "Say to Mr. Lincoln for me, that I shall at any time be pleased to receive proposals for peace on the

basis of independence. It will be useless to approach me with any others.*

Benjamin put his story of the interview in the form of a circular from the Department of State, gave copies to the press and sent some abroad.† Each party found much comfort in the story of Gilmore. The Unionist, because it proved that Davis would never make peace without independence, which he must not have. The Democrats, because it proved that Lincoln would not make peace without emancipation, which he could not have.

To Republican leaders, as they looked over the field in August, all seemed lost. Unless the unexpected happened, Lincoln would be beaten. Greeley wrote him that nine-tenths of the people, North and South, were for peace, peace on almost any terms. They were utterly sick of human slaughter and devastation. He knew that to the general eye it seemed that the rebels were anxious for peace "and that we repulse them." He knew that if this impression be not removed "we shall be beaten out of sight next November." If the rebellion could be crushed before November, it would be safe to go on; if not, "we are rushing on certain ruin." "I beg you, implore you, to inaugurate or invite proposals for peace forthwith." ‡ So downhearted were the leaders in New York City that a call for a convention to meet in Cincinnati on the twenty-eighth of September and choose a stronger candidate was privately issued, and met with approval. § Dickinson, of New York, could not believe that Lincoln would wish to enter on a canvass if he knew the state of the public mind. The editor of a Cincinnati journal declared that the people now regarded Mr. Lincoln's candidacy as a misfortune. His apparent strength when

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* New York Tribune, August 18, 1864. Atlantic Monthly, September, 1864. Kirke, Down in Tennessee.

† Benjamin to Mason, August 25, 1864. Mason Papers, Library of Congress; Richmond Dispatch, August 26; Whig, August 26; Enquirer, August 27, 1864.

‡ Greeley to Lincoln, August 9, 1864. Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, vol. ix, p. 196.

§ New York Sun, June 30, 1889. Rhodes' History of the United States, vol. iv, p. 519.

nominated was fictitious, but the fiction having disappeared in place of confidence there was distrust. "The withdrawal of Lincoln and Frémont, and the nomination of a man who would inspire confidence and infuse life into our ranks would be hailed with general delight." * A committee of Radicals in Boston invited Frémont to withdraw.† The invitation was not then accepted. Thurlow Weed told Lincoln his election was impossible. He knew no one who had the slightest hope of success.‡ Raymond, editor of the New York *Times* and chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee wrote that he was "in active correspondence with your staunchest friends in every State, and from them all I hear but one report. The tide is setting strong against us." Illinois was gone; Pennsylvania was gone; nothing but the most strenuous efforts could carry Indiana. There were two causes for this great reaction in public sentiment and these were, want of military successes, and the belief of some, the fear of others, that peace would never be made by the Administration until slavery was abandoned. §

And now even Lincoln lost heart, and on the twenty-third of August signed a memorandum which reads: "This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be reëlected. Then it will be my duty to so coöperate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration, as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he cannot possibly save it afterwards." ||

Most happily, the fears of Lincoln, the Radicals, the party leaders and the people were to come to naught. The days of apathy, gloom, despair were fast drawing to a close. A

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* New York Sun, June 30, 1889.

† Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia, 1864, pp. 791, 792, August 20. McPherson's History of the Rebellion, pp. 425, 426.

‡ Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, vol. ix, p. 250.

§ Ibid., p. 218.

|| Ibid., p. 251. Copies of the memorandum, it may well be, were sent to members of the Cabinet. However this may be, a copy, not in Lincoln's hand but signed by him, was among the manuscripts of Gideon Welles sold at auction in Philadelphia in January, 1924.

splendid series of victories so greatly needed to hearten the people now began, and what they did not do to rouse the despondent North was done by a plank in the Democratic platform.

The delegates assembled on the appointed day and in the course of their proceedings chose George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton as their candidates, and adopted a platform, the second resolution of which had been drafted and forced through the committees by Clement L. Vallandigham. "Resolved," it reads, "that this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, . . . justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." * Charges that the Administration had meddled with elections in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri; charges that dangerous powers, unknown to the Constitution had been usurped; citizens arbitrarily arrested, imprisoned, tried and sentenced under military law in States where civil law was in full force; that freedom of speech and of the press had been suppressed; the rights of the States openly set at naught; unusual test oaths used; the right of the people to bear arms in their own defense denied them, and that prisoners of war, suffering in Southern prisons, had been shamefully neglected, passed unnoticed. They had long been used by Democratic orators in their speeches and by Democratic mass meetings in their resolutions. But to be told that the war was a failure; that the blood shed on a hundred battlefields had been poured out in vain; that the time had come to own defeat, cease hostilities, throw up their hands and make peace on "the basis of the Union of the States," was a shock such as the country had never before received from any party platform. And now, as if to disprove the statement so ar-

* McPherson, History of the Rebellion, pp. 419. Stanwood, History of the Presidency, p. 304. Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia, 1864, p. 793.

rogantly put forth that the war had failed, a series of splendid victories followed in rapid succession. On the day whereon the Convention adopted its platform, newspapers in the East announced that Farragut had captured Fort Morgan and was master of the Bay and port of Mobile, and four days later set the North aflame by announcing that Sherman had taken Atlanta. In mid-September came Sheridan's defeat of Early at Winchester and at Fisher's Hill, and in October his victory at Cedar Creek.

Both the platform and the candidates were hailed with delight by the Democrats, and ratified with enthusiasm at mass meetings the country over. McClellan, in his letter of acceptance, found nothing to criticize in the platform save the resolution declaring the war was a failure. This, with a courage which did him honor, he utterly repudiated in his letter of acceptance. He could not, he said, look in the faces of his gallant comrades of the army and the navy and tell them that their labors and the sacrifice of so many of their slain and wounded brethren had been in vain.* Neither could the Radicals who, one by one, now returned to the fold. The *Tribune* would "henceforth fly the banner of Abraham Lincoln for the next President," choosing that far rather than the Disunion and a quarter of a century of war, or the Union and potential servitude offered by the Democrats.† *The Independent,* once foremost among the journals that opposed the nomination of Lincoln, now came to his support. If, it said, a fortnight ago Mr. Lincoln's election seemed doubtful, the case is now changed. The outrageous character of the Chicago platform, and the sunshiny effect of our late victories by land and sea have rekindled the old enthusiasm in loyal breasts.‡

Wade forgot his grievances, took the stump, and addressed a great Union meeting at Meadville, Pennsylvania, in support of the Baltimore ticket. Chase who, since his resignation, had sulked in his tent, took the stump in Ohio and spoke

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* Letter of acceptance, September 8, 1864, McPherson, History of the Rebellion, p. 421.

† New York Tribune, September 6, 1864.

‡ Ibid., September 9, 1864.

for Lincoln. Dickinson no longer had any "doubt of Lincoln's triumphant election." *

A writer in the *Tribune* described with accuracy the great change which had so suddenly come over the world of politics. Ten days ago, he said, dread of an uncertain, gloomy and disastrous failure for the country weighed on almost every loyal heart. It was visible everywhere. The belief that the Government had not done the work that it was expected to do had taken possession of the public mind. The rebellion was still formidable and defiant. The plain people had begun to doubt the ability of Mr. Lincoln to guide the nation in so stormy, so perilous a time. The leaders were disheartened and fearful lest a premature nomination had forced Union men into the field with a candidate sure to go down and drag down the country with him. Now, all this is changed. The first stimulus to the despondent loyal spirits was the base, the mean sentiments of the Chicago platform. The people saw in them something so humiliating, so debasing, so calamitous to the country, that in comparison the slowness, indecision, weakness, mistakes of Lincoln seemed shining virtues, and they have flocked to his banner. The second stimulus was the glorious victory at Atlanta. To these is due the great change a few days have witnessed, and under their influence all is now radiant and hopeful along the Union lines.† Frémont now withdrew, not, he wrote the Boston Radicals, "to aid in the triumph of Mr. Lincoln," but to do his part "towards preventing the election of the Democratic candidate." ‡

Two newspapers in New York City repudiated McClellan because of his rejection of the war-a-failure plank. § But the mass of Democratic voters cared nothing for the platform nor the letter of acceptance. They hated "Old Abe,"

* New York Sun, June 30, 1889.

† New York Tribune, September 13, 1864.

‡ Ibid., September 23, 1864. McPherson, History of the Rebellion, pp. 426, 427.

§ Metropolitan Record; New York Daily News, quoted by New York Tribune, September 12, 1864. Answered by Cincinnati Enquirer, Chicago Times, Boston Courier, quoted by New York World, September 14, 1864.

were determined to elect "Little Mac," and on the transparencies carried in hundreds of torchlight parades and displayed in hundreds of mass meetings expressed such sentiments as: "Old Abe removed McClellan. We'll now remove Old Abe"; "To Whom it May Concern—For President, George B. McClellan"; "Time to Swap Horses, November 8th"; "Fort Lafayette, To Let"; "The Constitution as it is, the Union as it was"; "We demand the *habeas corpus*"; "No more vulgar jokes"; "No emancipation; no miscegenation; no confiscation; no subjugation." Never, it was said, had there been so many marching clubs, such torchlight parades, such fireworks; such crowds at mass meetings, such enthusiasm.

As suggested by the Chicago convention, the seventeenth of September was set apart as a day very proper for ratification meetings in every city, town and village the country over. It was the seventy-seventh anniversary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the convention that framed it, and the second anniversary of the battle of Antietam. What better day could be chosen for such rejoicing by a party whose leader was the victor at Antietam and whose slogan was "The Constitution as it is, the Union as it was." Orators on that day made no allusion to the repudiated plank, but had much to say in praise of other passages in McClellan's letter of acceptance, and much to say in condemnation of Lincoln's letter, "To Whom it May Concern." Old Abe, they would say, in that letter announced that any proposition for the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery would be considered. McClellan says, "the Union is the one condition of peace—we ask no more." Lincoln and his friends are for peace on conditions. We are for the Union at all hazards. If you are going to subjugate the South it will fight on; but if you say we are willing to have you back, it will lay down its arms and come back. You cannot subjugate the South. If beaten in one place it will rise up in another, and you will have another war, a standing army and a yearly draft. On Lincoln's platform the war will last as long as there is a man, woman or child in the South. The

South will never abandon slavery. It is idle to expect peace on such a platform. We stand on another sort of platform. We demand peace and a restoration of the Union. We are ready to extend the right hand of fellowship to those erring brethren of the South whenever they will return to the Union with no conditions either one way or the other on the question of slavery.* It is not we who fear a fraternal relationship again with the people of the South. It is not we who stand in the way of restoration of the Union. It is that party which, by its legislation, by its proclamations, by its policy, by its passions, by its hates, by its bigotry, by its intolerance, has furnished all the obstacles which to-day prevent the seceding States from coming back to the Union and restoring peace to the land. Who asks conditions before the restoration of the Union? Read the letter of Mr. Lincoln and you will learn who it is that are the conditional Union men. Does our candidate ask conditions? He asks, he demands, that whenever the people of the South will return they shall have restored to them every constitutional right, every State right, every personal right that is enjoyed in any part of the country by any one.†

Who is the Union man, McClellan who puts nothing before Union, or Lincoln who puts emancipation of the slaves before Union? This is the exact question to be settled by the election. Give your votes for George B. McClellan and you give them for Union, for the unity of the country, for constitutional liberty to its utmost bounds. ‡ Supporters of Mr. Lincoln do not want the Union restored, do not intend to have it restored. If they intend to go on and abolish slavery in the rebel States then they do not mean to restore the Union. Overthrow of the rebel armies will be followed by guerrilla warfare, by a standing army larger than that now in the field, and at a cost utterly impossible to meet. §

The Union party attacked McClellan's letter of acceptance

* Judge Parker at New York, September 17, 1864; New York World, September 19, 1864.

† Governor Seymour at New York, September 8, 1864; World, September 9, 1864.

‡ Samuel T. Tilden at New York, October 31, 1864.

§ John Van Buren at Hudson, October 27, 1864.

and his platform as vigorously as the Democrats attacked Lincoln's letter "To Whom it May Concern." Little Mac, they would say, has made another "change of base," but if he could not take Richmond with his base on Washington, he will never take Washington with his base on Richmond. His letter is an attempt to repudiate the platform whereon he was nominated. The war he says, was begun for the preservation of the Union. It was begun for the destruction of the Union by the men who adopted the ordinances of secession, fired on the "Star of the West," and on Fort Sumter. The Union, he says, is the one condition of peace; the Union must be preserved at all hazards, the seceding States must be brought back at whatever cost of blood and treasure, but they must come back with slavery and be protected in the full enjoyment of its blessings. When a rebel State is willing to come back it must be received at once with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights. There must be an immediate cessation of hostilities with a view to a convention of the States. The Constitution of the Confederate States bestows the war power on the Confederate Government. The rebel States, singly or all together have no power to go into a convention with representatives of a foreign State, no power of political negotiation, no power to contract politically. Jefferson Davis commands the situation in the South. Does any one doubt he would disperse a peace-making convention assembled for any other purpose than to give a breathing time to the rebellion? Read what he said to Gilmore and Jacquess. "The war must go on until the last man of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize his musket and fight our battle, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are not fighting for slavery. We are fighting for independence, and that, or extermination, we will have." *

The Copperheads say, that if the war had been conducted with energy we should long since have stamped out the rebellion, said Henry Winter Davis. I say yes, and the greatest of all failures was George B. McClellan who wasted the largest army the Republic ever gathered in idleness for eight

* New York Tribune, September 10, 1864.

months. Yes, opportunities have been lost. There was no opportunity equal to that of McClellan in the autumn of 1861 and the spring of 1862. Lost opportunities! Aye, a great one was lost when a broken and flying enemy with a vast river in its rear was allowed to escape, and that was by George B. McClellan after Antietam. It may be the war has been badly conducted, but the worst part of that conduct was when McClellan commanded the Army of the Potomac. Grant that the conduct of the war has been weak, agree to everything our opponents say, yet the fact that the war has gone on for four years without breaking the rebellion is because McClellan, with command of all the armies for nearly a year, left it as it is, unbroken.* McClellan did not strive to crush the rebellion, but to delay, temporize, hold back, until foreign complications, financial troubles, popular discouragement forced the Government to compromise.† How can we, asked Schurz, restore "the Union as it was," restore the relations between a dominant and a slave race? What the Democrats mean to restore is slavery. Restore slavery in the middle of the nineteenth century? Who dares to hope the American people will aid in such a crazy attempt? ‡ I don't want the Union "as it was," said another orator, with slave representation on the floor of Congress. The North humbles itself, said Beecher, if it allows any convention of the States. By doing so it acknowledges the principle of State Sovereignty. There will be no real peace until that heresy is settled forever by the subjugation of the rebels. The Southern States have put themselves without the pale of the Constitution, and we are now pledged to do what ten years ago it would have been a crime to do. Slavery must fall with the rebellion, and they will surely fall. §

While the leaders, the stump orators, the press of each party were attacking the platforms, the candidates and the letters, the October elections were held in Pennsylvania, Ohio

* Henry Winter Davis in Philadelphia, October 22, 1864. New York Tribune, October 29, 1864.

† New York Tribune, September 20, 1864.

‡ Carl Schurz at Brooklyn, New York Tribune, October 10, 1864.

§ New York Tribune, October 24, 1864.

and Indiana. In Pennsylvania the number of Union Party representatives was increased. Ohio and Indiana which in August seemed lost, were won by the Union Party by large majorities, and what was quite as cheering, the Union men of Maryland, by a majority of three hundred and seventy-five,* adopted a new constitution and made Maryland a free State. To beat the Democracy in Pennsylvania, crush the Copperheads in Indiana, annihilate the Peace Party in Ohio, rescue Maryland from the yoke of slavery, and add twenty numbers to our strength in Congress is pretty good work, it was said, for the October elections. The question of the presidency is settled. The rebellion is doomed, the Union must triumph, slavery is to die, the election of Lincoln and Johnson next month is certain.† It was assured, and when the ballots cast for presidential electors on November eighth were counted, it was found that Lincoln and Johnson had carried every State in the Union save New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky.

While the campaign was still under way, Roger Taney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court since the time of Jackson, died in office. Many were the men from whom Lincoln might have chosen a successor; but, with a kindliness he often showed, he overlooked the hostility of Chase and, when Congress met, nominated him for the Chief Justiceship.

* Proclamation of the Governor, October 29, 1864; New York Tribune, October 31, 1864.

† New York Tribune, October 12, 13, 1864.

CHAPTER XXII.

RAIDS FROM CANADA.

The summer and autumn of 1864 was a time of no little excitement along our northern border, caused by the activity of Confederate refugees and escaped prisoners of war who had found a refuge in Canada, and by the presence there of Jacob Thompson, an active agent of the Confederacy. He was sent thither by Davis under orders partly verbal and partly written. "Confiding special trust in your zeal, discretion and patriotism," Davis wrote, "I hereby direct you to proceed to Canada, there to carry out such instructions as you have received from me verbally, in such manner as shall seem most likely to conduce to the furtherance of the interests of the Confederate States of America which have been intrusted to you.* So instructed, Thompson ran the blockade, reached Bermuda, went to Halifax, and made his way thence to Montreal. A part of his duty was to find out what was the public sentiment in the United States, and as far as possible use the anti-war feeling to further the interests of the Confederacy. Northern men he found convinced that Grant would succeed in his advance on Richmond; that battles of Spottsylvania, the Wilderness and Cold Harbor were Union victories; that his flanking movements would end with the destruction of Lee's army before Richmond; that Sherman would defeat Johnston in Georgia, and take Atlanta, and that Lincoln would be reëlected. Much discouraged, Thompson went to Windsor, met Vallandigham and heard from him of the existence of a secret political organization known to its members as the Order of the Sons of Liberty.

During the spring of 1863 there spread rapidly over Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and into some parts of Missouri and Ken-

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 322.

tucky, a secret organization known as the O.A.K. or Order of American Knights. Like all such secret orders it had its signs, grips, passwords, oaths, degrees and fantastical ritual.* In 1864, the name was changed to the Order of the Sons of Liberty and Vallandigham was made Supreme Commander. To the mass of Democrats who became American Knights, or Sons of Liberty, and none but Democrats could, the objects of the order appeared to be to unite and organize the party, oppose the policy of the Administration, withstand the draft, hinder enlistment, resist arbitrary arrest. The Government, they were told, was tyrannical. They were being trampled under foot. They must stand in defense of their rights.† This was the political organization. But there was also a military organization, a few leaders whose schemes were not made known to the great body of members, and whose purpose it was to prepare for a general uprising on an appointed day; seize the arsenals at Indianapolis, Springfield, Chicago and Columbus; set free the rebel prisoners at Camp Chase, Camp Morton, Camp Douglas and Rock Island, arm them, overthrow State Governments in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, form a Northwestern Confederacy and dictate peace. ‡

From Vallandigham Thompson learned many of these things, and hinted that he would provide money and arms to be used in setting up a Northwestern Confederacy; but Vallandigham would not listen to any such proposal. From others Thompson learned that July twentieth was the day fixed by the Sons of Liberty for the uprising; but the General Council of the Order changed the date to the sixteenth of August. § The people, he was told, must first be prepared by public meetings to be held at Peoria, Springfield, Chicago. For the "peace meeting" at Peoria, Thompson supplied the money and wrote Benjamin it was a great success. "The vast multitudes who attended seemed to be swayed but by one leading idea, peace. The friends were encouraged and

* Pitman, Indiana Treason Trials, pp. 36, 91, 92, 95, 120.
† Ibid., p. 41.
‡ Ibid., pp. 125, 127.
§ Ibid., pp. 145, 147, 148.

strengthened and seemed anxious for the day when they would do something to hasten them to the great goal of peace." * "In order to arouse the people," he wrote Mason and Slidell, "political meetings, called 'peace meetings,' have been held and inflammatory addresses delivered, and whenever orators have expressed themselves for peace with the restoration of the Union and, if that cannot be, then peace on any terms, the cheers and clamor of the masses have known no bounds." † Despite this excitement the sixteenth of August came and went and no uprising occurred anywhere. The leaders had put it off until the twenty-ninth, when the Democratic National Convention was to assemble, when the city would be full of strangers, and the presence of the conspirators would not be noticed. But again no attempt was made to liberate the prisoners, whereupon Thompson, despairing of aid from the Sons of Liberty, determined to act without them, and liberate the prisoners on Johnson's Island which lay just within the entrance to Sandusky Bay. To accomplish this he must have command of the Lake. To get command of the Lake he must have the revenue cutter *Michigan,* the only armed vessel the Government then had on the Great Lakes although, under the agreement of 1817, it was entitled to three. That he might know if it were possible to get the *Michigan* another escaped prisoner, Captain Cole, was sent on a cruise along the lake shore as a lower-deck passenger.

Instructions required him to learn to know all the channels, all the ways of approach to all the chief harbors, ascertain the strength of every city and important town along the coast, find out where coal was deposited, get into touch with the officers of the *Michigan* and, feeling his way, seek to buy her from them; in other words, bribe them to surrender her. Cole reported he believed she could be bought, was ordered to buy her, failed, and asked leave to use force. ‡ Thompson gave his assent and Acting Master John Y. Beall

* Thompson to Benjamin, December 13, 1864, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, Part II, p. 931.

† Southern Bivouack, January, 1887, p. 509.

‡ Thompson to Benjamin, December 3, 1864, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, Part II, p. 932.

was sent with Cole to make the attempt. September nineteenth was the day chosen for making the attack on the revenue cutter.

The captain of the *Michigan* had been informed by the Assistant-Provost-Marshal-General that he would be attacked by refugees from Windsor, and that his crew had been tampered with by a rebel agent named Cole. But the Marshal thought it best to keep quiet and let the attempt be made that all concerned might be captured.* When, therefore, Cole, on the evening of the eighteenth, invited the officers of the *Michigan* to a dinner on shore, one of them sent word he could not come without leave of the Captain, who would not give it unless Cole made the request in person. Suspecting nothing Cole boarded the vessel to make the request and was at once arrested.

Beall, ignorant of what had happened at Sandusky, went on with his part of the plan, which was to seize the propeller *Philo Parsons* which plied between Sandusky and Detroit. As she came down from Detroit that morning, some twenty shabbily dressed men boarded her at Sandwich and Malden. They were supposed to be men who had fled from the United States to escape the draft and were going home. Nothing happened until Kelley's Island was passed, when officers and crew were notified they were prisoners of war, and the *Parsons* in possession of Captain Allen of the Confederate States Army. The *Parsons* was taken to Middle Bass Island where the passengers and crew were put ashore. While at the island the *Island Queen,* on her way to Toledo with forty men of an Ohio regiment home on furlough, came alongside, made fast to the *Parsons* and was about to put out her plank to pass freight across the *Parsons,* when she was boarded by the Confederates, and officers, soldiers, passengers and crew made prisoners. The women, children and crew were put ashore; the soldiers paroled and sworn to secrecy for twenty-four hours and landed, and the two steamers, lashed together, started towards Sandusky. When a few miles from the island the water-cock of the *Island*

* Dix to Stanton, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, Part II, p. 226.

Queen was knocked off, and the vessel, cut adrift, was left to sink.*

The *Parsons* then made for Sandusky to capture the *Michigan;* but seventeen of Beall's men protested against the attempt as foolhardy, and the steamer was taken to Sandwich and scuttled, and had partly filled when her mate, who came in a small steamer, took possession. She was towed to Detroit. Not all the raiders escaped. Before the year ended, Beall, bent on wrecking a passenger train that he might rob the express, was caught not far from the Suspension Bridge, was tried before a military commission, was found guilty of acting as a spy and of waging guerrilla and irregular warfare, and was hanged on Governor's Island.†

Seddon was sorely disappointed by the outcome of the attempted rescue, but determined to try once more, and appealed to Bulloch for aid. He wished, he wrote, to call attention to the poor prisoners on Johnson's Island, and to the great importance of releasing them next spring. Two attempts to do so had failed. Could not Bulloch buy, in England, two commercial vessels suitable for passing through the St. Lawrence into Lake Ontario, and by the Welland Canal into Lake Erie. They should seem to be intended for Lake trade, but should be in charge of naval officers, should have on board selected crews, and have small arms and perhaps a few pieces of ordnance carefully hidden in their holds. Once on Lake Erie enough Confederates should be added to the crews to effect the capture of the *Michigan* and release the prisoners on Johnson's Island. It might be that the crew of the *Michigan,* for one or two thousand dollars each, could be induced to surrender her. ‡

Excitement along the border had scarcely subsided before it was again aroused by a land raid from Canada led by Lieutenant Bennett H. Young. The town he chose for attack was St. Albans, in Vermont, some sixteen miles south of

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* Toledo Blade, September 20, 1864.

† The case of John Y. Beall, McPherson, History of the Rebellion, pp. 549, 550.

‡ Seddon to Bulloch, November 17, 1864, Official Records, Confederate Navy, Series 2, vol. ii, p. 768.

the border, and in sight of Lake Champlain. During a week in early October strangers arrived every day and put up at one or another of the boarding places which passed for hotels. Some wore the uniform of Federal soldiers; some might have been English tourists. Others appeared to the townsmen to be speculators, contractors, substitute agents, such as were then to be seen in any border town. No sign of recognition, not a word, passed between any of them. At last, when all had come, some thirty or more, Young gave the order, and on the afternoon of October nineteenth raids were made at the same moment on the three banks in the town, the drawers and vaults rifled, and more than two hundred and eleven thousand dollars carried away. This done the raiders went up and down the main street firing their pistols and crying out they were Confederate soldiers, that they would burn the town, that they would do what Sheridan had done in the Shenandoah Valley and Sherman in Atlanta. When the people, amazed by the noise, hurried into the streets they were rounded up, taken to the common and held under guard until others of the party had secured enough horses from livery stables, vehicles in streets, and citizens of the town to give each raider a mount. On these, Young and his men rode off, firing their pistols as they went.* During the raid, which was all over in less than half an hour, one man was killed, a few hurt, and attempts made to start fires in several places.†

With all possible speed a party of mounted men set off from St. Albans in pursuit, crossed the border and made some captures. The Canadians made more, and in a few days Young and twelve others were lodged in jail at St. John's. ‡ From there they were taken to Montreal for a hearing before Judge Coursol of the Court of Sessions. Clay was so sure they would be extradited that he urged Davis not to fail to avow the raid was warranted as an act of retaliation. If he did not, Young and his men would be

* Account of an eye-witness, Troy Times, October 20, 1864.

† November 1, 1864, Clay to Benjamin, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, Part II, p. 905.

‡ Ibid., pp. 435, 455.

given up and the enraged citizens of Vermont would wreak vengeance on them before they reached St. Albans' jail. The sympathy of nine-tenths of the people of Canada, he said, was with Young. A majority of the newspapers were with him and justified, or excused, the raid. The authorities needed but the avowal to refuse the demand for extradition.*

Along our side of the border the excitement, for a few days, was intense. General Dix bade the Provost-Marshal at Burlington send all his available men to St. Albans, ordered a hundred more from Boston, and authorized commanding officers if any marauders were found on the American side of the border to chase them, if necessary, into Canada and there destroy them.† The Governor of Vermont asked Stanton for the use of arms stored at Vergennes.‡ The government rented two tug boats and armed them, and Seward instructed Adams to give notice to Lord Russell that at the end of six months from the day on which notice was given "the United States would deem themselves at liberty to increase the naval armament upon the lakes if, in their judgment, the condition of affairs in that quarter shall then require it."§

That any wild rumor should be believed at such a time of public excitement was no more than was to be expected. When, therefore, the American Consul telegraphed the Mayor of Detroit that a hundred men fully armed and carrying combustibles had left Toronto for Detroit the whole city went wild with alarm. The day was Sunday; but the congregations were dismissed, the bells were rung and the men armed themselves and gathered in crowds awaiting the enemy who did not come. || A rumor which reached Buffalo that same day, that an attack would be made on the city, brought the men to arms. Troops patroled the streets, and

* Clay to Benjamin, November 1, 1864, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, Part II, p. 916.

† Ibid., October 19, 1864, p. 420.

‡ Ibid., pp. 421, 422.

§ Seward to Burnley, September 26, 1864, Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, p. 17. Seward to Adams, October 24, 1864, ibid., pp. 22, 23. Delivered to Russell, November 23, at five minutes after six o'clock P.M., ibid., p. 36.

|| Detroit Free Press, October 31, 1864.

every dock and elevator was carefully protected.* Ogdensburg also was guarded and patroled, for no one knew what city might be attacked.

The officer commanding at Chicago noticed that the city was filling up with suspicious characters. Some he knew were escaped prisoners; others had come from Canada during the Democratic Convention to take part in the proposed attack on Camp Douglas. He was sure they had come again for the same purpose, and aided by Sons of Liberty would capture the Camp, arm the prisoners, cut the telegraph wires, burn the railroad depots, sack the banks, occupy the city and attempt to release other prisoners of war in Indiana and Illinois, and asked for reënforcements.† Hooker could not see the slightest danger of attack but sent some troops, and Sweet, on the eve of the presidential election, ordered the arrest of a number of men he knew were rebel officers, escaped prisoners, or Sons of Liberty and all of whom he believed were concerned in a plot to free the prisoners in Camp Douglas and burn the city of Chicago.

Seven in course of time were tried by a military commission. Two were sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years, two were acquitted, one escaped, one killed himself, and Grenfell was sentenced to be hanged, but Johnson commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. He was sent to the Dry Tortugas in Florida, whence, three years later he escaped.

While the conspirators were preparing to attempt the release of the prisoners at Camp Douglas, Seward received from the United States Consul at Halifax a telegram warning him that it was secretly asserted that plans had been formed by the rebels to burn the chief cities of the North and that they would be carried out on the night of November eighth, the night of presidential election day. ‡ Seward

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* New York Herald, October 31, November 1, 1864.

† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xxxix, Part III, p. 678; vol. xlv, Part I, p. 1078. See also affidavits of Langhorn, Sweet to Seward, December 22, 1864. Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, pp. 84, 87.

‡ Halifax, November 1, 1864. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xliii, Part II, p. 872.

at once spread the news.* The Mayor of New York City replied he did not believe such an attempt would be made but would take precautions.† The Chief Engineer of the Fire Department saw no cause for alarm, but warned the firemen to be ready for any emergency, and bade the bell ringers sound no alarm unless notice of a fire was brought by a member of the department or the police. ‡ On Election Day seven thousand men were placed on lake steamers and held in readiness to meet any attack. Nothing happened, yet, in the main, the rumor was true, for it was intended on that day to burn the City of New York.

Soon after reaching Canada, Thompson wrote Benjamin telling of incendiary plans. Mr. Minor Major he reported, had called, said he was an accredited agent to burn steamboats on the Mississippi, was short of funds and asked for money. He was given "two thousand dollars in Federal currency and soon afterwards several boats were burned at St. Louis, involving an immense loss of property to the enemy." "Money was advanced to Mr. Churchill of Cincinnati to organize a corps for the purpose of incendiarism in that city." "Having nothing else on hand Colonel Martin expressed a wish to organize a corps to burn New York City." § He was allowed to do so, and the night of November eighth was chosen; but the phosphorus was not ready and the attempt was put off for a few days. Eight men were then sent to do the work, and on their arrival in the city took lodgings in as many different hotels. All being ready they began their work, and shortly after nine o'clock on the evening of November twenty-fifth the bell ringer in one of the fire towers sounded an alarm for what proved to be a fire in a bedroom in the St. James Hotel. It was soon put out; but was followed in quick succession by fires at Barnum's Museum, the St. Nicholas, the Lafarge, the Metropolitan, until, by early morning of the twenty-sixth, fire had been set in no less than twelve hotels. Adjoining the

* New York Herald, November 4, 1864.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid., November 6.
§ Thompson to Benjamin, December 3, 1864, Official Records, Series I, vol. xliii, Part II, p. 934.

Lafarge was the Winter Garden Theatre where Edwin Booth and his brothers were playing in "Julius Cæsar" for the benefit of the Shakespeare Monument Fund. The noise of the firemen in front of the hotel started a commotion which might have led to the horrors of a stampede but for the exertions of Booth and the police. Adjoining the Metropolitan Hotel was Niblo's Garden. There also the presence of the firemen in the street so excited the audience that the play, "The Corsican Brothers," was stopped and the manager came on the stage with a boy carrying a large placard with the words "No Fire," and finally quiet was restored.

In the city were many refugees, men who, for one reason or another, had come from the rebellious States. These were now required by Dix to report at headquarters, explain their presence in the city, and register, and keepers of hotels and boarding houses were ordered to send in the names of such strangers promptly. Some seven hundred registered; but, satisfied that all had not done so, Dix had the hotels and boarding houses searched, and sixty were arrested and examined.

Dwellers in the lake cities had long since ceased to give heed to the rumors of threatened invasion which constantly came over the border. But those whose duty it was to keep watch and ward over the safety of the cities were never at rest. Indeed, the Mayor of Detroit, in a proclamation, complained of this indifference of the citizens. For more than four weeks past the Police Commissioner had been trying, he said, to form a volunteer police force; and had tried in vain. Few came forward. Men seemed to think the reports he received, concerning dangers which threatened, were unfounded. They laughed at them as newspaper trash and rumors. But great dangers did threaten; the city had no money with which to pay for more police, and he must appeal to the citizens to volunteer for defense.* Provost-Marshal-General Fry was much concerned. Reliable reports had reached him that numbers of evilly disposed persons, rebel sympathizers, secessionists, marauders, outlaws, had gathered in Canada with the intent to enter the commercial

* Detroit Free Press, December 9, 1864.

cities to seek employment and would soon arrive. Officers of his bureau, therefore, must arrest all suspicious persons.* The Quartermaster General believed they would seek employment in depots of military stores in order to fire them. The plot, he said, by which many steamboats on the western rivers had been set on fire and destroyed by rebel agents, was to be extended to the destruction, by fire, of military stores, shipping, manufactories, and public and private property. Great care must be used not to employ these agents of incendiarism. No man should be hired who, within the last six months, had lived in Canada as a refugee.†

By this time the St. Albans raiders had been given a hearing before Judge Coursol. When the prosecution had ended its case the Judge asked if the prisoners had anything to say. Young answered and said he was a commissioned officer in the Confederate service, had acted under authority, and had violated no law of Great Britain or of Canada; that the expedition was not planned in Canada; that his purpose was to retaliate in some measure for the barbarous atrocities of Grant, Butler, Sheridan, Hunter, Milroy, and other Yankee officers; showed his commission as lieutenant, and his commission to go on the raid, and said he had sent for important testimony and could not be ready for his defense for thirty days. ‡ When the other prisoners had said their say, the Judge granted a delay and the case went over until the thirteenth of December.

On that day the defense raised the question of jurisdiction. The prisoners had been arrested under a provincial law not in force. They should have been arrested under the Imperial law which required the Governor General to sign the warrants. No such warrant had been issued. The Judge, therefore, had no jurisdiction. After listening to argument he decided he had not, and at once discharged the prisoners. The Chief of Police instantly, without an order from the Court, gave back to the raiders ninety thousand dollars taken from them when captured, and placed in

* New York Herald, December 9, 1864. Fry's Circular.
† Ibid.
‡ Montreal Gazette, November 14, 1864.

his custody, and without a moment's delay they fled to parts unknown.*

Again a little wave of angry excitement swept the border. New warrants were issued for the arrest of the fugitives. Troops were sent by the Governor General to the frontier. Lawyers and the newspapers denounced Judge Coursol. He had made a serious blunder. He ought to be removed. If the Government retained him it would be responsible for the whole transaction from first to last. He was a knave or a fool; the most incompetent of magistrates, or the greatest scoundrel between the two seas.† The Montreal Council investigated the conduct of the Chief of Police and forced him to resign.

Dix ordered all commanders on the frontier, should any depredations be attempted in the future, with or without authority from Richmond, to shoot down the perpetrators while in commission of their acts, or, if necessary to capture them cross the boundary, follow them into Canada and, if taken, under no circumstances surrender them to the Canadian authorities. ‡ Lincoln did not approve; whereupon Dix revoked his order and bade commanding officers, when marauders crossed the line, report to him for further instructions. § Meantime a great meeting of citizens of Troy approved the order of Dix, expressed sympathy for their fellow-citizens on the frontier in their anxiety for the safety of home and property, and promised to sustain them in executing the order in question. || Congress appropriated one million dollars with which to build six revenue cutters for the Lake. The President directed that, save immigrants coming directly by sea to a port, no traveler from a foreign land should be allowed to enter the United States without a passport countersigned by an American consul. This regu-

* New York Herald, December 5, 6, 1864.

† Toronto Globe; Toronto Leader; Montreal Witness; New York Tribune, December 19, 1864.

‡ General Order No. 97, December 14, 1864.

§ Ibid., No. 100, December 17, 1864. Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, p. 76.

|| New York World, December 17, 1864; Troy Times, December 17, 1864.

lation, it was announced, was especially intended to apply to persons coming from the neighboring British Provinces.* St. Albans raiders who had been retried were not delivered to the United States. Extradition was refused on the ground of belligerent rights, and they were discharged. But, as the Governor-General had promised, they were almost immediately arrested on the charge of violation of the neutrality laws.† It made little matter. The people of the North were too busy rejoicing over the fall of Charleston and Wilmington and the near end of the war to care what became of Young and his companions.

While Adams was exchanging notes with Lord Russell on the troubles in Canada he was invited to a conference at which his lordship "made an important and friendly communication." The Cabinet, he said, had considered the complaints of Confederate hostilities on the lakes of Canada, the raid at St. Albans, and of vessels built and fitted out in British ports and afterwards turned into ships of war to cruise against the commerce of the United States. Struck by the difficulties in dealing with these matters Her Majesty's Government had determined to address a note to the Confederate commissioners at Paris, Messrs. Slidell, Mason and Mann. Russell then read the note, said a copy had already gone to the British Ambassador at Paris to be forwarded to its address, and asked, in order to make sure that it reached the Government at Richmond, that a duplicate might be sent to Washington to be forwarded to Richmond. Adams could see no objection, and received a copy for Seward. ‡

It was his duty, Russell wrote the three commissioners, to bring to the authorities under whom they acted the just complaints which Her Majesty's Government had to make of the conduct of the so-called Confederate Government. In the first place he was sorry to observe that the unwarrant-

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* Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. ii, p. 77.

† March 29, 1865.

‡ Russell to Burnley, February 15, 1865; Adams to Seward, February 16, 1865; Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. i, pp. 625-628.

able practice of building ships in Great Britain to make war against the United States still continued. It was a proceeding totally unjustifiable and offensive to the British Crown. In the second place, the Confederate organs had published a memorandum of instructions to cruisers of the so-called Confederate States, which if adopted, would set aside some of the most settled principles of international law. It was true the memorandum of instructions, though published, had never been put in force; was a dead letter. But this could not be said of the document which formed a third ground of complaint. The President of the so-called Confederate States had put forth a proclamation claiming as a belligerent operation the attempt of Bennett C. Burley to capture the steamer *Michigan* with a view to releasing prisoners held in captivity on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie. The attack on the *Philo Parsons* and the *Island Queen,* the recent raid at St. Albans, which Lieutenant Young holding a commission in the Confederate States army, declared to have been an act of war, all showed a gross disregard of Her Majesty's character as a neutral power, and a desire to involve Her Majesty in hostilities with a power with which Great Britain was at peace. He hoped the commissioners would feel authorized to promise, on behalf of the Confederate Government, that practices so offensive and unwarrantable would cease and be entirely abandoned in future.*

All in due time the letter was received by Seward who sent it to Stanton with a request that it be permitted to go through the lines. Stanton forwarded it to Grant, who, under a flag of truce, passed it on to Lee who sent it to Benjamin.† By the same channel Benjamin returned it to Seward. The Government of the Confederate States could not recognize, as authentic, a paper which was neither an original nor a certified copy, nor could they under any circumstances, "hold intercourse with a neutral nation through the medium of dispatches sent through hostile lines after being read and approved by the enemies of the Confed-

* Russell to Mason, Slidell and Mann, February 13, 1865, Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. i, pp. 630, 631.
† Ibid., March 8 to 13, 1865, pp. 636-638.

eracy." * When Russell received from Adams the letter thus rejected the Confederate Government no longer existed.†

Mason and Slidell, meantime, were making a last and desperate effort to obtain recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain and France. Late in December, when the prospect before the South was the darkest and gloomiest it had ever been, after Sheridan had beaten Early, and Thomas had scattered the army of Hood, after Farragut had closed the Bay of Mobile and Sherman had reached Savannah, Benjamin persuaded Davis to offer abolition of slavery as the price of recognition by Great Britain and France. This he had no lawful right to do. By the Constitution the Congress was forbidden to pass any "law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves." But the situation was desperate, and neither Davis nor the Secretary doubted that if such a price must be paid for recognition a way would be found to pay it. Having decided to make the offer a special commissioner was needed lest Mason or Slidell refuse to act. He was found in Duncan F. Kenner, a member of Congress from Louisiana, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, a man of influence in Congress, and one who had already declared to Davis that unless slavery were abolished recognition by foreign powers need not be expected. He was now sent for by Davis, and told that a mission of the utmost importance was on foot, a mission on which might hang the fate of the Confederacy, that he had been chosen to undertake it, and that he must go at once to London and say to Palmerston that if Great Britain would recognize the Confederate States all slaves in the South would be set free. He agreed to go, and while he made ready Benjamin wrote Slidell. If, he said, during the four years of struggle, the Confederacy had been fighting the United States alone, the war would long since have been ended. But, in calculating the length of the war, the Confederacy had not expected that Europe would aid the United States by abandoning the rights of neutrals, shutting its ports to Confederate cruisers,

* Lee to Grant, March 23, 1865, Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. i, p. 640.

† Ibid., April 17, 1865, pp. 642, 643.

seizing vessels intended for the Confederate States, and by utter indifference to the unequal fight. Nevertheless, the Confederate States were still determined never to be reunited with the North. But were there no terms on which recognition could be obtained; would Europe never recognize the Confederacy until the United States consented? If there were objections to recognition not already made known, the Confederacy should be given a chance to meet them, and perhaps save many lives by accepting such terms in advance of another year's campaign.* A copy of the letter was sent to Mason, with the statement that it would be delivered by Duncan F. Kenner whose verbal communications on the subject therein contained were to be accepted as coming from the department under orders of President Davis.†

January, 1865, was well advanced when Kenner reached Wilmington with a letter from Davis to General Bragg,‡ and requested a passage to Nassau. Bragg consulted the captain of a blockade runner who assured him it was impossible just then to make the trip. A great fleet of Federal vessels was near Fort Fisher and the nights were bright. Kenner must wait until the moon was dark. "Suppose while I wait Fort Fisher is captured," said Kenner. Bragg laughed and said it would not be captured; but three days later it was.§

Cut off from exit from Wilmington, Kenner hurried to Charleston,‖ saw no chance of sailing from there, returned to Richmond and, guided by two secret service men, went on foot to the Potomac. For nearly a week ice prevented a crossing; but Bladensburg was reached at last and then Baltimore and New York, where he put up at the Metropolitan Hotel. Aided by the proprietor, who obtained for him a passage and an old trunk covered with labels of European Hotels, he sailed for Southampton and, late in February, arrived in London to find that Mason had gone

* Benjamin to Slidell, December 27, 1864, Callahan, Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy, pp. 249, 250.

† Benjamin to Mason, December 30, 1864. Ibid.

‡ January 12, 1865, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part II, p. 1045.

§ Kenner's Account, Pickett Papers.

‖ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part II, p. 1089.

to Paris. Thither he followed and placed before Mason and Slidell his instructions.* Both were amazed. Mason for a time refused to act, but soon changed his mind, returned with Kenner to London, was granted an interview by Palmerston, "went over the whole matter contained in the dispatches with such force of allusion to the *concession* we held in reserve as would make him necessarily comprehend it, but did not mention it by name."† If, he said, there was "any latent, or undisclosed objection to our recognition we had a right to know it, as we might determine to remove it. This was urged in terms which made it impossible for the allusion to be misunderstood, but the character of the objection which it was supposed might exist was not mentioned by name."‡ Palmerston's reply "was full and explicit." There was no objection other than those already stated, and there was nothing underlying them.§ Slidell reported that Napoleon would not act except in coöperation with England, and that "the proposition brought by Mr. Kenner in his private note would not change His Majesty's policy." ‖

Mason now called on the Earl of Donoughmore. His lordship was concerned at the apparent weakness of the South, as shown by Sherman's unhindered march through Georgia and the Carolinas, spoke of its depressing effect on public opinion in England, and said that had it not been for slavery the Confederacy would have been recognized two years ago. Mason had never heard slavery suggested as a barrier to recognition. Lord Donoughmore replied that after Lee's success on the Rappahannock and his march into Pennsylvania, when his army threatened Harrisburg and came to the very gates of Washington he thought, had it not been for slavery, the independence of the South would have been recognized. Suppose, said Mason, I should now go to

* Kenner's Account, Pickett Papers.

† Mason to Mann, March 15, 1865, ibid.

‡ To Assistant Secretary of State, April 7, 1865, ibid.

§ To Benjamin, March 31, 1865, Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason, p. 556.

‖ To Assistant Secretary of State, April 7, 1865, ibid., p. 556, Pickett Papers.

Palmerston and propose that, in the event of present recognition, measures would be taken to abolish slavery would this Government recognize us? The time, Lord Donoughmore replied, had gone by.*

* Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason, p. 560.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PROSPEROUS NORTH.

Two years and a half of war had brought no economic or industrial suffering to the North. No contending armies had swept over great areas of country destroying mills and factories, houses, crops and railroads. Nowhere were the people reduced to such makeshifts as were common over all the South. Northern ports were not blockaded; foreign trade was not cut off; blockade runners were unknown. Thousands of tons of shipping were, indeed, put under the British flag; thousands more were destroyed by rebel cruisers; but trade with Europe suffered no decline. The hard times, the petty economies of the first year of the war passed quickly away; the people soon adjusted themselves to war conditions and went on with their daily occupations more prosperous than ever.

Of unemployment there was none. Repeated calls for hundreds of thousands of volunteers, great bounties, love of adventure, patriotism had drawn into the army and navy, from every walk of life, vast numbers of young and active men, for the ranks were almost entirely composed of youths under two and twenty. They went from mills, factories, machine shops; from the counting house, the bank, the store, the teacher's desk, business offices of every sort, the corner grocery, the coal mine and the farm. In the great cities their absence was little felt and little noticed. They were young; they had not established themselves, and the places they left vacant were easily filled by women, by older men, by men drawn from the ranks of unskilled labor. In the little towns, and especially on the farms in the West their absence was not only visible but was seriously felt. A home missionary wrote from Illinois that in the little town in which he dwelt, thirty men, the flower of the community and regular attendants on his services, had gone. In his township one hundred and forty-seven men were liable for service.

One hundred and seventeen of them were at the front or under marching orders. Another in Wisconsin reported that from his town of two hundred and fifty voters, one hundred and eleven had volunteered. Another in Iowa found a certain town almost deserted. Upon inquiry of former friends as to where were the men, "the frequent answer was, 'in the army'." From a second town "almost all the thoroughly loyal male inhabitants had gone"; in a third where he used to preach there were "but seven men left," and in the county seat "but five." He saw more women than men at work in the fields, or driving teams along the roads.* A Kansas missionary had just seen the wife of a parishioner driving a team attached to a reaper. Her husband was at Vicksburg. With the help of her children she was carrying on the farm. In a near-by field was a boy of ten, and in another a girl of twelve, hard at work. Men could not be had to gather the harvest. Wives and children, therefore, were forced to go into the field.† Nor was it on the farms only that women were called to do the work of men. Male teachers by thousands the country over joined the army. In Ohio half the entire number in that State enlisted. In Illinois a thousand volunteered in the course of one year. But in almost every instance a woman took the soldier's place and the schools were not closed. Railroads suffered for lack of men, and especially those under construction. Two sent agents to Ireland in search of a supply. But the shortage was due, not so much to the scarcity of workers as to the ease with which unskilled labor found employment more attractive than railroad builders could offer.

The North had not known such prosperity since the panic of 1857. Business of every sort was flourishing, manufacturing was increasing, wealth was rolling up with astonishing rapidity. Observers everywhere made note of the fact. We are only another example, it was said, of a people growing rich in a great war. Every branch of business is active and hopeful. ‡ The general prosperity is so marked that I

* E. D. Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions during the Civil War, pp. 5, 8, 9.

† Ibid., p. 9.

‡ Sherman Letters, p. 216.

am afraid of a collapse.* Commerce, business, manufactures, labor was going on as in a time of profound peace, but with a whirling activity peace never knew. We are clothed in purple and fine linen, wear the richest laces and jewels and fare sumptuously every day.† Never before had New York used so much foreign finery, or made such display of prodigal expenditure and unwonted luxury. ‡ At a time when prudence and patriotism call aloud for a close husbandry of the private means which form our public reserves there is daily squandered in vain personal expenditure and idle show an amount of money nearly enough to pay the daily cost of the army. § The whole North and East, in the opinion of the Quartermaster-General, was notoriously and extravagantly prosperous. Importation was going on to an amazing extent. Some articles, machinery, tools, which could not be made at home because of the shortage of labor were of real value to the country. But the greater part consisted of luxuries which must be paid for in gold. || In spite of a gigantic war, in spite of heavy taxation, high price of gold and depreciation of the currency, the importation of foreign luxuries went on beyond all precedent. Silks, satins, laces, rich goods were more used than ever before as might be seen at the opera, at the theater, in the park, in the streets where women trailed through the dust and mud clothed in the richest and most expensive dresses. ¶

Appalled at the extravagance of the times, the wives and daughters of Cabinet officers and members of Congress entered into a "Ladies National Covenant," pledged themselves to discourage profligate expenditure of all sorts, urge the use of domestic fabrics wherever they could be substituted for those of foreign make, and adopt simplicity of attire as a matter of policy, and good faith. Their covenant read: "For three years and the war, we pledge ourselves to

* January 24, 1864, Sherman Letters, p. 216.

† Chicago Tribune, May 12, 1864. Rhodes' History of the United States, vol. v, p. 202.

‡ New York Times, April 2, 1864.

§ New York Herald, March 31, 1864.

|| Official Records, Series 3, vol. iv, p. 1054.

¶ New York Herald, April 24, 1864.

each other, and to the country, to purchase no imported articles of attire."* Their badge was a "black bee, with wings enameled according to nature," worn with a tri-colored ribbon on the left shoulder.† Some women in Boston wrote to members of Congress from that city for information regarding imported luxuries, and were appalled when told that more than twenty-seven million dollars were paid for silks, more than four millions for embroideries, more than one and a half millions for laces, and more than twelve millions for wines, spirits and cigars. ‡ In New York City a call went out for "the ladies of the late Sanitary Fair" to meet at Cooper Institute and "discourage, by the expression of public opinion, the lavish expenditure for foreign fabrics, jewels, and dress which mark the hour." The *Herald* did not see how they could influence the shoddy not to wear diamonds, silks, velvets, fine raiment and sumptuous bonnets. No movement for reform could reach those who had made millions selling bad beef and bad coffee to the soldiers, and broken-down horses to the Government. §

Nevertheless, twenty-five hundred came to the meeting, formed the "Woman's Patriotic Association for Discouraging the Use of Imported Luxuries," and appealed to the women of the country to sign a pledge. It read: "We, the undersigned, during the continuance of this war of rebellion, pledge ourselves to refrain from the purchase of imported articles of luxury for which those of home manufacture can be substituted." || Offices were opened, retailers of American fabrics were asked to send their names and descriptions of goods they had for sale, and the purpose of the movement was explained. It was to bring in economy in dress and living, stop the expenditure of money abroad, encourage home industries and make the people independent of foreign fashions, luxuries, and influence. ¶

Little good seems to have come of the movement, for the

* New York Tribune, May 9, 1864.
† Philadelphia Enquirer, May 5, 1864.
‡ New York Tribune, May 26, 1864.
§ New York Herald, May 16, 1864.
|| New York Tribune, May 24, 1864. New York Herald, May 17, 1864.
¶ New York Tribune, May 26, 1864.

press was soon again crying out against the extravagance of the women. Here, it was said, fashion and pleasure, not grim war, rule the hour. Never was New York so brilliant, so captivating, so gay. Our élite, our aristocracy of money, our shoddy people, have run their mad race of extravagance and show at the fashionable watering places and have come back to begin in the city a season of unparalleled display. Our theaters and places of amusement have raised their prices fifty per cent and are more crowded than ever. The opera has raised its prices. The Negro Minstrels have been seized by the spirit and raised their prices. Our fashionable milliners have given themselves up to the mania with an *abandone*. A bonnet, a little piece of velvet and a flower, costs one hundred dollars. Silks, satins, laces, cost their weight in greenbacks. Gloves cost what was once a week's salary. See the bills and posters all over town, the gigantic posters, yet paper is excessively dear. The German Opera has obtained the whole side of a square to paste up a huge bill in sight of all New York. Once upon a time people were content to drive two horses, even one, before their carriages. This summer nothing short of a four-in-hand was *ton* in Newport.*

There were those who maintained that the prosperity, so plain to every one else, was a delusion, a thing which did not really exist. How do you account for the apparent prosperity, they were asked? Easily enough was the answer. We are living on credit, on promises which our children's children to the third and fourth generation must pay. We are drawing bills on the future and like spendthrifts are living riotously.† To talk of the prosperity of the country was downright nonsense. Shoddy speculators and Government thieves had imposed on the people. ‡ There was a concerted effort on the part of the Administration press to impose on people, who knew nothing of commercial matters, the belief that high prices were caused by wild speculation in the necessaries of life. Workers were constantly reminded of the great wages they received. What were they? A

* New York Herald, September 3, 12, 19, 1864.
† New York World, March 2, 1864.
‡ Columbus Crisis, June 1, 1864.

mechanic who, before the war earned ten or twelve dollars a week in gold, now makes from fifteen to eighteen for the labor of a week and is paid in paper. With gold at two hundred and fifty, a paper dollar is worth but forty cents, and his wages shrink to six or eight.* He was not enjoying prosperity, he was not living in luxury.

The working day for an unskilled laborer was ten hours. For this he received one dollar and a quarter. Men who drove the street cars and omnibuses worked sixteen hours; in the paper mills and woolen mills twelve hours with time out for breakfast and dinner. The mechanics, the bricklayers, the carpenters, the painters, the longshoremen and plasterers received, as the fruit of a day of toil, two dollars in paper money. With gold at two hundred and fifty, the dollar and a quarter of the one was worth but fifty cents, and the two dollars of the other but eighty cents. How much food could a hod-carrier buy with his weekly wage of seven dollars and a half in paper, or the carpenter with his twelve dollars, when one egg cost more than two cents, when butter was five and forty cents a pound, coffee seventy cents, brown sugar twenty-eight cents and milk ten cents a quart? The labor of an hour would buy the hod-carrier but half a pound of beefsteak, that of a day would not buy a pound of tea, nor that of an entire week a barrel of flour. No, it was said, the laboring man is not living in unwonted luxury and splendor. His scale of comfort is so reduced that he finds it hard to make both ends meet, though he never toiled so hard, nor received for his toil such high nominal pay as at present. The laboring class is impoverished by high prices. Butter has disappeared from their frugal tables, and eggs, milk and meat threaten to follow. This is because a debased and blasted currency has transferred a large part of their earnings into the pockets of speculators in food. Paper money carries up prices in the midst of abundance, puts commodities out of the reach of the poor when nature and industry have produced enough for all. The great middle class who, in better times, were wont to put their surplus earnings in the savings banks, have lost their strongest incentive to

* New York World, July 16, 1864.

save. The hundred dollars, which three years ago could be deposited one day and withdrawn the next in gold is now worth but sixty dollars and may shrink to fifty, forty, thirty, to even less.* The wages of working women had been advanced but a trifle. A meeting of the Working Women's Protective Union at New York asserted that statistics in possession of the Union showed that, while the wages of men had increased more than one hundred per cent, the average rate of wages paid for female labor had not been raised more than twenty per cent since the war began. The men complained that the advance they had received was not enough to cover the increased cost of food and fuel. What then, was the condition of the poor widow forced to pay as much for her loaf of bread and her pail of coal as the woman who had a husband or a stalwart son to aid her? Ten thousand women employed by the Government signed a petition to the Secretary of War praying for better pay. Five and three-quarters cents was all any one of them received for making a pair of drawers. Six pairs were all a woman could make in a day, yielding, as compensation, thirty-four and a half cents.†

Chase denied that the rise in prices was due to a depreciated paper currency. Had the Government paid the cost of the war in coin, the cost of living would have gone up just the same. Such payments, made in specie, would have enriched contractors, stimulated expenditure, and inflated prices in the same way and to nearly the same extent as when made in paper. And they would have risen from other causes. Under any system of currency the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the workshops and the fields would have increased the price of labor, and the price of the product of labor. Cotton would have risen because it was scarce. Railroad bonds would have risen because their income had been vastly increased by the carriage of troops. ‡

Whatever the cause, the prices of provisions during the spring and summer of 1864 mounted higher and higher, and the wage-earner continued to struggle for an advance in

* New York World, March 31, 1864.
† New York Tribune, December 14, 1864.
‡ Report of December 10, 1863.

pay. The Employing Bakers' Association in New York announced they would bake no more five-cent loaves because of the cost of flour and their desire to shorten the hours of labor. Ten cents would be the price of a loaf which would be just twice the size of the one they could at present make for five cents.* Milk, in Boston, went up forty per cent; sold for ten cents a quart in New York and for sixteen in Baltimore, which was three times the sum for which it used to sell. Milk supplied by dairymen to milkmen at six cents a quart in Philadelphia was retailed at ten cents. With milk at ten cents a quart, bread at ten cents a loaf, coffee at seventy, sugar at thirty-five, meat at twenty-five to thirty-five cents a pound, a breakfast, it was said, costs as much as a substantial dinner before the war. The best hotels in New York announced that, on and after the first of March, board would be three dollars and a half a day because of the high cost of provisions. Patrons made no complaint and the hotels continued to be full to overflowing. Fifty to a hundrew cots were put up nightly in the parlors and billiard rooms and still people were turned away daily.†

On four lines of stages in New York ten cents, instead of the old rate of six, was demanded from riders. The people refused to pay it, crowded the horse cars, and the stages rattled over the cobbles without a passenger. Why not, it was urged, try Hansom cabs now that the stages and hack coaches insisted on charging such awful prices? The cabs have two wheels, run swiftly, are strong, cosy and handy; are in general use in London, and charge but twelve and a half cents a mile. Let us try them. ‡ At the end of three weeks the old rate of fare was restored, but was soon raised to eight cents. They must do this, the stage owners said, because oats had risen from thirty cents to one dollar a bushel, hay from fifty cents a hundred to one dollar and three-quarters, straw from fifty cents to one dollar and eighty cents, meal from eighty cents to three dollars, iron from forty-five dollars to two hundred and sixty dollars a ton, and because there was a Federal tax of two and a half

* New York Herald, July 19, 1864.
† New York Tribune, March 25, 1864.
‡ Ibid., April 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 1864.

per cent on gross receipts.* Newspapers were compelled to charge one or two cents more a copy; magazines added ten cents to their old prices; † barbers in Philadelphia demanded fifty per cent more for their services and shut their shops on Sunday,‡ and rents in New York, it was announced, would be increased thirty per cent after the first of May. So unreasonable a demand, it was feared, would drive families from their homes to boarding houses with which the city was almost overwhelmed, or out into the suburbs where rents were lower and the cost of living very much less.§

Never before was labor so well paid; yet the rate of increase of wages since 1861 by no means kept pace with the rate of increase in prices of commodities. This difference it was sought to lessen by strikes, or threats of strikes, in which almost every sort of wage-earner was involved. Choirs in several churches in New York struck; the chorus in Max Maretzek's Opera troupe struck; but he would not yield and the operas he had promised the public were not given.‖ Actors met, demanded larger salaries, and urged the managers to raise the price of admission. ¶ A most popular form of amusement was the minstrels. Their proprietors were most anxious to keep down the cost of admission. But they too, were forced to charge thirty-five instead of twenty-five cents for admission, and fifty cents for a reserved seat.**

Despite the increase in wages and the cost of material, heavy taxes, Federal and State, business of every sort expanded and prospered. Railroads extended their mileage, though by no means so much as before the war. In more than twenty cities tracks were laid for horse-car lines.†† Money was found for court houses, and city halls, churches and public schools, water works, parks, and private dwellings. ‡‡ Five millions of dollars were given to the Sanitary

* New York Tribune, August 23, 1864.
† Ibid., August 23, 1864.
‡ Philadelphia Inquirer, June 8, 9, 1864.
§ New York Tribune, February 18, 1864.
‖ Ibid., May 2, 1864.
¶ New York Herald, July 22, 1864.
** Ibid., July 23, 1864.
†† Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions, p. 218.
‡‡ Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions, pp. 213-231.

Commission to carry on its great work of relief on the battlefields, in the hospitals, in the camps. More than a million and a half came from the Pacific Coast. Nearly two and three-quarters millions were proceeds of Sanitary Fairs held at New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and other cities. Upwards of fifteen million dollars worth of supplies, bedding, clothing, vegetables were contributed by the people the country over. Millions of dollars were given to found colleges, Vassar, Cornell, Swarthmore, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a host of smaller ones scattered over the country from Maine to California, and millions of dollars were given to increase the endowments of colleges already existing or to enable them to erect new buildings. Congress was even more generous, for it gave to each State thirty thousand acres of the public domain for every one of its senators and representatives. No State could use its script to take up land in any other State or Territory, but its assigns could if the tract did not exceed one million acres. All money received from the sale of script must be invested in bonds of some State or of the United States bearing not less than five per cent interest; must form a permanent fund, and the interest must be used to endow, support, and maintain at least one college in which instruction should be chiefly in such subjects of learning as related to agriculture and the mechanic arts. Not a cent was to be used for the purchase, erection, or repair of any building.*

Nor did the war put an end to the Government's work of betterment. It was a matter of no little pride that in the midst of war, in the presence of an enemy eager to capture Washington, the great dome of the Capitol was finished and the statue of Liberty placed on the top of it. Around the statue gathered memories of Jefferson Davis. Eight years before, while Davis was Secretary of War, the sculptor Crawford completed his first design and explained its meaning. The figure, he said, represented Freedom triumphant in peace over war. The wreath on her brow, therefore, had a double significance and was composed one half of spears

* Act of July 2, 1864.

of wheat and one half of leaves of the laurel. But he soon changed the design, took off the wreath, replaced it with a liberty cap and a circlet of stars, and called her Armed Liberty. Her triumph was shown by the wreath in her right hand which rested on the shield of our country and by the sheathed sword grasped in her left hand, a sword sheathed, but ready to be drawn when occasion required. The circlet of stars showed her divine origin; her position on the globe her protection of the American continent.* Had Davis loved Liberty as he loved Slavery he would have destroyed the statue without delay; but he was content to find fault with the liberty cap. It was a badge, he said, of well-known origin. When seen on the head of a Roman it marked him out as a man who had once been a slave but had been made free. As such it was most inappropriate to a people born free and determined never to be enslaved. Why not use a helmet with the visor raised? Crawford took off the cap, put on the helmet and covered the crest with an eagle's head from which a long streamer of feathers hung down behind, after the manner of headpieces worn by the Indians, another race born free and determined never to be enslaved. The dome finished, Liberty, one day in December, 1863, was put in place and saluted by all the forts around the city.† The face of Liberty is turned towards the east. It should have been turned towards the west as if she were looking over the vast western domain which stretched away to the Pacific Ocean and was destined within the lifetime of men then living to be inhabited by millions of human beings, to be covered with great and prosperous States, and to become the seat of Empire.

To the men of that day the West beyond the Missouri was still an unknown country. That there was a great desert, so arid that it could never become the home of civilized man, was not only generally believed but positively asserted by those who had seen it. The people now on the extreme frontier of Kansas and Missouri, said one, are near the western limit of the fertile part of the prairie lands, and a

* Cincinnati Commercial, June 1, 1864.
† December 10, 1863.

desert space parts them from the fertile regions of the western mountains. They are, as it were, on the shore of a sea up to which population and agriculture may go, but no further.* Fully nine-tenths of the region between the one hundredth meridian and the Cascade Range in Oregon, another asserted, would never be available for agriculture. After passing a belt of country a hundred and fifty miles wide that borders the Missouri River, we strike the plains some four hundred or five hundred miles wide extending to the base of the mountains, said General Dodge. These plains are not susceptible of cultivation or settlement. No part of this vast area is fit for raising grain or vegetables except along a few streams and that by irrigation.† General Pope described the desert as nowhere less than five hundred miles wide, as consisting of high arid plains, timberless, covered with the short grasses common to such regions, and cut by a few rivers, far apart and in the dry season without water. The entire belt, he said, was beyond the reach of agriculture and must always remain a great uninhabited desert, utterly unproductive and uninhabitable by civilized man. ‡ These plains, Sherman believed, could never be cultivated like Illinois, could never be covered with people capable of self-government and self-defense against Indians and marauders. At best they could become a vast pasture field open and free to all for the rearing of horses, mules, sheep and cattle. § These descriptions of the plains were correct. But the prophecies that they would never be the home of civilized man, like all attempts to forecast the future, were foolish and came to naught. Congress indeed, had offered a great inducement to settlers, for it had, in 1862, after years of struggle, enacted a homestead law. During nearly forty years, since the day when Benton laid his crude plan before the Senate, || the

* Report of Secretary of the Treasury, Senate Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, No. 55, p. 217.

† General Dodge, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlviii, Part I, p. 341.

‡ Pope's Report to Secretary of War, February 25, 1866, House Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 76, p. 2.

§ Sherman's Report, November 5, 1866, House Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 1, p. 20.

|| April 28, 1824, History of the People of the United States, vol. v, p. 173.

policy of giving free farms to actual settlers had grown steadily in popular favor, and in the early fifties came before Congress for serious consideration. Douglas then presented his homestead bill; Webster and Houston favored such use of the public domain; Missouri asked that forty acres be given to every head of a family who would actually occupy the plot; New York wished that a limited quantity be granted to actual settlers; and Andrew Johnson brought his bill before the House and labored manfully in its behalf until it was passed.* Unhappily the Senate did not approve. But public opinion is a mighty force, and in 1860 a bill passed both House and Senate only to be vetoed by Buchanan.† The Republicans in their platform, adopted while the bill was still under debate, demanded its passage, and when they came into power redeemed their pledge and placed on the statute book the long-desired homestead act. ‡ Thereafter any person, man or woman, head of a family, or twenty-one years old, who was a citizen of the United States, or had filed a declaration of intention to become a citizen; who had never borne arms against the United States nor given aid and comfort to the enemy, might enter one hundred and sixty acres of unappropriated public land subject to preëmption at one dollar and a quarter an acre, or eighty acres subject to preëmption at two dollars and a half; and having sworn that the farm was for his or her sole use, was for actual settlement and cultivation, and not for the benefit of any one else; and having paid a fee of ten dollars and a trifling commission, might enter on the land and after living thereon and cultivating it for five years would receive a patent of ownership. The boon was a great one for the landless, and when the war ended, three years later, more than fourteen thousand six hundred homestead entries had been made in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska. §

The time for settlement on the plains had not yet come.

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* History of the People of the United States, vol. viii, pp. 107-109.

† June 20, 1860, Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. v, pp. 608-614.

‡ May 20, 1862.

§ New York Tribune, August 23, 1865.

Gold was still the lure which enticed men to the mountains. Discovery of that metal near Pike's Peak late in the fifties brought thousands to the country around Denver. Discovery of silver in what is now Nevada brought thousands thither and led to the founding of many towns. One of them, Virginia City, before the war ended had, with the near-by towns of Gold Hill and Silver City, a population of eighteen thousand, had churches, theaters, newspapers, and communication with the Pacific Coast by daily stagecoach lines and telegraph. Discovery of gold in what was then Dakota Territory, by wandering miners, brought into existence Bannock City, and Virginia City, at first called Varina, in honor of the wife of Jefferson Davis.*

The policy of cutting the plains and mountain regions of the West into Territories, begun in 1861 by the organization of Nevada, Colorado and Dakota, was continued during the war. Idaho † was cut from Dakota, Arizona from New Mexico, and Montana ‡ from Washington and Dakota, and into them poured an endless stream of people. Thirst for gold, eagerness to avoid conscription in the South and the drafts in the North, hopes of betterment, every incentive which had ever sent men westward, continued to furnish an unending procession of emigrants. Following their trail came traders, saloon keepers, gamblers, blacklegs, desperadoes and lewd women. One route, starting at St. Paul, crossed Dakota to Fort Rice on the Missouri, went up the valley of that river to Forts Union and Benton and on to settlements in Montana. Another from Mankato, in Minnesota, went west by way of Sioux Falls to Fort Pierre on the Missouri, up the valley of the Big Cheyenne to Powder River, and by the Big Horn Mountains and the upper Yellowstone River to Virginia City and Bannock. Further south was the "Platte Route," the great highway over the plains. Formed near Fort Kearny by the union of trails from Omaha, Plattsmouth, Nebraska City, Atchison, St. Joseph, Leavenworth and Kansas City, it followed the valley of the Platte to the forks of that river and there divided. One branch

* Langford, Vigilante Days and Ways, vol. i, p. 353.
† Act of March 3, 1863.
‡ Act of May 26, 1864.

was along the North Platte, past Fort Laramie, over the South Pass and then south to Fort Bridger. Another and a shorter branch from Julesburg went up the south fork of the Platte, and over Bridger's Pass and joined the first branch at Fort Bridger. Thence the route was on to Salt Lake City and California. From Julesburg a third branch led to Denver and then at Laramie went north to Fort Reno on the Powder River, and joined the Minnesota Route to the upper Yellowstone and Virginia City.* War caused no shrinkage in the stream of emigrants passing over this route. For weeks in the early spring of 1861 it was not uncommon for fifty or a hundred teams to cross the ferry at Omaha each day. In 1863 nine hundred wagons were counted in one train and twelve hundred in another.† From March first to August tenth, 1864, nine thousand three hundred teams passed Fort Kearny. ‡ An engineer in charge of field parties of the Union Pacific Railroad reported that between the first of April and the middle of May four thousand wagons crossed on the ferry at Omaha, that the ferry boat ran day and night, that two hundred were carried over daily, and that the line of teams waiting at the ferry was three miles long and reached almost to Council Bluffs. The rush would continue to the middle of June, by which time in all likelihood seventy-five thousand men, thirty thousand horses and mules, and seventy-five thousand cattle would have passed. Supposing that a like number crossed at other places on the Missouri, a hundred and fifty thousand people would be added to the population of the mountains.§ A traveler on his way to Idaho wrote from Omaha that it was said that the immigration of 1864 had never been exceeded. "When," said he, "you approach this town, the ravines and gorges are white with covered wagons at rest. Below the town, towards the river side, long wings of white canvas

* Pope's Report to the Secretary of War, House Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 76, pp. 5, 6.

† Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions, p. 36.

‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlviii, Part I, p. 341.

§ Report of Peter A. Day. Report of Secretary of the Treasury, June 25, 1864, Senate Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, No. 55, pp. 211, 212.

stretch away on either side into the soft, green willows." The ferry "plying rapidly all the day long makes no diminution of the crowd, though twenty or thirty animals are carried over at once and the trip takes but a little time." "From a quarter to a half mile of teams all the time await their turn to cross." * Another traveling along the road from Fort Kearny to St. Joseph passed four hundred wagons in the course of one day.† A Maryland journal asserted that never before had emigration from that part of the country been so general. It seemed as if one half of the people were set on going to the great West. Not only had those who were drafted, and those in fear of the draft, caught the fever, but it had seized on all, old and young, male and female.‡

* The Home Missionary, July, 1864, quoted by Fite, p. 37.
†Ibid.
‡ Hagerstown Mail, New York Herald, October 12, 1864.

To those eager to reach the gold mines of Montana and Idaho, General Pope issued a warning. The Sioux, it was expected, would concentrate, early in the spring, in Missouri above the mouth of Grand River. Cavalry would be sent against them as soon as there was grass on the prairie; but until then it would not be safe for steamboats on the Missouri above Fort Pierre. When the boats did start, as many as possible should go in company with their vulnerable sides made bullet-proof. Emigrants overland from points above Fort Pierre should travel in bands of not less than three hundred.*

Travelers by stagecoach found the plains from Fort Kearny all but uninhabited. Every ten or fifteen miles was a station of the Stage Company for the change of horses; every other ten or fifteen miles an eating-house; now and then a ranch whose owner lived by selling hay to emigrants, and every fifty or a hundred miles a company or two of troops to protect the road from Indian depredations.† The walls of the ranch houses and stations, the walls that enclosed the corral about the stations, the roofs, were of adobe, prairie turf piled layer on layer and smeared with mud. As our traveler pushed on, the prairie grew more and more barren; sage brush and prickly pear were everywhere; the bleaching bones of horses and oxen were never out of sight; the soil became a fine alkali dust; the sun burned by day, the cold chilled by night, and the fine, impalpable alkali dust filled eyes and hair and nostrils and burned and chafed the skin. For the emigrant the only fuel was dried buffalo dung, called "chips." ‡ Sleep in a jolting stagecoach,—it traveled day and night,—was "hard and fitful," and our traveler soon grew careless in toilet and "barbaric in manners." The ride was monotonous and tedious for the coach, with its heavy mail and load of passengers, covered but five or six miles an hour. § Swarms of mosquitoes made life miserable; dread of Indian attacks was ever present; and the traveler was fortunate if he ended the journey without meet-

* New York Tribune, March 18, 1864.
† Bowles, Our New West, p. 37.
‡ Bowles, ibid., pp. 37, 38, 54.
§ Ibid., p. 36.

ing a prairie fire or a wild storm of wind, hail and rain. But the journey had its pleasures as well as its hardships and dangers. Sights by the way were a source of never ending entertainment to men from the East. The villages of prairie dogs who fled into their holes as the coach rolled on; the prairie hens rising in flights, or running with their broods through the sage brush; a wolf driven from his meal on the carcass of a mule or ox; little herds of antelopes off on the horizon; the wallows made by the buffaloes, and the broad trails worn by the immense herds as they crossed the plains in search of grass and water; the long trains of prairie schooners drawn by eight and ten yoke of oxen stretching for a quarter or a third of a mile; the emigrant camps with the wagons in a great circle for protection against Indians, and, it might be, lighted by a score of fires as the stage rolled by at night; Court House Rock, and Chimney Rock, and Independence Rock on the face of which explorers, trappers, traders, emigrants had cut their names; the ride over the South Pass, Echo Cañon, Salt Lake, were scenes and incidents no traveler across the plains ever forgot.

As miners, prospectors, gold hunters and settlers streamed into Nevada, the desire to turn the Territory into a State grew stronger and stronger until, in 1863, the people took the matter into their own hands and without an enabling act, chose delegates to a convention * and made a State Constitution. It was rejected by a popular vote, for the feeling was strong that the cost of State government would be too great to be borne. There were those in Congress, however, who thought otherwise. Loyal States, just at that time, were much needed, and on the twenty-first of March, 1864, two enabling acts passed Congress. By one a convention was authorized to meet in Nevada on the first Monday in July, and, having declared on behalf of the people that they adopted the Constitution of the United States, frame a Constitution and State Government.† The Constitution so formed was ratified by the people and on the last day of October Lincoln proclaimed Nevada a State in the Union. ‡ The second act,

* September 2, 1863.

† Enabling Act. Statutes at Large, vol. xiii, p. 30.

‡ Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 229.

passed by Congress on the twenty-first of March, 1864, made provision for the meeting of a convention in Colorado and the formation of a State Constitution, to be submitted to popular vote. It was rejected and another framed and accepted in 1865.* But the act admitting Colorado into the Union was vetoed by Johnson.†

Great as was the migration in 1864 it was surpassed by that of 1865 which came from the South as well as from the North and the West. Thousands of families who had been disloyal, or had sympathized with the South, General Pope declared, and now found it hard to live in their old homes, had gone from Mississippi and Arkansas, from southern Illinois and Kentucky, to seek new homes in the West. Many thousands of old soldiers had gone to the mines. The results of the war had increased emigration tenfold. A surprising migration had been going on all spring and summer.‡ During May and the first half of June five thousand teams and forty thousand head of cattle passed Fort Laramie going West, escorted through the Indian country by Federal troops. During the last two weeks of June more than twenty-two hundred emigrants with eighteen thousand cattle went by the Fort. § General Dodge was sure that five thousand teams crossed the plains each month. || Between the first of March and the tenth of August, more than nine thousand three hundred teams, and nearly twelve thousand persons went past Fort Kearny bound for Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Montana. ¶ At Sioux City, by the middle of June, thirty steamers had passed on their way to the upper Missouri where they were to land their passengers and freight not more than one hundred and sixty miles from Virginia City. The number of travelers and the amount of freight was declared to be ten times as great as on any previous year.** In order that

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* September 5, 1865.

† May 15, 1866.

‡ Pope to Assistant Adjutant General, Division of the Mississippi, August 1, 1865, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlviii, Part II, p. 1150.

§ New York Tribune, July 13, 1865.

|| Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlviii, Part II, p. 1158.

¶ Ibid., Part I, p. 342.

** New York Tribune, June 26, 1865.

eastern merchants might share in the great trade which was certain to open in Idaho and Montana four steamers were advertised to leave Pittsburgh for Fort Benton, one in February, two in March and one in April.* To reach the Fort by the river was not always possible. Low water on the rapids above the mouth of the Musselshell stopped navigation after midsummer. Snags and shifting sand-bars wrecked many a steamer. Of twenty-four which started from St. Louis but two went through to Fort Benton. Fort Union was the landing place when the river was low, and supplies and passengers were carried by wagon to Fort Benton, or directly to the mines at Helena and Virginia City.†

As the telegraph had put an end to the Pony Express, so the railroad was soon to displace the canvas-covered wagon of the emigrant and the freighter. Sectional jealousy which for ten years hindered the construction of a railway across the plains was quieted by the war and before peace came two transcontinental roads were chartered by Congress. The first, known as the Union Pacific Railroad Company, was required to build from a point on the one hundredth meridian somewhere between the south margin of the valley of the Republican River and the north margin of the valley of the Platte River in Nebraska. That a road a thousand and more miles in length could be built and operated across a country almost destitute of population was seriously doubted by that large class of people who never see anything but lions in the way. There was no water, no fuel for locomotives on the plains; the Indians would tear up the track; an army would be necessary to protect it; snow would block it; the mountains could not be crossed. That such a railroad could be built by private enterprise, without the aid of government, no one had ever expected. The charter, therefore, gave to the Company, for right of way, a strip of land four hundred feet wide stretching across the plains and mountains; every odd-numbered section of land for ten miles each side of

* New York Herald, January 16, 1865.

† The river and the difficulty of navigating it are described in a report by C. W. Howells, House Executive Documents, 40th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 136.

the entire route; sixteen thousand dollars in six per cent bonds for each mile of track from the one hundredth meridian to such point as the President should decide was the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains; forty-eight thousand a mile for one hundred and fifty miles over the mountains; thirty-two thousand a mile across the desert to the eastern foot of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and forty-eight thousand a mile for one hundred and fifty miles over the Sierras. From points on the Missouri branches were to connect with the Union Pacific at the one hundredth meridian. The Union Pacific was to construct one from a point in Nebraska, on the western border of Iowa, to be fixed by the President.

On the Pacific Coast the Central Pacific Railroad was to build from San Francisco, or from the navigable waters of the Sacramento River, to the eastern boundary of California and there join the Union Pacific. Should it be the first to reach the boundary it might build eastward until the two met.* No patent for land should pass nor a bond be issued until forty miles of track had been laid, equipped and accepted by the Government. To sell stock of so visionary a road proved to be so hard a matter that, in 1864, to encourage the sale, the charter was amended, the land grant enlarged to the odd sections for twenty miles each side of the track, and the bonds made issuable whenever twenty miles of railroad were built, equipped and put in operation.†

On the day whereon the charter of the Union Pacific was thus amended, a charter was granted to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to build a "railroad and telegraph line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound on the Pacific coast by the Northern route, and a branch down the Columbia River to Portland in Oregon." No bonds were to be given, but in any State through which the road passed it was to receive all odd-numbered sections of land for ten miles, and in any Territory for twenty miles each side of the track. Such measures in time of war were a signal proof of the confidence of the people in the stability of their Government, in the perpetuity of the Union, in the great future of the West.

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* Act of July 1, 1862.

† Act of July 2, 1864.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LAST STAND.

Five days after Sherman entered Savannah an attempt was made to close the port of Wilmington, the last to which blockade runners could bring supplies from England,* by the capture of Fort Fisher which defended New Inlet, one of the two entrances to the Cape Fear River from the sea. Admiral Porter commanded the fleet, and sailed from Beaufort Roads. General Butler commanded the troops carried in transports from Hampton Roads. After many delays the attack began on the night of the twenty-third of December. An old steamer, disguised as a blockade runner, was sent in, anchored a few hundred yards off the beach in front of the fort and blown up in hope that by the explosion it would be levelled to the ground. But no damage whatever was done. On the following day the whole fleet stood in and bombarded till sundown; but again no serious injury was done. Troops were landed and a reconnaissance made. But General Weitzel reported it could not be taken; the troops were recalled; Butler returned to Hampton Roads and all the vessels not needed for blockade duty steamed back to Beaufort.

Great was the disgust of Grant. The expedition, he telegraphed Lincoln, was a gross and culpable failure. Who was to blame he hoped would be made known. Porter com-

* "The special report of the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the matter shows that there have been imported into the Confederacy at the ports of Wilmington and Charleston, since October 26, 1864, 8,632,000 pounds of meat, 1,507,000 pounds of lead, 1,933,000 pounds of saltpetre, 546,000 pairs of shoes, 316,000 pairs of blankets, 520,000 pounds of coffee, 69,000 rifles, 97,000 packages of revolvers, 2,639 packages of medicine, 43 cannon, with a large quantity of other articles of which we need make no mention," Richmond Dispatch, January 3, 1865. New York, January 7, 1865.

plained bitterly that he had been abandoned by the army just as the fort was nearly taken, and hoped the troops would be sent back under a different command. They were sent back under General Terry, and late on the night of January fifteenth, 1865, after three days' bombardment, Fort Fisher was carried by assault.

The fall of the Fort was a heavy loss to the Confederacy; but the press, to cheer a desponding people, made light of it. Fort Fisher having fallen, it was said, the port of Wilmington will be closed, and no more cotton will go out of the Confederacy. On the other hand we have lost the last port through which supplies come from abroad. Yet the end is not, by a great deal. Now, at last, we are thrown on our own resources, and forced to turn to manufacturing whatever we need, and to bring down the shameful extravagance which has disgraced our people. Nothing from abroad is indispensable to a brave and determined people. On our own resources we must live and support our cause, and we can do it, if in earnest and bent on fighting it out like men.* The Confederacy can survive the loss of Fort Fisher and Mobile and any other seaport in its possession; but it cannot survive loss of spirit and determination. Let the people be firm, let them show determination to resist to the last dollar and the last man, and the capture of all our seaports will be of no moment whatever. We lost New Orleans and survived. We lost the navigation of the Mississippi River and survived. We lost Savannah and survived. Therefore, we can stand the lost of Fort Fisher? †

The people found no consolation in the loss of city after city. Discontent was widespread and growing rapidly. The Government had lost the confidence of the people. Men, said a Richmond journal, are asking one another, is there no remedy? Must we sit still and see the affairs of the Confederacy going from bad to worse? If Congress will not interpose to stop us on the sloping descent to perdition, what then? We are not afraid of being conquered by the enemy so much as being defeated by Mr. Davis. He despises all

* Richmond Enquirer, January 17, 1865.
† Richmond Whig, January 17, 1865.

warnings and snubs Congress. The press of the country, and the army backs it, calls on him to keep his hands off and let General Lee be generalissimo of the forces. But Mr. Davis is deaf to the outcry. He calls it "clamor." *

Congress had assembled early in November and listened to a message full of hope and confidence. Despite some successes of the enemy, Davis could see nothing in the military situation which should cause despondency. Nearly the whole of northern and western Mississippi, he said, is again in our possession. All attempts to push from the coast into the interior of the Atlantic and Gulf States have been baffled. Along the whole Atlantic and Gulf coasts of the Confederacy the success of the enemy has been limited to the capture of the outer defenses of Mobile. In southwestern Virginia successive armies which threatened Lynchburg have been routed and driven out of the country. In northern Virginia great districts once held by the enemy are free. In the lower valley their general, made desperate by his failure to maintain a hopeless occupation, has resorted to the infamous expedient of turning fruitful land into a desert, has burned mills, granaries, homesteads, and has destroyed food, standing crops, livestock, and farm implements. The main army of the enemy after defeats with enormous losses, after constant repulses of repeated assaults on our defenses, is still engaged in the attempt, begun four months ago, to capture Petersburg. Sherman, after entering Atlanta, is unable to gain any advantage from his success.

These are lessons fraught with encouragement. Repeated expeditions have been directed against points ignorantly supposed to be of vital importance. Success has attended some, but in no instance has the promised fruit been gathered. Again, in the present campaign, was the delusion fondly cherished that the capture of Richmond and Atlanta would end the war. Had we been forced to evacuate both, the Confederacy would have been as erect and defiant as ever. Not the fall of Richmond, nor Wilmington, nor Charleston, nor Savannah, nor Mobile, not the fall of all of these can save

* Richmond Examiner, January 7, 1865. The Whig, January 9, in much the same tone.

the enemy from that constant and exhausting drain of blood and treasure which will go on until he discovers that no peace will be made unless based on recognition.

Some laws he would have changed. Experience had shown that the exemption then given by law to all persons engaged in certain pursuits and professions was unwise. No pursuit, no occupation, should release any man able to bear arms unless his services to the public were more useful in another sphere. Telegraph operators, workmen in mines, professors, teachers, engineers, shoemakers, tanners, blacksmiths, millers, physicians, editors, journeymen printers could not be equally necessary, nor so distributed that only the exact number needed were to be found in each locality. He should have authority to detail as many of those engaged in any business, occupation or pursuit, if really essential to the public service, as might be necessary to carry on that business or pursuit; but exemption of the entire class should be abolished. The act of February seventeenth, 1864, he said, an act which permitted the use of slaves in the army as teamsters, as laborers on fortifications, or in hospitals, or in Government workshops, had not produced all the good results expected. Such service required training, loyalty, zeal, and could be better secured by buying the slaves, acquiring the right to their entire service, and holding out to them emancipation as a reward for work faithfully done.*

These two requests, the substitution of detail for exemption and the purchase of slaves for use in the army, were instantly met with bitter opposition from the press. That men should be detailed by the President to carry on the work of a newspaper office was unthinkable. Let it be done and that moment freedom of the press expired. Could not every one see that all semblance of liberty must depart the moment the press of the country became dependent for its life on the pleasure of the President, and was everywhere conducted by details? Were Davis seeking to become a dictator what better, what surer way was there of gaining that end than by the unlimited control of the press which power to detail the editors would give him? Never had a bolder attempt to

* November 7, 1864, Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, pp. 791-800.

muzzle the press, or make it speak such language as the supreme head liked to hear, been made on this continent. To put printers and editors in the same class with farmers, tanners, shoemakers, was preposterous. What temptation was there for the Executive to oppress any of them? What could he gain by restricting the exercise of their trades and occupations to his tools and parasites? * Our pulpits are to be filled by detailed preachers, our schools by detailed teachers, our plantations by detailed farmers, our newspapers by detailed editors and printers. Such a policy strikes at the very root of civil liberty, puts all power into the hands of the military. If a minister of the gospel gives utterance in the pulpit to doctrines distasteful to the powers that be, if an editor uses his constitutional right in vindication of the freedom of the press, a revocation of these details would very soon silence them. Should the editor be too old for military duty, it would be an easy matter to stop his newspaper by revoking the detail of his typesetters, pressmen, employees. Let our Congressmen take warning and be not too hasty in surrendering the rights and liberties of the people into the hands of the military.† The press of the South is startled and alarmed at this show of executive intolerance, at this desire to crush those journals independent enough to criticize his acts and policy. But they will not give up their rights, nor hold their existence at the beck and nod of the President and his military subordinates.‡

Quite as hateful was the suggestion that slaves be purchased for use in the army, and when the war was over emancipated as a reward for faithful service. It passes all understanding, it was said, that now, in the fourth year of our independence, the fourth year after breaking up the old Union because we could not suffer the Washington Government to meddle with our State institutions, the President should invite Congress to consider a plan for emancipating slaves by Confederate authority, and speak of it as a reward for faithful services, a boon, a blessing. We warn him, and

* Richmond Examiner, November 10, 1864; Whig, November 10, 1864.
† Montgomery Appeal, November 9, 1864.
‡ Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, November 10, 1864.

the Confederate authorities, to mind their own business which is, to enforce the military laws and keep the ranks of the army filled with white men and free citizens. Send every white man to the field who belongs there; make teamsters, cooks or nurses of the negroes so far as may be necessary, but keep the rest at home to fight famine. The hoe is the weapon for Cuffee. South Carolina believed it was her duty to contribute to the utmost in men, money and material. If, therefore, the use of slaves as teamsters in the army would contribute to the efficiency of the Confederate forces she would furnish her quota, provided, after discharge from service, the status of the slave was unchanged. She could not approve the plan to have the Confederate Government buy slaves and make them free at the end of their term of service.

Having heard the message, Congress proceeded to regulate military affairs in its own way. All confidence in the ability of Davis to choose commanders was gone. The defeat of Hood at Atlanta, the destruction of his army at Nashville, failure of the military authorities to offer resistance to Sherman when on his march through Georgia, intensified the popular demand that Lee be given supreme command; and Congress by one resolution ordered that there should be a General-in-Chief who should, as such, command the military forces of the Confederate States,* and by another expressed the opinion that if the President would appoint General Joseph E. Johnston commander of the Army of Tennessee, the act would be hailed with joy by the army and would receive the hearty approval of the people.† Virginia had already asked for the appointment of Lee to supreme command,‡ and was told that he had once held it; that when placed at the head of the Army of Northern Virginia in 1861 he had also been put at the head of all other armies in the field; that he had remained at the head of both until his request to be relieved of one or the other could no longer

* January 18, 1865, Richmond Sentinel, January 23, 1865.

† Richmond Enquirer, January 23, 1865.

‡ January 17, 1865, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part II, p. 1084.

be withstood; and that if he would again assume this double duty, to entrust him with it would be for the public good.* He did consent and was accordingly made Commander-in-Chief. Johnston, Davis would not restore to the command of the Army of Tennessee. Indeed, he considered the request an impertinence, and went so far as to prepare a paper to be sent to Congress with a protest against Congressional meddling with matters exclusively executive; but very wisely never sent it.† After Lee became Chief, at his request, Johnston was ordered to report to him and was given command of the army gathered to stop the march of Sherman across the Carolinas.

Having interfered successfully in military affairs, the members of Congress now thought seriously of interfering in administrative affairs, of voting want of confidence in the Cabinet. But the Virginia delegation, wishing to save the President from such humiliation, advised him to reorganize his Cabinet by removing all heads of Departments. Seddon at once resigned.

There had, the Speaker wrote Davis, been some discussion among the members as to the propriety of declaring by resolution that the country had no confidence in the Cabinet as an administration. Were such a resolution offered, and it was by no means improbable, it would pass the House of Representatives by the votes of at least three-fourths of the members present. It was to prevent so direct an issue between the Executive and Legislative branches, and save him from a position so unpleasant, that his friends in the Virginia delegation thought it proper to advise him to anticipate the movement. ‡

Not until the first of February was Seddon's resignation accepted. In doing so, Davis declared he did not recognize the right of the Legislative Department to control continuance in office of the principal officers of the Executive Department, whose choice the Constitution had vested in

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* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part II, p. 1092.

† Rowland, Jefferson Davis, vol. vi, p. 191.

‡ T. S. Bocock to Davis, January 21, 1865, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part II, pp. 1117, 1118.

the Chief Magistrate, whose advice in writing he was authorized to require, and whose tenure of office depended entirely on his pleasure. The notion that expression, by Congress, of a want of confidence was an appropriate exercise of constitutional power, was quite unfounded.* The new Secretary of War was John C. Breckinridge.

The Virginia delegation now defended their action. At the beginning of the year, they said, the Confederacy was thought by many to be in serious danger. Public spirit was depressed. Belief that misfortunes in the field were partly the result of mal-administration increased the fears for the public safety. Prompt, energetic, judicious measures seemed necessary for the restoration of public confidence. After mature consideration the delegation decided that the most effective measure would be reorganization of the Cabinet, and that this opinion should be made known to President Davis as the advice of friends. The Speaker was, therefore, requested to communicate the advice in the most friendly, respectful and confidential manner, and did so in person and by letter. The delegation had reason to suspect some movement in Congress which might bring on a collision between the Legislative and Executive Departments. It was their desire to prevent such a movement. They did not intend to embarrass the President, nor the heads of departments; did not assume for themselves, for the House of Representatives, for Congress, a power to force the resignation of any Cabinet member; did not discriminate among heads of Departments. That the friendly advice of a delegation should be repelled in such a manner, and with such claims, and at such a time, they deplored, for the sake of the country and for the sake of Mr. Davis.†

From these bickerings with Congress, the attention of Davis was suddenly diverted by the arrival in Richmond of Francis Preston Blair, Senior. Convinced that, because of old-time friendly relations with Davis, he could obtain an

* Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, pp. 1046-1048. Rowland, Jefferson Davis, vol. vi, pp. 458-461. Richmond Enquirer, February 9, 1865.

† Richmond Sentinel, February 10, 1865; New York Herald, February 18, 1865.

interview, and because of the desire for peace, so widespread in the South, he could at least bring about the opening of negotiations, he obtained from Lincoln a card permitting him "to pass our lines, go South and return." Armed with this he hastened to City Point and by flag of truce sent two letters to Davis. One set forth that the loss of some papers, when Early's troops were in possession of his house at the time of the raid on Washington, induced him to ask permission to visit Richmond with a view to their recovery. In the other, he said, that this statement was made that it might serve to answer inquiries as to why he came. His real purpose was to submit some ideas which Davis might turn to good and, possibly, practical results.* When no reply came back, Blair returned to Washington, began the preparation of a letter to Davis, and while so engaged received the sought-for permission and went to Richmond. We have reason to believe, said a Richmond journal, that this old man is here on his own authority and by his own mere motion, and has no authentication from his Government; no message to deliver, no cards to show.† Since his arrival, said another, he has kept himself from the public eye. His ostensible business is to ascertain if anything can be done about a cessation of hostilities, and end of the war. His real object is to put the Lincoln administration in a good position before the people just called on to fill a draft. Lincoln knows that any propositions he will make, our Government will spurn, and thus enable him to say the rebels will accept no terms of peace. ‡

At Richmond Blair met Davis, and received in writing a statement of what he might say to Lincoln. Davis was willing then, as heretofore, to negotiate for peace; was ready to send a commission whenever assured it would be received, or to receive a commission should the United States Government choose to send one; and, despite the rejection of former offers, would appoint a commissioner, minister or agent at once, if Blair could give assurance he would be received, and

* Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, vol. x, p. 95.
† Richmond Enquirer, January 14, 1865.
‡ Richmond Dispatch, January 13, 1865.

renew the effort to "secure peace to the two countries." * Hurrying back to Washington, Blair received from Lincoln a letter he might show to Davis. You, he said, having shown me Mr. Davis' letter to you, may say to him, "I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue to be ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country." † When Blair, on his return to Richmond, called the attention of Davis to the words "our one common country," and said they related to the words "the two countries," in his letter, Davis answered that he so understood it. ‡

This second visit, so close on the heels of the first, the *Enquirer* believed, might argue a feverish anxiety in Washington, caused by dread of a certain emergency against which it might be advisable for the Yankees to hedge. Lee had heard that Great Britain and France were about to guarantee Southern independence, and Blair had come to assure the Government that better terms would be offered by the Yankees. The story about papers was all humbug. §

Davis now appointed Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President, J. A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War, and R. M. T. Hunter, a Senator, as commissioners to meet Lincoln; and on the afternoon of the twenty-ninth of January they appeared before the lines of the Army of the James and sent in a letter to Grant. They desired, it said, to cross the lines, in accordance with an understanding with General Grant, on their way to Washington as peace commissioners. Grant was absent, but, on his return they were passed through the lines to City Point, comfortably lodged on board his dispatch boat, taken to Hampton Roads and quartered on a vessel anchored in mid-stream. There they

* Davis to Blair, January 12, 1865, Richardson, Messages and Papers of the President, vol. vi, p. 261. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part II, p. 506.

† Lincoln to Blair, January 18, 1865, Richardson, Messages and Papers of the President, vol. vi, p. 261.

‡ Ibid., p. 261. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part II, p. 506.

§ Richmond Enquirer, January 25, 1865.

were visited by Lincoln and Seward. The conference might as well never have been held. We learned from them, said Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, in their report, that the terms and method by which peace may be secured are fully set forth in President Lincoln's message to Congress in December last. We were not informed that they would in any way be modified to obtain that end. We understood from Mr. Lincoln that no terms or proposals for a treaty looking to a settlement of the present difficulties would be entertained, or made, by him, because they would be a recognition of the Confederate States as an independent power which would not be done under any circumstances; that no terms would be received from the States separately; and that no extended truce, no armistice would be granted without satisfactory assurance of full restoration of the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States over all places within the States of the Confederacy. Persons subject to pains and penalties might rely on a liberal use of the power confided to him to remit them, if peace were restored. The proposed amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery in all the States, was brought to our attention.*

Richmond, it was said, when the report became known, was as excited as if a new war were begun. If any man now talked of submission he should be hanged to the nearest lamp-post. Carried away by the feeling of the moment the Governor of Virginia called a mass meeting in the African Church "to respond to the answer made by President Lincoln." Ten thousand people, it was said, filled the church and choked every avenue of approach for blocks around it. Davis attended. Those in the church resolved that they spurned with the indignation due to so gross an insult, the terms in which the President of the United States had offered peace; that the circumstances under which the proffer was made stamped it as a designed, a premeditated indignity; that they would maintain their liberties and independence, and to that end pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

Davis, who sat upon the platform, was called for, came

* New York Herald, February 10, 1865.

forward and said he would have been pleased if the meeting had been called to rejoice over a victory. But it was not only pleasant; he felt a proud and ecstatic joy to see his countrymen looking whatever disasters there had been in the face, and plucking from adversity new courage and resolution. All must now be laid on the altar of country. If such a feeling should take possession of the hearts of the people, if they should give a hearty and unanimous answer to the demands of the present emergency, then he could say they stood on the verge of successes which would teach the insolent enemy, who had treated their propositions with contumely, that in the conference, in which he had so plumed himself with arrogance, he was indeed talking to his masters. He had never hoped for anything from propositions for peace, made to the enemy, unless accompanied with victories; but he would have been more or less than man not to have yielded to a natural desire to testify his anxiety, his yearnings for peace. He had received a notice from Mr. Lincoln opening the way to an unofficial conference on the subject, and did not feel at liberty to decline the invitation it implied. In the notes which passed between them on the matter there was one marked difference. He spoke always of two countries, Mr. Lincoln of a common country. He could have no common country with the Yankees. His life was bound up with the Confederacy. If any man supposed that under any circumstances he could be an agent for the reconstruction of the Union he mistook every element of his nature. With the Confederacy he would live or die. Thank God, he represented a people too proud to eat the leek, or bow the neck to mortal man. If only half the absentees were back in General Lee's army, Grant would be taught a lesson such as he had never received even on his eventful route from the Rapidan to the James. Beauregard held another army in Sherman's path and it might soon be shown that Sherman's march through Georgia was his last.* At a second mass meeting, called by citizens, Benjamin spoke.†

* Richmond Enquirer, February 7, 1865. The speech, said to be reported in full and undoubtedly revised and published in the Sentinel, February 8, is quite different from the first reports.

† Richmond Sentinel, February 10, 1865.

He would have something better than resolutions and, "We will perish before we yield." Talk could not win battles, nor resolutions fill the Treasury. He would take every bale of cotton in the land, every hogshead of tobacco. All was wanted as a basis of credit, without which neither arms nor ammunition could be purchased. "Take it, take it," cried his hearers. We want more, he said, we want your grain, your bacon, everything the brave men in the trenches need. "Take it, take it," was shouted back. There were six hundred and eighty thousand black men of fighting age in the South. Let us say to them, go and fight and you are free. Do not press them, for then they will run away. Let us stop the negroes from going over to the enemy by saying to them, if you go the Yankees will give you freedom, but you will perish from the face of the earth. You cannot live in that cold climate. Fight for your masters, and you will have freedom without danger.*

From Richmond the indignation spread over the country. The press took up the cry. One universal shout of liberty or death, said one journal, will echo throughout the land. Wake up then! We know the worst. Let us meet the foe bravely and defiantly.† The terms they offer are, that we surrender at discretion. It cannot and will not be done.‡ The die has been cast. Our fate is foretold. We cannot and shall not be subjugated.§ Unconditional submission to the Constitution and laws of the United States puts our lives, our property, our honor, our all at the mercy of the Yankees. We will be surprised if a furor of indignation does not sound through all the land. || The House of Representatives regretted that no alternative was left but war, or submission to terms ruinous and dishonorable. The issue was accepted and a solemn declaration made of its intentions to prosecute the war until the United States should desist from its attempt to subjugate the Confederate States, and until their independence was established. Texas would accept no terms of

* Richmond Enquirer, February 10, 1865.
† Goldsboro Journal.
‡ Wilmington Journal.
§ Columbia Carolinian, Richmond Enquirer, February 13, 1865.
|| Raleigh Confederate.

peace which did not guarantee the independence of the Confederacy.*

From the press the excitement spread to the troops, and batteries, companies, regiments, battalions made haste to adopt resolutions and send them to Congress. A Texas brigade, having seen with feelings of sadness the clouds of gloom and despondence "gathered in the sky of our young nation," declared its unalterable purpose to conquer an honorable peace, and maintain, at all hazards and to the last extremity, the right and liberties a merciful God had bestowed on them.† A Virginia regiment, deploring the despondency pervading the public mind, rededicated itself to the cause of Southern independence, and would fight on until it was gained. ‡ The Richmond Howitzers heard with sorrow, not unmingled with indignation, that the temporary successes of a vulgar and vainglorious foe had filled many in the land with misgivings and distress, and had reconciled some to the relinquishment of all the high and honorable objects of the mighty contest. Spurning all thoughts of compromise, and every hope of peace not based on independence and eternal separation from the States of the North, they were resolved never to submit or yield, and once more dedicated their lives and pledged their services to the "infant Republic." Another believed the people of the South had just as good a right to be free and govern themselves as had the enemy, and should accept at their hands no terms short of independence.§

Great as was the excitement it soon went down. The "monster mass" meetings being held in Richmond, said an unfriendly critic, are noticed in all the papers of that city with show-bill headings; but nothing is said about recruits. There is great enthusiasm; but not a man is put in the army. When will these farces cease? ||

Instead of joining the army, men deserted in larger num-

* Richmond Enquirer, January 31, 1865.
† Ibid., January 28, 1865.
‡ Ibid., January 31, 1865.
§ Richmond Examiner, February 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 17, 18, 21, 1865.
|| Raleigh Progress. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part II, p. 1252.

bers than ever. Hoping to lure, or shame, or frighten them to return, Lee issued a general order. About to enter on the campaign, he felt sure that soldiers who had so long, and so nobly, borne the hardships and dangers of war needed no call to duty. The choice that lay before them was war or submission. They could not barter manhood for peace, nor the right of self-government for life and property. But, justice required a sterner admonition to those who had abandoned their comrades in the hour of peril. A last chance would be given them to wipe out disgrace and escape punishment. All who returned, within twenty days, to their old commands, would find a pardon awaiting them. All who refused, all who hereafter deserted, or went over to the enemy, would suffer such punishment as the courts might impose.* In spite of the order, desertions from Lee's army steadily increased. During ten days his corps' commanders reported one thousand and ninety-four.† Four hundred had gone from Hill's corps. They were chiefly from regiments from the western part of North Carolina, and were influenced by letters written by friends at home.

Despondency and hardships had become too great for many a man to endure. What they had to endure was set before the new Secretary of War by Lee. Yesterday, he said, the most inclement day of the winter, "they had to be held in line of battle as they had been for two days and nights. He regretted to be obliged to say that some of the men had been without meat for three days, and that all were suffering from reduced rations, scant clothing," exposure "to battle, cold, hail and sleet." If some changes were not made, and the Commissary Department reorganized, he feared dire results. The strength of the men, if their courage survived, must fail under such treatment. ‡ Davis wrote on the letter when it came to him, "let supplies be had by purchase, or borrowing, or other possible means." §

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* February 11, 1865. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part II, pp. 1229-1230.

† February 15-25. Ibid., p. 1265.

‡ February 8, 1865. Ibid., pp. 1209-1210.

§ Ibid., p. 1210.

With the new Secretary of War came a new Commissary General who made it his first duty to seek supplies for the Army of Northern Virginia. He began by inviting a number of gentlemen, living in Richmond, to meet and decide on the best way to increase the supply of food for the army. At the conference a committee of nine was chosen to frame an address to the people of Virginia. They did so, and made it public on Washington's Birthday. You are aware, fellow-citizens, they said, that the movements of the enemy, in South Carolina and Georgia, have cut all communication with the Southern States, and so hindered the work of the Department of Subsistence that immediate action, by both the Government and the people, is necessary for support of the army. General Lee has said that the people have simply to choose whether they will give such food as they can spare for the support of the army, or keep their stores and maintain the army of the enemy striving for their subjugation. He knew that a general obligation of this kind rested lightly on most men. Each was disposed to leave its discharge to his neighbor; but he was sure that the army which had so long withstood the efforts of the enemy would not now be made to suffer through neglect.

Let every citizen pledge himself to furnish rations for one soldier for six months. Let the rations be eighty pounds of bacon and one hundred and eighty pounds of flour, or the equivalent in beef and meal; let one half be given at once and one half within three months; let all who could feed five, ten, twenty men for six months; and let those who could not maintain one soldier join with others in doing so.

By that time Columbia had been captured, Charleston evacuated, Wilmington entered, and Sherman's army was in North Carolina. The plan of Grant was to move the army from Savannah by sea to the James River. But Sherman suggested marching North through the Carolinas. Grant approved and preparations for the march began. Howard, with the right wing, was sent to Beaufort by sea, and thence to Pocotaligo as if threatening Charleston. Slocum, with the right wing, was to move northward along the bank of the Savannah as if threatening Augusta. A pon-

toon bridge was therefore laid across the river, opposite the city, and the Union Causeway across the rice swamps was repaired and corduroyed. But incessant rains so swelled the river that it overflowed the low grounds, covered the causeway with water, swept away the pontoon bridge, and Slocum was forced to seek a crossing some forty miles up the Savannah at Sister's Ferry.*

The army having entered South Carolina, every effort was made to rally the men of the State in her defense. If, said a Columbia journal, there be a man in the State who, reading the future by the light of the burning village of Allendale, expects to save his home in any other way than by shouldering his musket and hurrying to the fight, he deserves to be classed with the sagacious quadruped of Æsop's Fables who planted his clumsy hoofs on the shoulders of his master.† All doubt, said the Governor in his appeal, is dispelled. The truth is made manifest. The invasion of the State has commenced. Our people are driven from their homes, their property plundered and destroyed. Therefore he called on the men of South Carolina to rise in defense of their honor and the honor of the State. Let all who faltered, who hesitated, be marked. The foe upon the soil of South Carolina was there for rapine, for lust. Let him meet resistance unto death. ‡

Vance, of North Carolina, appealed to the men of that State. Some will say successful resistance is no longer possible, that we are already subdued, that we are outnumbered by the enemy, that our fighting men are slain, our resources exhausted, and that all that is left us is to submit. Are our men all slain? Four hundred thousand names are yet upon the muster rolls of the Confederacy, to say nothing of the many thousands that should be there. Where are they? Thousands upon thousands of men, absent without leave, are lurking in the woods and swamps of the South. Are our provisions gone? Hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain

* The facts regarding the march to Columbia are taken from Sherman's Report. Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part I, pp. 17-29.

† Columbia Gazette, February 12, 1865. Richmond Enquirer, February 17, 1865.

‡ New York Herald, February 16, 1865.

are rotting at the depots of the South for want of transportation, for want of those absent soldiers to protect them. Has our country been overrun? It has, but how much remains in the hands of the enemy? He has marched through the heart of Georgia. Save the little garrison at Savannah, and the ashes of devastation in his track, Georgia has neither an enemy, nor the signs of an enemy, on her soil. The cities they garrison, the land on which their army stands, the waters ridden by their fleets, are all they really hold. Let the rest of our cities, Mobile, Charleston, Wilmington, Richmond, let them all go, and if we are determined to be free our subjugation is as far away as ever. Therefore, he called on the people to do their utmost to send back the absentees to the army, share their abundance with the poor and needy, and strengthen the arms of their rulers and generals.*

As the Union troops drew near to Columbia, panic seized the people and they attempted to flee with as much of their belongings as they could carry away.† Martial law was proclaimed, but not enforced. Depots and public storehouses were broken open. ‡ A party of Wheeler's Cavalry rode into town, tied their horses and broke into the shops along Main Street and carried off their contents, and after nightfall thieves and plunderers followed their example. On the seventeenth, just before the Union troops came in, a mob of men, women and negroes, while plundering trunks and bales of goods sent to the South Carolina Railroad depot for shipment, through carelessness, set fire to kegs of powder, blew up the building, and killed many. A few hours later the Charlotte depot was set on fire by order of Beauregard, just as the Union troops entered. They were met a mile out of town by the Mayor and three Aldermen who came in a carriage carrying a white flag, and made an unconditional surrender of the city. A brigade of the Fifteenth Corps under command of Colonel Stone entered and attempted to restore order. But the people came out with bottles, jugs,

* Proclamation, February 14. Richmond Enquirer, February 24, 1865.

† Sack and Destruction of Columbia, William Gilmore Simms, p. 10.

‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. liii, p. 1050.

pails of whisky, the men became drunk, disorderly and beyond control, entered stores and private houses, took what pleased them and robbed men and women of watches and jewelry on the streets. Stone ordered all whisky destroyed, and placed guards at public buildings. But disorder became so gross that at eight o'clock in the evening his brigade was relieved by that of Colonel Wood.

When Howard entered he saw cotton bales piled in a long line down Main Street. The ropes and bagging had been cut, and tufts of cotton, driven by a strong wind, had lodged on the sides, roofs and verandas of houses and so whitened the branches of trees that they looked as if a snow storm had passed over the city. The bales were burning, and men, aided by some soldiers, were trying to put out the flames with the help of a little fire engine. Supposing all was well he chose his headquarters and retired to rest.* But the streets were swarming with drunken negroes, convicts let out of the jail, Union prisoners escaped from the prison-camps, bummers, camp followers, stragglers, drunken soldiers, and by eight o'clock fires were started in several parts of the city. The flames, driven by the wind which had now become a gale, leaped from house to house and from street to street, and a fire beyond control swept across Columbia. Nor was it checked until four o'clock in the morning when the wind changed to the eastward. "Old men, women and children with everything they could get were herded together in the streets. At some places we found officers and kind-hearted soldiers protecting families from the insults and roughness of the careless. Meanwhile the flames made fearful ravage and magnificent residences and churches were consumed in a very few minutes." † When dawn broke very little of Columbia remained save "a blackened surface peopled with numerous chimneys and an occasional house that had been spared as if by a miracle." ‡

Seven years later, under the Treaty of Washington, a

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* Report of Howard, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part I, pp. 200-201.

† Howard's Report. Ibid., p. 109.

‡ Ibid., p. 199.

Commission of Three * was appointed to examine claims of citizens of the United States against Great Britain and of subjects of Great Britain against the United States. To this Commission were presented several claims "for property alleged to have been destroyed by the burning of Columbia on the allegation that the city was wantonly fired by the army of General Sherman either under his orders or with his consent and permission." † The witnesses were many; the testimony voluminous; but all claims were disallowed, and the agent for the United States "advised that the Commissioners were unanimous in the conclusion that the conflagration which destroyed Columbia was not to be ascribed to either the intention, or default, of either the Federal or Confederate officers." ‡

Two days were spent by the troops destroying property before they set off, leaving behind five hundred head of cattle and provisions and salt, taken from their stores, for the relief of the suffering people of Columbia. § One hundred stand of arms were delivered to the Mayor, who gave a written pledge to use them to preserve peace, and never in any way against the United States. || So scarce was food that the Mayor, in desperation, appealed to the citizens of Augusta for help. Two-thirds of the city, he said, was in ashes. Every horse, mule, and many negroes had been carried away. Thousands were verging on starvation. For miles around every plantation had been swept clean of everything. Though the people were homeless and threatened with starvation, their spirits, thank God, were unbroken. ¶

Meanwhile, Charleston was evacuated.** About midnight, as the last of Hardee's troops were leaving, every building,

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* James Summerville Frazer for the United States; Rt. Hon. Russell Gurney for Great Britain; and Count Louis Corti, Italian Minister at Washington.

† Report of Robert S. Hale, Agent and Counsel for the United States before the Commission, Foreign Relations, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, vol. iii, p. 50, 1873.

‡ Ibid.

§ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part II, p. 485.

|| Ibid., p. 488.

¶ Richmond Whig, March 15, 1865.

** February 17, 1865.

warehouse, shed, in which a bale of cotton or a bushel of rice was stored was fired by soldiers detailed for the work. At the Northeastern depot were stored cotton, thousands of bushels of rice and two hundred kegs of gunpowder. A great crowd of men, women and children had come thither to gather the rice, and were so employed when a fearful explosion wrecked the building, killed or wounded over three hundred, and started a fire which left not a building standing on four neighboring squares. Boys, it was said, found the kegs of powder and, carrying it by handfuls, laid a train which was fired by a spark.* At dawn three ironclads were blown to fragments. Later in the morning the Mayor sent off a note to General Gilmore announcing that the military authorities had withdrawn, and by nine o'clock the city, Forts Sumter, Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, all the fortifications that during four years had withstood every effort to reduce them, were in Union hands, and the flag of the Union once more floated over the parapet of Sumter.

Ruin was everywhere. The wharves, once the scene of a flourishing commerce, were broken, grass-grown, deserted. Scarce a building in the lower part of the city but was damaged or destroyed by shell-fire during the long bombardment. Warehouses, shops, newspaper offices, public buildings, streets, were deserted. Unsightly ruins marked out the wide area swept by the great fire of three years before. Beyond the business district in the residence part there was little trace of war. Beyond this were the smouldering ashes of the recent fire. Much of the old population had gone. What remained was composed chiefly of negroes and poor whites who had neither the money with which to flee, nor the disposition to go. The suffering here is great, said Colonel Woodford. Everything, money, provisions, medicines, clothes, was needed.†

As was the case in the capture of Savannah, so now in the evacuation of Charleston, the people of the South were assured that the loss of the city was, after all, no great mat-

* Charleston Courier, February 20, 1865. New York Herald, February 28, 1865.

† Stewart L. Woodford, March 6, 1865, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part II, p. 711.

ter; was indeed a blessing in disguise. Our cause, it was said, lies not in a house, nor in many houses built by the hands of men, but in the temple built by God in the hearts of the Confederate soldiers and people. Should the whole seaboard be evacuated, and the troops that have been guarding cities be gathered together, our army would be strengthened, and that of the enemy weakened, for he would then be compelled to use his men to garrison the places we evacuated.* It is not Charleston City, but the empty and ruined shell of a city that the enemy has found with its door open and has entered, without opposition. After three years of superhuman effort to take it by regular siege they at length find the back door open and step in, and the whole Yankee nation sings *Te Deum*. They find there some Jews, a few telegraph operators, and a wilderness of shattered and tenantless stone and lime; not Charleston, but the abandoned hull of Charleston. The soul and spirit of the city still lives, not in the ruins, but in the field with Generals Beauregard and Lee.†

There were those, however, to whom the loss of Charleston was a heavy blow, for the days of blockade running were now past and gone, and with them went the short-lived prosperity of Nassau. By 1864 the business of blockade running had become one of much importance. Men of all sorts took ventures. The risks were great, the losses were heavy, but the profits were alluring. It was an unfortunate runner that did not, in the course of its short life, yield its stockholders seven hundred per cent. Vessels, especially designed for the trade, were built by scores. On the Clyde during the war one hundred and eleven, measuring sixty thousand tons and costing a million seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, were launched. Twenty-eight of them were destroyed and forty-eight captured. ‡ Their arrivals and departures, destination or capture were regularly chronicled in the Liverpool shipping news under such headings as "Yankee Blockade News"; the "Blockade Runners"; "American Blockade"; "Disasters to Blockade Runners"; "Fleet of Blockade Run-

* Richmond Enquirer, February 22, 1865.
† Richmond Examiner, February 28, 1865.
‡ Glasgow Herald, January 18, 1865.

ners"; "Movements of Blockade Runners", "Latest from Nassau." * In the harbor of Nassau as many as thirty-five were often counted. That the days of the Confederacy were numbered was certain as early as the first of January. But the trade went on as recklessly as ever, and several runners entered both Charleston and Wilmington after they were in Union hands. Galveston alone remained, but the distance was too great to be profitable. The short run to Wilmington or Charleston, oft repeated, was the source of profit. Now the runs were ended, Nassau sank once more into insignificance. Nassau, it was said, is no longer the busy, hustling, jostling, go-ahead place it has been for three years past. No longer do steamers laden with "assorted goods" clear for Halifax, or St. John's, and return within a week laden with cotton. The Customhouse official no longer perpetrates the little pleasantry of clearing for British provinces the long, low, gray, fast-sailing steamer full of Whitworth guns, Enfield rifles, powder, blankets, breadstuffs, shoes, and then in the course of a few days repeating his joke with the selfsame vessel that she may make another run. Those days are gone. The customs' officer has cleared his last runner.† When the news of the evacuation of Charleston reached Liverpool there were posted, in the streets, placards on which were printed these verses from the Revelation of St. John: "Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen, for her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more. Merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stones and of pearls, and fine linen, and wine and oil, and fine flour and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea (blockade runners) stood afar off, and cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, 'What city is like unto this great city'!" ‡

* Liverpool, Journal of Commerce, Liverpool Courier; Manchester Times.

† Correspondent, New York Herald, March 20, 1865.

‡ Revelation, 18th Chapter; New York Tribune, March 22, 1865.

The North rejoiced over the fall of Charleston as it had never rejoiced over that of any other city. Had not her citizens been clamoring for secession for thirty years and more? Was she not the very cradle of rebellion? Was it not in Charleston that the first ordinance of secession was passed? Was it not from her forts that the flag of the Union was first fired on, and was it not from Sumter that it was first pulled down? Now she was at last in loyal hands and the old flag once more floated over Sumter. The Secretary of War ordered a national salute to be fired at West Point and at every fort, arsenal, and army headquarters on the twenty-second of February in honor of the restoration of the flag to Sumter.* On that day leading citizens of New York met and resolved that the President should be requested to send Anderson, in a national ship, to raise over Sumter the very flag which, on April thirteenth, 1861, he was compelled to lower at the dictates of the traitors of South Carolina.† March fourth was to have been a day of jubilee in New York City, but a storm of wind and rain caused it to be put off until Monday the sixth when the citizens beheld the greatest military and industrial parade in the history of a city whose people had witnessed many such shows. In Washington a wild storm ushered in the fourth. The wind blew a gale. Rain fell in torrents. The streets were rivulets. But it made small difference to the crowd of sight-seers and office-seekers gathered to behold the inauguration of the first president to succeed himself since Jackson. Happily the rain cleared before noon and but one incident marred the day. The Vice-President was drunk, and in the Senate Chamber, in the presence of all the dignitaries there assembled, delivered a maudlin stump-speech which disgraced his country, the occasion, his party and himself.

Lincoln took the oath of office on the platform erected before the eastern portico of the Capitol, and delivered the shortest and noblest address ever made by any President. But it fell on dull ears. Neither to those who heard, nor,

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part II, p. 512.
† Ibid., p. 564. New York Herald, February 23, 1865.

indeed, to those who read it, did the address seem in any way remarkable. One who was present and described what he saw, thought it more like a valedictory than an inaugural speech. No enthusiasm, no cheering of any consequence was aroused. Not until Lincoln had finished reading the words: "Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish," was there any response from the crowd. The words, "Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease," brought the first cheer. The words: "Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully," was greeted with a half laugh as a piece of sarcasm. Sumner, this correspondent said, smiled superciliously at the scripture quotations.*

When Lincoln wrote in his inaugural address the words: "Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease," he had in mind the great stride which, within a few weeks, had been made towards the abolition of slavery.

In July, 1863, the people of Missouri, in convention assembled, ordained that on the Fourth of July, 1870, slavery and involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, should cease to exist in Missouri, and that on that day all slaves within her boundaries should be free.† But time had brought a great change in public opinion and in January, 1865, another Constitutional Convention decreed, in words taken from the great Ordinance of 1787, that henceforth in that State there should "be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves, are hereby declared free." ‡

* New York Herald, March 6, 1865.
† Adopted July 1, 1863.
‡ Adopted January 11, 1865.

The news, telegraphed to the legislature, caused such excitement that the members of the House sang the old abolition song "John Brown's Body." The Governor, on receiving official information of the passage of the ordinance, sent off telegrams to some of the sister States. "Free Missouri greets her oldest sister" he said to the Governor of Pennsylvania. "Pennsylvania, first-born of freedom, welcomes her disenthralled sister State of Missouri," was the reply. "Redeemed in the agony of the nation and amidst the throes of wanton rebellion, her offering to liberty comes baptised with her richest blood.* "Free Missouri greets you" he telegraphed the Governor of New York. When the message was read to the legislature at the close of the day's session it was received with rapturous applause.† The Governor of Maine, recalling the days of the Missouri Compromise, and that the admission of Missouri as a slave State was part of the price paid for the admission of Maine as a free, sent back the apt reply: "Maine welcomes her twin sister, Missouri, to the blessings of free institutions, after forty years of wandering in the wilderness." ‡

While these telegrams were going back and forth, a convention of Union men in Tennessee proposed an amendment to her constitution of 1834, abolishing slavery outright and forbidding the legislature ever to make any law "recognizing the right of property in man." In Missouri the ordinance of the Convention was final. No popular action was required. In Tennessee the proposed amendment was submitted to vote, and on Washington's Birthday the people made her a free State. §

The action of Tennessee was of far-reaching importance. She was the twenty-seventh State to wipe the blot of slavery from her Statute books, and twenty-seven was just the number needed to ratify an amendment to the Federal Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States and in "any

* New York Tribune, January 13, 1865.

† Ibid., January 13, 1865.

‡ Ibid., January 14, 1865.

§ House Miscellaneous Documents No. 55, 1st Session, 39th Congress, McCarthy, Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction, p. 30. Thorpe, American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws, vol. vi, pp. 3445-3446.

place subject to their jurisdiction," an amendment which it was fervently hoped would soon be sent to the States for approval. Reported to the Senate in its present form, in February 1864, and passed by that body in April, it failed in the House, in June, for want of the necessary two-thirds majority. But the election in November so changed the membership of the House that, in December, Lincoln appealed to it to reconsider its action in June and promptly pass the joint resolution. Of course, he said, the abstract question had not changed. But the recent election had shown that the next Congress would pass the resolution if the present would not. It was but a question of time. "May we not agree that the sooner the better?" *

After much debate the House, on the last day of January, voted to reconsider, put the joint resolution on its passage and adopted it by more than the required two-thirds majority. The ayes were one hundred and nineteen; the nays fifty-six; eight members were absent. Among those who voted aye were eleven Democrats from the free States and thirteen men from the border slave States. As the roll-call proceeded the anxiety felt by the watchers in the overcrowded chamber grew more and more intense, until the Speaker declared the resolution was adopted. Then "the tumult of joy that broke forth was vast, thundering and uncontrolled. Representatives, and auditors on the floor, soldiers and spectators in the gallery, Senators, Supreme Court Judges, women and pages, gave way to the excitement of the most august and important event in American history since the Declaration of Independence." † "Republican members waved their hats and cheered, the galleries took up the cry, handkerchiefs waved in the air, cheers echoed throughout the hall, and all dignity of the occasion seemed to be forgotten. Members were dancing and pulling each other around and performing all manner of antics." ‡

The legislatures of twenty-two States were then in session. So quickly did they act that seven ratified within a week,

* Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 252.
† New York Tribune, February 1, 1865.
‡ New York Herald, February 2, 1865.

and before Lincoln delivered his second inaugural address the number had grown to seventeen.

From Columbia Sherman's army moved northward to Winnsboro, tearing up the railroad as it went, then turned eastward and marched towards Cheraw on the Great Pedee. On the way Sherman heard that Wilmington had been entered by the Union troops on Washington's Birthday. The capture of Fort Fisher was not followed by the immediate surrender of the town. It lay on the east bank of Cape Fear River some sixteen miles from the sea. Between it and the fort was the army of General Hoke, behind a line of entrenchments stretching across the peninsula from the river to Myrtle Sound, and just across the river on the west bank was Fort Anderson, a strong earthwork commanding approach by river or by land. The river was sewn with torpedoes. That the force under Terry could not take Wilmington, Grant was well aware. Yet it must be taken, for Sherman having decided to march northward it was necessary that he should have a base on the coast. At the time, therefore, when Terry was sent to capture Fort Fisher, Schofield's corps was taken from Thomas, moved by river and by rail to Washington, and thence by sea to Newbern and Fort Fisher. North Carolina was then made a military department. Schofield was placed in command, and orders issued to him to occupy Wilmington, move up to Goldsboro and await the arrival of Sherman. About the middle of February the advance began, Terry up the peninsula, against Hoke, Schofield up the west bank of the river against Fort Anderson. The Confederates abandoned their works, a general advance of the army and navy followed, and on the morning of the twenty-second the Union troops entered Wilmington unopposed. Before leaving, the Confederates burned several steamers, such military and naval stores as could not be carried away, and set fire to hundreds of bales of cotton and fifteen thousand barrels of resin.

From Cheraw Sherman went on to Fayettesville on the Cape Fear River. After burning the building of the fine old armory, built by the United States long before the war,

destroying the tools and machines and such property as might be of use to the Confederates, Sherman pushed on towards Raleigh, but soon turned aside and marched for Goldsboro. Aware that Johnston was now in command, that he was rapidly gathering his scattered troops, and that, under such a commander, resistance was to be expected, Sherman henceforth advanced with caution. It was well he did, for there was a sharp encounter with Hardee at Owensboro, and a two days' engagement with Johnston at Bentonville. They served, however, but to so delay the march that Goldsboro was not entered until the twenty-third. There Sherman found Schofield, and Terry, who had fought his way from Newbern, awaiting him.

As Sherman came marching north from Savannah the Confederate Congress found itself compelled, by sheer force of circumstances, to consider the expediency of putting arms in the hands of the blacks. The need of men was pressing, dire; but repugnance to enlisting negroes was strong, the belief that the soldiers would not fight beside them was prevalent, and the winter passed and Congress was on the eve of adjournment before it ventured to enact the necessary law. February seventh, in the Senate, a resolution was introduced instructing the Committee on Military Affairs to report a bill to take into service, by enlistment with consent of their owners, or by conscription, not more than two hundred thousand slaves, who, if loyal and true until the end of the war should be set free with payment of their full value to their owners.* It was promptly rejected; but three days later a bill to raise two hundred thousand negro troops was allowed to be introduced.† That same day, in the House, a bill for a like purpose was sent to a select committee of one from each State.‡ Barksdale, a member from Mississippi who introduced the bill, now turned to Lee for advice. He had already been consulted, weeks before, by a member of the legislature of Virginia and

* Journals of the Confederate Congress, vol. iv, p. 526. Stephenson, The Question of Arming the Slaves, American Historical Review, p. 298.

† Ibid., p. 543. Stephenson, American Historical Review, p. 300.

‡ Ibid., vol. vii, p. 562. Stephenson, American Historical Review, p. 301.

had then replied that he would prefer to rely on whites to keep up the ratio between the armies of the Confederacy and the enemy. But such were the preparations of the enemy that it was necessary to provide for the continuance of the war, not for a campaign. Should the war go on the enemy might penetrate the country, get possession of the negroes and use them to hold in subjugation the people of the South. We must decide, therefore, he said, whether slavery shall be extinguished by our enemies and the slaves used against us, or use them ourselves and run the risk of the effect it may produce on our social institutions. They should be used without delay. With proper regulations they could be made efficient soldiers, and at the end of the war freedom should be given to the families of all who enlisted and had discharged their duties faithfully. The measure should be accompanied by a well-digested plan of gradual and general emancipation.* He now replied to Barksdale that the use of negroes was not only wise but expedient; that the enemy would certainly use them against the South if he could get them; that there was no sense in holding them to await his coming; that they would make good soldiers, and that those so used should be set free.† That the House was greatly influenced by the wishes of Lee is not to be doubted; but when, on the twentieth of February, the bill was passed, no promise of emancipation was held out to the soldier slaves.

February twenty-first the Senate, by a majority of one, indefinitely postponed its bill, and the question was supposed to be settled, for it did not seem likely that having rejected its own bill it would approve that sent up by the House. Greatly disappointed, the press of Richmond called for action by the people. Public safety, it was said, is imperative, and since the Senate will not consent to the use of a great element of strength there remains but one thing to do. Let the President, without law, call on the people to send

* Lee to Andrew Hunter, January 11, 1865. Official Records, Series 4, vol. iii, p. 1013.

† Lee to Barksdale, February 18, 1865, Richmond Enquirer, February 25, 1865.

their slaves to the front, aye, take the negroes and use them.* Many of our citizens wish to send their servants to fight. The General-in-Chief approves. The President and the House of Representatives approve. Only the Senate by a majority of one refuses. It does seem strange that people who have been nursed, waited on, watched over, by negro servants are to be told that, rather than be defended by them, they must run the risk of a Yankee yoke.† At last the Senate yielded, and by a majority of one passed the House bill with amendments. The House accepted them and March thirteenth Davis signed the bill.

* Richmond Enquirer, February 25, 1865.
† Richmond Sentinel, February 24, 1865.

CHAPTER XXV.

END OF THE CONFEDERACY.

As Sherman marched further and further north, pushing the Confederate Army before him, Grant grew more and more anxious concerning the course which Lee was likely to pursue. He spent days of anxiety, he said, lest each morning should bring news that the enemy had retreated the night before. He was firmly convinced that once Johnston was across the Roanoke Lee would leave. Should he join Johnston, a long, tedious, expensive campaign, consuming most of the summer, might follow. That it was wise policy to evacuate Petersburg and unite the two armies was certain. That Lee was making ready to evacuate, was moving guns and military stores, was reported by deserters who came in scores every day.

Grant, therefore, as early as March twenty-fourth began preparations for a movement to the left on the twenty-ninth. But at dawn on the twenty-fifth Lee assaulted Fort Steadman on Grant's right, captured it and the garrison, took two batteries near the fort and turned their guns on City Point. Some desperate fighting followed before the batteries were retaken, the enemy driven into Fort Steadman and then out of it, and back to their lines with a loss of several thousand men.

The purpose of Lee, in his attack on Grant's right, was to force him to shorten his line on the left. But it had no effect on the plan of Grant, and on the twenty-ninth he broke up his headquarters at City Point, bade farewell to Lincoln who had visited the army, and that night bivouacked at Dabney's Mill. Sheridan, with the cavalry, was sent to Dinwiddie Court House with orders to advance to Five Forks. He made the attempt but was forced back to the Court House on the thirty-first, renewed his attack on the first of April, and won a great victory. It was past nine

o'clock at night when the news reached Grant, who at once ordered a general attack on the defenses of Petersburg at four o'clock in the morning of the second, and in a few hours the outer works around the city were in the hands of the Union forces.

Lee at once sent off a dispatch to Davis. He could, he said, see no prospect of doing more than hold his position until night. He was not certain he could do that. Preparations, he advised, should be made for leaving Richmond at once.*

The day was Sunday. Davis attended St. Paul's Church, where, during the services, a messenger from the War Office placed a paper in his hands. He rose quietly, left the church and learned the contents of Lee's dispatch. And now the news spread rapidly. For a time the people would not believe that the city was to be evacuated. Not until it was known that the Government was rushing its archives to the Danville Railroad, were they convinced. Then all was chaos. As if by magic the streets were suddenly filled with men "walking as if in a race" and followed by negroes toting trunks, bundles, luggage of every sort to the railroad. Fabulous prices were paid for the hire of vehicles. The banks opened that depositors might withdraw their deposits of specie.† The bullion belonging to the Government was rushed to Danville. The Common Council met during the afternoon and appointed a committee for each ward to destroy all liquor that could be found.

After dark, when assured by the Secretary of War that the pickets would be withdrawn by three o'clock in the morning, it was decided that a committee should attend the Mayor with a flag of truce, go out to the fortifications and surrender the city. By midnight Davis, the Government officials, and such clerks as were needed to care for the archives, had fled. Towards midnight, drunken stragglers from the Confederate Army, prisoners who escaped from the penitentiary when the guards were withdrawn, the mob, roamed the streets and wrecked store after store, carrying off jewelry, clothes, boots,

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part I, p. 1264.

† Richmond Whig, April 6, 1865.

hats, candy. Citizens appointed by the Council to destroy liquor hurried into the wards, and broached hundreds of barrels, pouring their contents into the gutters. But the mob dipped up the liquor and became more drunken than before. All the bridges, save one, all the tobacco warehouses, were fired by order of Ewell, and the flames, fanned by a strong south wind, spread to the business part of the city. Three rams in the James River were blown up just before dawn, the receiving ship scuttled, and the shipping fired. Early in the morning the Government bakery and storehouses were broken open and the mob helped itself to all they contained.

The bright light in the sky made by the burning city was seen by the Army of the James about two o'clock on the morning of April third. When day broke Weitzel sent an officer with forty men to make a reconnaissance. Cautiously making their way through the first and second lines of defense, and meeting with no resistance, they entered the city. Gathered on the Capitol square they beheld a great crowd of people who, driven from their homes by fire, sought refuge there with such household goods as they could carry away. Weitzel received the formal surrender of Richmond at the City Hall. The troops when they came were sent to help in extinguishing the flames, and by afternoon the fires were out, or under control, and order and quiet restored.

Many a time had the North rejoiced over victories won by its sons. New Orleans, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Savannah had furnished occasions for outbursts of joy. But these manifestations were tame in comparison with the rejoicing which followed the news from Richmond. Every bell on schoolhouse, State House, meeting-house and church rang loudly. Every cannon on village green and city park and common roared. Every flag, large and small, was flung to the breeze, for events so longed for had occurred. Davis was in flight. Lee was in retreat. Richmond was in Grant's hands and the end of war in sight. Business was almost forgotten. Buying and selling almost ceased, for the day was everywhere devoted to rejoicing. In New York City the crowd that

surged in Wall Street gathered before the Merchants Exchange and organized a meeting. Speeches were made, the Doxology was sung, the chimes of Trinity Church were rung, and a resolution adopted to meet that night at the foot of Washington Monument in Union Square. A telegram from the meeting to Lincoln expressed the grateful thanks of the people of New York City, assembled in Wall Street, to the President, General Grant and the armies in front of Petersburg and Richmond, "for the glorious tidings of to-day."

That day, the fourth of April, Lincoln came from City Point, walked unmolested through the streets of Richmond with Admiral Porter and a guard of ten sailors, visited the home of Davis, passed the night in the city, and returned to City Point. While in Richmond Judge Campbell came twice to see him, and made such representations as led him to give the Judge an informal paper setting forth the terms of peace. Three things were indispensable. National authority must be restored over all the United States. There would be no yielding, by the President, on the position already taken on the question of slavery. There would be no cessation of fighting until the war ended and all the Confederate armies were disbanded. Should the war be continued by the Confederacy, confiscated property would be made to pay at least a part of the additional cost. But confiscation would be remitted to the people of any State which promptly, and in good faith, withdrew its troops and made no further resistance.* Judge Campbell was so sure the legislature of Virginia would withdraw her troops that Weitzel was ordered to allow "the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion," to meet and take measures to withdraw her troops. But, should they attempt any action hostile to the United States, Weitzel was to give them a reasonable time to leave, and then arrest any who remained.† Judge Campbell assumed that Lincoln had "called the insurgent legislature together, as the rightful legislature of the State." "I have," the President said, "done no such thing," and recalled the offer. ‡

* Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, vol. ii., pp. 71-72, 73-74
† April 6, 1865, ibid., p. 75.
‡ To Weitzel, April 12, 1865, ibid., pp. 92, 93.

When Lee withdrew from Petersburg and Richmond, on the night of April second, his two columns were to meet at Amelia Court House, a station on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, to which he had ordered supplies to be sent. Arriving there on the morning of the fourth he found no supplies and lost a day seeking food for man and beast in the country round about. The delay was fatal, for Grant was in hot pursuit, and on the morning of the fifth, when the weary and hungry Army of Northern Virginia moved forward, Sheridan held the Richmond and Danville Railroad at Jetersville. With all hope of supplies from Danville cut off, with all hope of retreat to the Roanoke gone, Lee changed the direction of his march and started for Farmville, where he hoped supplies would come by the Petersburg and Lynchburg Railroad. From Jetersville, on the sixth, Sheridan reported that the enemy was moving to his left "with their trains and whole army," that they had been moving all night, were very tired, were short of provisions and it was said, had begged from the dwellers along the route. A little later in the day he reported that the enemy made a stand, that he attacked them and "routed them handsomely," and that, "if the thing were pressed" he thought Lee would surrender.* When a copy of this dispatch reached Lincoln he telegraphed Grant, "Let the thing be pressed." †

It was on the morning of the sixth that Longstreet's Corps reached Rice's Station not far from Farmville. Behind him came Anderson, Ewell and Gordon. Anderson became separated from Longstreet's rear, and through this gap in the line of march Sheridan's cavalry rushed, attacked the wagon train on its way to Farmville, and captured or dispersed the corps of Anderson and Ewell.

The army thus reduced to Longstreet's and Gordon's men marched on during the night; but, depressed by hunger, fatigue, and defeat, many of the men "threw away their arms, while others followed the wagon trains and embarrassed their progress." ‡ On the morning of the seventh

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part III, pp. 609, 610.

† April 7, 1865, Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, vol. ii, p. 77.

‡ Lee to Davis, April 12, 1865, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part I, p. 1266.

rations were issued at Farmville, but the approach of the Union Army made it necessary to send off the wagons and many of Lee's men got no food. Still pushing on, the head of the column, by great exertion, reached Appomattox Court House on the evening of the eighth and halted to rest.*

Grant, meantime, reached Farmville at noon on the seventh and from there sent a note to Lee. The events of the past week, he wrote, must show the hopelessness of further resistance. He was sure this was so, and felt it his duty to shift from himself the responsibility of more bloodshed by asking for the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia.† Lee answered that he did not think further resistance was hopeless, that he, too, wanted to avoid useless shedding of blood, and before considering the proposition wished to know the terms of surrender. Grant replied that he would meet Lee at any designated place to settle the terms. Peace was his great desire. He would, therefore, insist on but one condition which was, that the men and officers surrendered should not again take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged. On that day, while Meade hurried after the retreating foe, fighting with the rear guard as he went, Sheridan made all possible speed towards Appomattox Station, reached it late in the evening, beat the enemy, and captured twenty-five guns and four trains of cars loaded with supplies for Lee. ‡

About midnight Grant was aroused from sleep and another note from Lee placed in his hands. Lee, it said, had not intended to propose surrender. The time for surrender had not come. But, as peace should be the sole aim of all, he wished to know if Grant's proposal would lead to peace, and for that purpose would meet him the next morning between the picket lines on the old Stage Road to Richmond. Grant answered that he, too, was eager for peace; that the whole North was of the same mind; but he had no authority to treat for peace and the meeting could do no good. Lee meantime, on the morning of the ninth, attempted to break

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part I, p. 1266.
† April 7, 1865.
‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part 1, p. 55.

through Sheridan's cavalry drawn up across the Stage Road to Lynchburg. Sheridan fell back slowly; but Ord, whose men had marched all the previous day and night, arrived, deployed, and blocked the way to Lynchburg. The end had come. Nothing was left but surrender. With this in view Lee now again asked for a meeting. Grant assented and that afternoon the two met at Appomattox Court House in the home of Mr. McLean, where the surrender was made on the liberal terms laid down by Grant.

Davis and his Cabinet meantime were fleeing southward. So slowly did the train which carried them from Richmond move, that a day and a night passed before Danville was reached and the Executive offices opened in the house of a citizen. There Davis issued his last proclamation. The General-in-Chief, he said, has been forced to make such movements of his troops as to leave the Capital uncovered. To hide the moral and material injury to our cause arising from the occupation of Richmond by the enemy would be unwise. And it would be equally unwise and unworthy of us to allow our energies to flag, or our efforts to relax, because of reverses, however calamitous they may be. It is for us to show, by our bearing under reverses, how wretched had been the self-deception of those who believed us less able to endure misfortunes with fortitude than to meet danger with courage. Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points our army will be free to move from point to point and strike the enemy in detail far from his base. Never would he consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of soil of any of the Confederate States. Virginia, with the help of her people and the blessings of God, should be held and defended and no peace ever made with the infamous invaders. If driven from her soil, or from the soil of any border State, again and again would he return until the baffled and exhausted enemy should, in despair, abandon his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free.*

The stay at Danville was short. On the afternoon of the ninth came news of the surrender of Lee, and within a few

* April 5, 1865. New York Herald, April 15, 1865.

hours the President and his Secretaries were fleeing towards Greensboro. The people of that town in mass meeting had just declared for the Union, and fearing lest any hospitality shown Confederate officials might later bring down the wrath of the Union troops, closed their houses and the fugitives were forced to spend the tenth and eleventh of April in the cars. A conference was held on the twelfth. Trenholm was ill. But Breckinridge, Mallory, Reagan, the Attorney-General George Davis, and Johnston and Beauregard were present. Davis was for further resistance, for making a stand against Sherman to cover the retreat into Georgia. Johnston thought resistance would be useless. The people, he said, were tired of war, felt they were beaten and would not fight. Every day his men left in large numbers. Since the defeat of Lee they believed the war was over. Should he march out of North Carolina her troops would leave the ranks. Should he march through South Carolina and Georgia he could retain no man beyond the by-road or cow-path that led to his home. His small force was melting away like snow before the sun. If terms could be had they ought to be accepted.* It was finally agreed to treat, and Johnston set off for Hillsboro with a letter dictated by Davis, written by Mallory and signed by the President. In it Sherman was asked to suspend hostilities, and request Grant to do the same in order "to permit the civil authorities" to make arrangements to end the war.†

Sherman received the letter at Raleigh, replied that he had authority to suspend hostilities, and as a basis for surrender offered the terms given Lee. It was then arranged that they should meet midway between the picket lines of the opposing armies. As Sherman, on April seventeenth, was about to board his car at Raleigh he was detained while the telegraph operator deciphered a dispatch which announced the murder of Lincoln.

On Good Friday evening the President, his wife, and a party of guests went to Ford's Theatre to witness the comedy,

* Alfriend's Davis, p. 624. Mallory's account, McClure's Magazine, December, 1900.

† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part III, p. 206.

"Our American Cousin." It was past ten o'clock and the last act of the play was well advanced when John Wilkes Booth, well known as an actor, steathily entered the box in which Lincoln sat, placed a pistol at the back of his head, fired, dropped the pistol, drew a knife, slashed the arm of Major Rathbone who rose to seize him, jumped from the box, caught a spur in the flag that draped it, fell on the stage twelve feet below and broke his leg. Rising, he waved his knife, shouted the words *"Sic semper tyrannus,"* limped across the stage, hurried down the passage to the rear, flung open the back door, mounted a horse in waiting and was off in the darkness.*

From evidence gathered since that dreadful night it appears that for a year past Booth had been planning to kidnap the President, and perhaps Stanton and Grant, that he had collected about him a band of men pledged to aid him, and had twice made the attempt. The first time was in January, 1865, when it was expected that, on a certain night, Lincoln would be present in Ford's Theatre. But he did not go. The second attempt was on an afternoon when the President was expected to drive out to attend a performance at the Soldiers' Home. The place chosen for the attack was a piece of woods where the Seventh Street road crosses the City Line. But when the carriage passed by, the President was not in it and the attempt failed.†

With Richmond taken, Davis a fugitive, Lee a prisoner of war, it would have been of little service to the South to kidnap the President. But were Lincoln, Johnson, and Seward killed, the Government would be paralyzed and to this end Booth bent all his energy. To one of his tools, Atzerodt by name, he assigned the work of murdering the Vice-President, then lodging in a hotel. Another, Payne, was to kill the Secretary of State, who had been thrown from his carriage and lay in his home with a broken jaw and a broken arm. On the appointed night, that of April fourteenth, Atzerodt repaired to the Kirkwood House where Johnson lived, but did not dare to make the attack. Payne

* Dewitt, The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, p. 48.
† Ibid., pp. 10-35.

appeared at Seward's house, pretended he had orders to deliver a package of medicine held in his hand, rushed by the boy at the door, bounded up two flights of stairs, was met by Seward's eldest son, beat him into insensibility with a revolver, struck down the man nurse at the door of the sick room, leaped to the bed on which the Secretary lay, stabbed him thrice about the head and neck until seized by the nurse, whom he beat with the revolver held in one hand and stabbed with the knife held in the other. Attracted by the noise of the fight Seward's second son now appeared and dragged the struggling pair into the hall, where the frenzied assassin set upon him, sped down the stairs, wounded a messenger from the State Department he met on the way, leaped on a waiting horse and fled.

The night in Washington was one of terror. Patrollers went up and down the streets. Every road leading out of the city was picketed, every avenue of escape was closed. Not a boat was allowed to go down the Potomac. No one was suffered to leave by railroad, by any form of conveyance, or on foot.* Guards were placed around the residences of the Vice-President and members of the Cabinet. Stanton took command, and in a little while a commission of three colonels were busy at General Augur's headquarters receiving reports, taking testimony, investigating rumors, while in the very house where the President lay dying, Stanton and the Chief Justice of the District carried on investigations of their own all night.† The theater was seized and everybody connected with it put under arrest. From their testimony given before him Stanton, in the early morning, was able to telegraph Dix, at New York, that John Wilkes Booth was the assassin of Lincoln, but that the assailant of Seward was yet unknown. Shortly after midnight a horse, saddled and bridled, but riderless, was found standing in a by-road less than a mile east of the Capitol, was taken to Augur's headquarters, and there the saddle and bridle were identified by a livery keeper, at whose stable the horse had

* New York Tribune, April 15, 16, 1865.

† Dewitt, Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, p. 272. Tanner in New York Sun, April 16, 1865.

been kept, as the property of Atzerodt. All livery stables were at once visited, the proprietor from whom Booth hired his horse was found, and past relations of Booth with another supposed conspirator, John H. Surratt, came to light.* Booth's trunk at the National Hotel was opened and in it was a letter from Samuel Arnold withdrawing from the plot to kidnap Lincoln, and advising that the matter be referred to Richmond. "It appears from papers found in Booth's trunk," Stanton telegraphed Dix early on Saturday morning, "that the murder was planned before the fourth of March but fell through then because the accomplice backed out until 'Richmond could be heard from'."

A few minutes after this dispatch was written the President, at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock on Saturday morning, expired. About nine the body was borne along streets already black with crêpe, and crowded with sorrowing people, to the East Room in the White House. At ten o'clock, Johnson took the oath of office and became the seventeenth President of the United States. On Wednesday, the nineteenth, funeral services were held in the White House and in places of worship in every city and village in the North. During two days the body of Lincoln lay in state in the rotunda of the Capitol and then began the mournful journey to Springfield over almost the same route taken by Lincoln when he came to Washington in 1861. At Baltimore, Harrisburg, New York, Albany, Buffalo, at Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis and Chicago stops were made that his fellow-citizens by thousands might walk past the bier and look upon his face. It was the fourth of May, therefore, before he was laid at rest in the cemetery at Springfield.

Pursuit of the assassins, meantime, had gone on with increasing energy. To stimulate it, great rewards were offered by cities, States, and the Secretary of War.† Stanton by proclamation offered fifty thousand dollars for the arrest of Booth; twenty-five thousand for the apprehension of John

* Dewitt, Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, p. 59.

† Washington, D. C., $20,000; Baltimore, $10,000; Governor of Pennsylvania, $10,000 if captured in the State; Prince George County, Maryland, $2,000 if taken in the County; New York Herald, April 18, 19, 21; May 3, 1865.

H. Surratt and a like sum for the arrest of David C. Herold.* Convinced by the testimony of the owner of the livery stable where Booth kept his horse that Surratt was an accomplice, the house of his mother was visited after midnight on Friday, and two men boarders arrested. Just before midnight on Monday another visit was made, and Mrs. Surratt and three women seized, hurried to headquarters, examined, and sent to prison. As the women were about to be put in the hack, a man came to the door of the house. In place of a hat he wore the sleeve of an undershirt.† On his shoulder was a pickaxe. He, too, was hastily examined and sent to headquarters, where the doorkeeper at Seward's home identified him as the villain who all but murdered the Secretary of State.

Guided by Arnold's letter found in Booth's trunk, officers of the law went to Point Comfort and arrested him. Spangler, a scene-shifter at the theater was arrested, for it was believed he might have aided Booth to escape. Atzerodt was seized while asleep in the house of a cousin, who was also taken for having sheltered the fugitive. ‡ The five men were sent to the hold of a monitor, anchored off the Navy Yard, and heavily ironed. §

Booth and Herold, who overtook the assassin in his flight, were traced to the house of a Dr. Mudd, who in the early hours of Saturday the fifteenth set Booth's broken leg as best he could, and suffered him to rest until late in the day. Lost in the marshes, as he sought the Potomac, he was found by a negro, who carried him in a wagon some fifteen miles to the house of Samuel Cox, four miles from the Potomac. The owner refused to admit strangers at that time of night, for it was in the early hours of Sunday, and the fugitives spent the night in the woods. On the following morning Cox hid them in a dense thicket, a mile or more from his house, and arranged that Thomas A. Jones, an agent on one of the

* New York Herald, April 21, 1865.

† Ibid., April 19, 1865.

‡ Dewitt, Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 61, 64, 67. New York Herald, April 19, 1865.

§ Washington Chronicle, April 20, 21, 1865. Near Middleburg, P. O., Maryland.

underground mail routes to Richmond, should care for them, and see them safe on the Virginia shore. During six days and five nights they lay in the woods, were fed by a slave belonging to Jones, and became so alarmed by the sound of passing cavalry that the horses were shot lest, by neighing, they should make the hiding-place known. At last, on the evening of the twenty-first, Booth was placed on a horse, taken by Jones to the river, put in a skiff bought from Cox and, with Herold rowing, the crossing of the Potomac was attempted. When morning came the boat was still on the Maryland side ten miles up the river. To cross in daylight was too dangerous, so the fugitives hid themselves in the swamp until after dark, when they pushed off again, and in the early morning reached the Virginia shore a few miles below their starting place in Maryland. Leaving Booth on the river bank Herold went off in search of a horse, returned with two, and placing Booth on one and mounting behind the owner on the other, they rode to the house of Dr. Stewart, which they reached after dusk. The doctor refused admittance and forced the owner of the horses to carry Booth to the cabin of a free negro a short distance away.* In the morning Booth and Herold were taken in a cart to Port Conway on the Rappahannock River. There they sought to induce a fisherman to row them over the river. He finally consented, but before he was ready to leave his nets three of Mosby's cavalry men came to the ferry landing, signalled for the ferry boat, then on the further shore, and when it came in all five went aboard and crossed to Port Royal. Refuge was found at the home of Richard H. Garrett. This was on Monday the twenty-fourth of April. On Tuesday, Herold reported that cavalry were crossing the river and the two fugitives hid in the woods until dark, when they returned to the house, begged for shelter, were allowed to enter the tobacco warehouse, and lest they should steal the horses during the night, were locked in by Garrett's son.†

Hot upon the trail the pursuers reached Port Conway at noon on the twenty-fifth, were assured by the fisherman that

* New York Herald, May 4, 1865.

† Ibid.

the photographs of Booth and Herold shown him were those of the two men who hired him to row them over the river, and were told that one of the three Confederate cavalrymen was named Jett, and could be found at Bowling Green. The fisherman was seized as a guide; the river was crossed; the pursuers galloped off to Bowling Green and Jett was roused from sleep and forced to lead the way to where Booth was hidden. Garrett denied he was on the premises; but the son, fearing violence might be done, pointed to the tobacco warehouse, which was at once surrounded. Herold soon surrendered, was pulled through the door and bound to a tree. Booth refused to surrender. The purpose of the commander of the expedition was to take him alive. Giving orders, therefore, that no one should fire a shot he proceeded to set fire to the building. Now, the boards forming the sides of the warehouse were several inches apart, to allow for the passage of air when tobacco was drying. Through one of these gaps he thrust a wisp of burning straw and ignited some trash that lay in a corner. As the flames lit up the interior Booth was seen leaning on a crutch under his left arm and holding a carbine in his right hand. Dropping his crutch, shifting his carbine to his left hand, and drawing a revolver with his right, he hobbled toward the door and stopped. Suddenly a pistol shot rang out, and he fell backward to the floor. Whether he shot himself or was shot, contrary to orders, by first Sergeant Boston Corbett, has never been definitely and finally determined.

When taken from the warehouse Booth was still alive, but died on the porch of the Garrett house about seven in the morning of April twenty-seventh. The body was transported to Washington and buried with the utmost secrecy.

That the acts of Booth and Payne were those of a mad man and his tool was not believed at Washington. They were held to be the fruits of a great conspiracy stretching from Richmond to Canada, and this belief Johnson now announced in a proclamation. It appeared, he said, from evidence in the Bureau of Military Justice that the atrocious murder of the late President, and the attempted assassination of the Secretary of State, were incited, concerted, and

procured by and between Jefferson Davis and Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverley Tucker, George N. Sanders, William C. Cleary and other rebels and traitors harbored in Canada and, that they might be brought to justice, he offered great rewards for their arrests. One hundred thousand dollars would be paid for the arrest of Davis; twenty-five thousand for that of Clay, a like sum, in each case, for the apprehension of Thompson, Sanders and Tucker, and ten thousand for that of Cleary.* Four days later by a special order a military commission was appointed to meet at Washington on the eighth of May for the trial of Herold, Atzerodt, Payne, O'Laughlin, Spangler the scene-shifter, Arnold, Mrs. Surratt, and Dr. Mudd, and any others implicated in the murder of Lincoln and the attack on Seward, "and in an alleged conspiracy to assassinate other officers of the Federal Government." †

News of the assassination by this time had reached foreign countries and was everywhere received with feelings of horror and expressions of sympathy for the United States. On the day of the funeral ceremonies at Washington, by request of the Mayor of Halifax all places of business were closed at noon and flags were half masted on public buildings and on many ships, and at St. John, New Brunswick, bells were tolled, flags half masted and the public offices closed from eleven to one o'clock.‡ In Liverpool excitement on the Exchange was such as had never been known since the day Queen Victoria appeared in the balcony. Many doubted the truth of the report. It was some scheme to affect the prices of cotton and stocks. In Birmingham there was much the same excitement. In London the news arrived about noon on the twenty-sixth of April, and at first was not believed. There too, it was thought a rumor to affect the prices of stocks. But the house of Peabody and Company, American bankers, had received the news from private sources, and late editions of the morning papers spread it

* May 2, 1865. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the President, vol. vi, p. 307.

† Ibid., p. 333. By order of the Secretary of War, May 6, 1865.

‡ New York Herald, April 20, 1865.

in a thousand directions.* It is not the language of hyperbole, said the London *Times,* to describe prevailing feeling as unexampled. President Lincoln was but the chief of a foreign State. Yet his death has already stirred the feelings of the public to their utmost depths. A space of twenty-four hours has sufficed to fill the country not only with grief and indignation, but to evoke unprecedented expressions of feeling from constituted bodies. The newspapers of the twenty-seventh published Stanton's official notice to Adams. In it he said that the murder of Lincoln was committed "in execution of a conspiracy deliberately planned and set on foot by rebels under the pretense of avenging the South and aiding the rebel cause." Mason at once wrote the editor of the *Index* denying "the calumnious assertion of Edwin M. Stanton that these acts were planned by rebels under pretense of avenging the South and aiding the rebel cause.†

The South, broken and defeated, the *Times* continued, could reap no possible benefit from the removal of Lincoln and Seward. The too-probable effect of the crime is an accession of madness and anger rendering all schemes of reconstruction impossible. Unjust as we believe it to be, the Confederate cause will not escape the dishonor cast upon it by the murder of Mr. Lincoln. The admiration won by the long and gallant defense of Richmond will be lessened. The memory of Lee's lofty bearing and Jackson's deep religious feeling will be obscured by the atrocities committed in the name and on behalf of the South. Arson in New York; theft under the pretense of war in Vermont; and assassination in the Capitol dim the luster of a four years' resistance to a superior force, and of many a well-fought field in Virginia. The critical condition of affairs in America, the position of the Southern States at the feet of their victorious antagonists, the gigantic task of reconstruction, and above all the unpromising character of the man whom an accident has made ruler of the Union for the next four years, tend to exalt our estimate of the loss which the States have suffered in the murder of their President. But it

* London Times, April 27, 1865.
† New York Herald, May 4, 1865.

would be unjust not to acknowledge that Mr. Lincoln was a man who could not under any circumstances have easily been replaced. Starting from a humble position, and adopted by the Republican party as a makeshift, it was but natural that his career should be watched with jealous suspicion. The office cast on him was great. Its duties were onerous, and the obscurity of his past career offered no guarantee of his ability to discharge them. His shortcomings were on the surface, and faults of manner and errors of taste repelled the observer at the outset. In spite of these drawbacks Mr. Lincoln won for himself the respect of all.*

For Abraham Lincoln, said the London *Star,* one cry of universal regret will be raised all over the civilized earth. To us he has always seemed the finest character produced by the American war on either side of the struggle. He was great not merely by the force of genius, but by the simple, natural strength and grandeur of his character. We in England have something to be ashamed of when we meditate on the true greatness of the man so ruthlessly slain. Too many Englishmen lent themselves to the vulgar and ignoble cry raised against him. English writers degraded themselves to the level of the coarsest caricaturists when they had to tell of Abraham Lincoln. They sneered at his manners as if Cromwell were a Chesterfield. They accused him of ugliness as if Mirabeau were a beauty. They made coarse pleasantry of his figure as if Peel was a posture master. They were facetious about his dress, as if Cavour were a d'Orsay. They were indignant about his jokes, as if Palmerston never joked. We do not remember any instance since the wildest days of British fury against the "Corsican Ogre" in which a foreign statesman was ever so dealt with in English writings as Mr. Lincoln. And Napoleon was our enemy. Mr. Lincoln was our steadfast friend. Assailed by coarsest attacks on this side of the ocean he never did a deed, never wrote or spoke a word which was unjust or unfriendly to the British nation.† Russell gave notice, in the House of Lords, that he would move an address to the

* London Times, April 27, 1865.
† London Star, April 27, 1865.

Crown expressing the sorrow and indignation of the House. Her Majesty had been pleased to write Mrs. Lincoln a private letter expressing sympathy. President Lincoln was a man who, though not conspicuous before his election, had since displayed a character of so much integrity, so much sincerity and straightforwardness, and at the same time such kindliness, that if any one could have alleviated the pain and animosity which prevailed during the Civil War, he believed that Abraham Lincoln was that person. In him, Bright had observed a singular resolution honestly to do his duty; a great courage shown in the fact that in his speeches and writings no word of passion, or of panic or of ill will had ever escaped him; a great gentleness of temper and nobleness of soul, proved by the absence of irritation and menace under circumstances of the most desperate provocation, and a pity and mercifulness to his enemies which seemed drawn from the very font of Christian charity and love.* The Austrian Reichsrath adopted an address of condolence. Bismarck wrote a note of sympathy to the American Minister in Berlin, and when, in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, a vote of sympathy with America was moved, almost every member rose in token of approval. The Italian Chamber of Deputies was draped in mourning during three days. Protestant churches in Paris held memorial services. The Reverend Mr. Gurney who presided over one of them wrote Slidell he intended to hold a solemn service, to which both Southerners and Northerners were invited to come, and asked him to be present. Slidell replied that no one could have heard with greater horror and regret than he of the atrocious crime done in Washington. No one could repudiate with sterner indignation the idea that the assassins had received promptings from friends of the Confederate cause. Perhaps no two persons of the Federal Government could have been selected who excited in a less degree feelings of personal hostility and vindictiveness than President Lincoln and Secretary Seward. Could he and his family come, simply to show their feelings, they would not hesitate to kneel with Mr. Gurney in prayer for

* Trevelyan, John Bright, p. 326.

the souls of the victims. But such an act would be regarded by some as a hypocritical display of regret he did not feel, and by others as a virtual acknowledgment of the injustice of the cause in defense of which so many noble martyrs had fallen.* Mason regarded the murder of Lincoln as "an event," and believed "it will be of great service to us as the beginning of a tornado at the North." †

When Sherman received the telegram announcing that Lincoln had been killed, he pledged the operator to secrecy, went on his way, met Johnston between the lines of the two armies, and offered the terms given by Grant to Lee. Johnston declined them. The position of his army, he said, was very different from that of Lee. It did not justify such a surrender. He had asked for a suspension of hostilities. He now suggested "that instead of a partial suspension of hostilities we endeavor to arrange the terms of a permanent peace." Sherman consented; but all the details were not settled when the two parted, agreeing to continue the discussion on the following day.

The terms offered on the morrow were rejected by Sherman who sat down and wrote such as he would accept, and to these Johnston agreed. The armistice was to continue until ended by forty-eight hours' notice. All armies were to be disbanded; the men were to deposit their arms in their respective State Capitals and each sign a pledge to cease from acts of war. The several State governments were to be recognized by the President after their officers had taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States. Where rival State governments had resulted from the war the Supreme Court was to decide which was lawful. The Federal Courts were to be reopened. The President was to guarantee, so far as he could, to the people, their political rights and franchises, and their rights of person and property as defined in the Constitution of the United States and those of the States respectively. The people were not to be disturbed by the President because of the part they had

* New York Herald, May 15, 1865.

† Mason to Mann, April 29, 1865, Public Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason, p. 562.

taken in the war, so long as they lived in peace and quiet and did no hostile act.*

This agreement made and signed, Sherman sent it with a letter to Grant. He disapproved, but passed on the papers to Stanton and asked that a Cabinet meeting consider them at once.† The meeting was held, the terms were disapproved, and Grant bidden to notify Sherman to resume hostilities at once, go to Sherman's headquarters, and direct operations against the enemy.‡ The instructions given Grant on the third of March not to decide, discuss, or confer on any political question, expressed the views of President Johnson and were to be observed by Sherman.§ Grant hastened to Raleigh and delivered the orders; Sherman notified Johnston that the agreement had not been approved, demanded his surrender, and offered the terms granted Lee. They were accepted.

Meantime, the leaders, the press and the people were bitterly denouncing Sherman. It had long been the custom of Stanton to send General Dix, at New York, dispatches giving military news of importance. They were intended for publication and were given to the press. Following his custom Stanton now telegraphed that the President, the Secretary of War, General Grant, and every member of the Cabinet had disapproved the agreement made by Sherman and Johnston; that the order of Sherman to General Stoneman to withdraw from Salisbury and join him would probably open the way for Davis to escape to Mexico or to Europe with all his plunder; that Johnston's negotiations looked to this end; || made public the agreement and give nine reasons why it was disapproved. It was an exercise of authority not vested in Sherman; was a recognition of the Confederate Government; undertook to reëstablish the rebel State governments and put arms and ammunition in rebel hands at their respective State Capitals. By restoring rebel authority

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part III, pp. 243-244.
† April 21, 1865. Ibid., p. 263.
‡ Stanton to Grant, April 21, 1865. Ibid., p. 263.
§ Ibid., p. 263.
|| Stanton to Dix, April 22, 1865. Ibid., pp. 285-286.

in their States they would be enabled to reëstablish slavery. It might make the Federal Government responsible for the payment of the rebel debt. It put in dispute the existence of loyal State governments, and of the new State of West Virginia recognized by every department of the Federal Government; did away with confiscation laws and freed the rebels from pains and penalties for their crimes; gave them terms of peace that had been deliberately, repeatedly and solemnly rejected by President Lincoln; and formed no basis for a true and lasting peace but left the rebels to renew their efforts to overthrow the Government of the United States.*

On the day these bulletins were made public the body of the murdered President, carried from city to city on its way to its final resting place, had reached New York. The city, the whole country, was in mourning. Excited by the murder, hating the South more bitterly than ever, bent on vengeance, the people were in no frame of mind to grant the rebels any such terms as Sherman proposed. Led astray by Stanton's intimation that Sherman knew of the order to Grant and that he might have been bribed to suffer Davis to escape, men began to doubt his loyalty.† Loyal men deplore and are outraged by Sherman's agreement with Johnston, said one. He ought to be promptly removed. ‡ Feeling is tremendous, almost unanimous against Sherman's armistice, said another. § The agreement meets with universal disapprobation, said Stanton, "No one of any class or shade of opinion approves it. I have never known as much surprise and discontent at anything which has happened during the war." || Even the General's brother was "distressed beyond measure at the terms granted General Johnston by General S." They were inadmissible. "There should now be literally no terms granted. We should not only brand the lead-

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* New York Herald, April 24, 1865. Philadelphia Press, April 24, 1865. New York Times, April 24.

† Sherman's Memoirs, vol. II, p. 365.

‡ Senator Sprague of Rhode Island to the President, April 24, 1865, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part III, p. 301.

§ Forney to the President, ibid., p. 301.

|| Stanton to Grant, April 25, 1865. Ibid., pp. 301-302.

ing rebels with infamy, but the whole rebellion should wear the badge of the penitentiary, so that for this generation at least, no man who has taken part in it would dare to justify or palliate it." * General Meade "could not understand Sherman's course." He was sorry for Sherman. No one could dispute his services, "and though he may have erred in judgment and mistaken the temper of the North," his services should have shielded him from having his motives and loyalty impugned." †

The New York *Herald* could not understand how Sherman, after what had occurred at the surrender of Lee's Army, could imagine for one moment that the humiliating concessions proposed by him could be listened to in Washington. His splendid military career had ended. He would retire under a cloud for having acted outside his lawful sphere and upon political issues as far above his comprehension as beyond his authority. ‡ He had done an indiscreet, a censurable act in overstepping his authority. But it did not follow he was treacherous to his Government or traitorous to his country, as some of the public journals were ready to infer. § The Philadelphia press regretted that a general so victorious and so respected should take a responsibility so entirely beyond the scope of his authority. By allowing the enemy an armistice of several days, by recalling Stoneman from Salisbury, he had probably opened the way for Davis to escape to Mexico or Europe with millions of gold and silver. ||

Johnston having surrendered, Davis once more fled southward escorted by several thousand cavalry gathered while he was at Charlotte, reached Abbeville on the third of May and crossed the Savannah River on the fourth, and pushed on

* Senator John Sherman to Stanton, April 27, Gorhan's Life of E. M. Stanton, vol. ii, p. 195.

† Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade, vol. ii, p. 277.

‡ New York Herald, April 24, 1865.

§ Philadelphia Public Ledger, April 27, May 1, 1865.

|| Philadelphia Press, April 24, 1865. Stoneman was not at Salisbury. He had gone back to Stalesville and Davis was between him and Sherman. Personal Memoirs, vol. ii, p. 366. See two letters from John Sherman to the General Thorndike, The Sherman Letters, pp. 248-251.

to Washington. As he went the members of his Cabinet deserted him. The Secretary of the Treasury was too ill to leave Charlotte. The Attorney-General went to his home in North Carolina. Once across the Savannah, the Secretary of the Navy left and Benjamin, Secretary of State, slipped away unseen, reached the coast, sailed to Bermuda in an open boat and arrived finally in England. The Secretary of War remained until Washington was reached when he too departed. After the Savannah was crossed the troops were dismissed and each man given thirty-two dollars in coin. With a guard of less than twenty picked men Davis and Reagan then hurried across Georgia, overtaking Mrs. Davis and her party on the way, and camped on the evening of May ninth near Irwinsville some seventy-five miles southeast of Macon, Georgia. There, at dawn on the morning of the tenth, they were surprised and taken prisoners by a detachment of Wilson's cavalry, and brought to Macon. In his history * Davis declares that in the darkness of the early morning, and in his haste to escape, he picked up his wife's cloak supposing it was his raglan, and that, as he left the tent, his wife threw over his head a shawl. Wilson in his first † and second‡ dispatch to Stanton makes no mention of the garments, but in his third said: "The captors report that Davis hastily put on one of Mrs. Davis' dresses and started for the woods, closely pursued by our men who at first thought him a woman, but seeing his boots while running suspected his sex at once." § Stanton, in giving out Wilson's dispatch, referred to Davis as "attempting to make his escape in his wife's clothing."‖ Thus started, one detail was added to another by editors and cartoonists until it was firmly believed that "Davis slipped into his wife's petticoats, crinoline and dress, but in his hurry forgot to put on her stockings and shoes."¶ When Colonel Pritchard, commanding the Michigan cavalry that made the capture, delivered

* Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, vol. ii, p. 701.
† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlix, Part II, p. 732.
‡ Ibid., p. 733.
§ Ibid., p. 743.
‖ New York Herald, May 14, 1865.
¶ Ibid., May 16, 1865.

to the Department of War the woman's garments found on Davis, they consisted of the cloak and shawl.* But the cloak, it was said, was worn as a skirt.

In England the news of his capture, and of the belief that he had been concerned with others in the murder of Lincoln, gave great concern to newspapers and all men friendly to the South. That he would be hanged seemed certain, and against the folly of such an act they seriously warned the Administration. If, said one, we plead for the life of Jefferson Davis it is not from any esteem for his motives or sympathy for his character. It is purely in the cause and for the credit of the American Union that we urge its statesmen to consider again and again the extreme impolicy of shedding the blood of a man whom a little success would have transformed from an attainted traitor to something very like a successful monarch.† For the sake of their own good name, said another, we, their kinsmen, earnestly trust that they will not stain their victory with blood.‡ Still another could not see what the Government or the people of the United States gained from his capture. The halter could not make the rebellion more odious. The truest friends of the United States hope it will lay aside all thought of political vengeance and be content with its splendid victory over the Confederate States.§

No sooner had the body of the murdered President been buried at Springfield, Illinois, than President Johnson, by a special order, appointed a military commission to try eight persons mentioned by name, and such others as might be brought before it, charged with the murder of Lincoln and the attempted assassination of Seward, and with bearing a part in an alleged conspiracy to assassinate other officers of the Federal Government. || The eight mentioned by name were Herold, Atzerodt, Payne, Michael O'Laughlin, concerned in the attempt to capture Lincoln, Edward Spangler

* New York Herald, May 26, 1865.
† London Times, May 27, 1865.
‡ London Telegraph, May 27, 1865.
§ London Daily News, May 27, 1865.
|| Special Order, May 6, 1865, Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, pp. 335, 336.

the scene-shifter at the theater, Samuel Arnold, Mary E. Surratt and Doctor Mudd. Nine officers, major-generals, brigadier-generals, colonels, and the judge-advocate-general of the army composed the court.* The place of meeting was a large cell in the old penitentiary.

It was the tenth of May when the trial opened and the charges and specifications were read to the prisoners. It was the twenty-eighth of June when the Commission met to decide the fate and fix the sentences of the accused. Herold, Atzerodt, Payne and Mrs. Surratt were sentenced "to be hung by the neck" until dead. O'Laughlin, Arnold and Doctor Mudd were condemned to pass the remainder of their lives, and Spangler, six years, in such penitentiary as the President might select.† He chose the penitentiary at Albany; ‡ but soon changed the place of imprisonment to the military prison at Dry Tortugas, Florida. §

Four of the commissioners refused to find Mrs. Surratt so guilty as to place her in the class with Atzerodt and Payne, and stood out against a sentence of death. But the judge-advocate interposed and won over two and death was decreed. Still the consciences of the five troubled them and they signed an appeal to the President for mercy and made it a part of the record. || It now became the duty of Johnson to review the findings and approve, or set aside, or modify, the sentences imposed. But he was ill and unable to act until the fifth of July. On that day accordingly judge-advocate-general Holt laid before him a brief review of the proceedings of the commission, with the assurance that they were regular, and the findings fully justified by the evidence, and that public justice and the future safety of the officers of the Government required that the sentences be carried into execution. ¶ No mention was made of the petition for

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* Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, pp. 336, 337.

† Ibid., vol. vi, pp. 345-347.

‡ July 5, 1865. Ibid., pp. 347-348.

§ July 15, 1865. Ibid., p. 348.

|| Dewitt, Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 131-133-134.

¶ Report of the judge-advocate-general to Stanton, November 13, 1865. Dewitt, Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 134-136.

commutation of the sentence of Mrs. Surratt "from the gallows to the dungeon," nor did Johnson see it before he signed the order for the execution of Herold, Atzerodt, Payne and Mrs. Surratt, and fixed the seventh of July between the hours of ten and two as the time for the hanging.*

* Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 347.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE AFTERMATH.

Dispersion of the armies of Johnston and Lee, the flight of Davis and his Cabinet, and the collapse of the Confederate Government having put an end to all hope of further resistance, the few commanders still in the field were soon forced to surrender. Early in May Taylor, commanding the department of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana submitted to Canby, and the last of the armies east of the Mississippi ceased to exist. A little later, in Arkansas, Thompson surrendered his small force. For a while Kirby Smith, who held command of the Trans-Mississippi department, showed a determination to fight, called on his troops to stand by their colors, and encouraged meetings in Texas at which it was resolved never to submit to the United States. But he too, before the month ended, gave up his sword to Canby and all armed resistance ended.

In the North, by this time, the armies of Grant and Sherman had marched through Washington, had been reviewed by the President, and were fast being mustered out of service. By mid-November more than eight hundred thousand soldiers had gone back to civil life.

Political leaders in the South, meantime, were captured or escaped to foreign parts. With Davis, when taken, was Reagan, Postmaster-General of the Confederacy. Alexander H. Stephens was arrested at his home near Atlanta.* Clement C. Clay, when he read that a price had been put on his head, "conscious of his innocence, unwilling even to seem to fly from justice," voluntarily surrendered to General Wilson at Macon.† They were brought north with

* A. H. Stephen's Recollections, pp. 181, 431. Pendleton's Life of Stephens, pp. 343-345.

†Clay's letter to Wilson, New York Herald, May 23, 1865. A Belle of the Fifties, Mrs. C. C. Clay, pp. 294-299.

Davis and his wife, by water, to Hampton Roads. Davis and Clay were confined in Fortress Monroe. Stephens and Reagan were carried to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor.* On the steamer with Davis was General Wheeler and his staff. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, and Senator Hill of Georgia and Attorney-General Davis were sent to Fort Lafayette in New York Harbor.† Seddon, one time Secretary of War, was arrested at his home, taken to Richmond and confined on a gunboat in the James River. There too were R. M. T. Hunter and Judge Campbell. ‡ All three, with Trenholm, Secretary of the Treasury, were imprisoned in Fort Pulaski. § Breckinridge, who followed Seddon as Secretary of War, hearing a bench warrant for his arrest had been sworn out, fled to Cuba and then to Europe. || Benjamin, who had slipped away from Davis, went by way of the Bahamas, Nassau, and Havana to England and never returned to the United States. ¶ Toombs of Georgia fled on horseback to the hills, hid there until he was able to push on to New Orleans, whence he sailed to Cuba and thence to Europe.** Howell Cobb, once President of the Provisional Congress, now a Major-General, was on parole and not subject to arrest. Nevertheless, he was seized and while on his way to Fort Lafayette was released and sent home.††

Rebel Governors were hunted down and arrested. Ex-Governor Letcher was found at his home in Lexington and placed in the Old Capitol Prison in Washington. ‡‡ To the same jail went Governor Brown of Georgia, arrested in the Executive Mansion at Milledgeville. §§ A troop of cavalry seized Vance of North Carolina at the home of his father-in-law. Governors of other States, generals, men of promi-

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* New York Herald, May 26, 1865.
† Official Records, Series 2, vol. vii, p. 577; Series 1, vol. xlix, p. 933.
‡ New York Herald, May 26, 1865.
§ Official Records, Series 2, vol. vii, pp. 550, 576, 583.
|| New York Herald, May 27, 1865.
¶ Pierce Butler, Life of Benjamin, p. 363.
** Phillips, Life of Toombs, pp. 254-257.
†† Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlix, Part II, pp. 883, 889, 902, 929.
‡‡ New York Herald, May 17, 26, 1865.
§§ Ibid., May 19, 1865.

nence, sought refuge in Canada, or in Mexico where the Emperor Maxmilian made them welcome.*

Resistance on land having come to an end, Johnson turned his attention to resistance on the seas. Bulloch, Mason, Slidell and the agents responsible for the existence of the cruisers were beyond his reach. But, understanding that some of the cruisers still infested the high seas and that others were preparing to capture, burn and destroy vessels of the United States, he enjoined all naval, military and civil officers diligently to endeavor to stop and bring them into port, that they might be prevented from committing further depredations, and those on board no longer enjoy immunity for their crimes. And he further proclaimed and declared that if, after a reasonable time for the proclamation to become known in the ports of nations claiming to have been neutral, the insurgent cruisers continued to receive hospitality in the ports of such nations, the United States would deem itself justified in refusing, in its ports, hospitality to their public vessels.†

The cruisers which Johnson had in mind were the *Stonewall* and the *Shenandoah.* The *Stonewall* was the ironclad ram *Sphinx,* built at Bordeaux by Messrs. Arman and sold under certain conditions to Denmark. But the Schleswig-Holstein war was ended, Denmark had no use for the ram, and raised objection to fulfilling her agreement to buy. It was arranged, therefore, by Bulloch, that the agents of Arman, should induce the Danish Government to reject the *Sphinx* because of failure to meet the requirements of the contract; sail with her, as if to return to Bordeaux; go to a rendezvous appointed by Bulloch and there deliver her to an officer of the Confederate States. ‡ Captain Page was put in command, the agreement was carried out, the ram was named the *Stonewall* and late in February, 1865, met a tender with supplies in Quiberon Bay, Belle-Ile. § Instruc-

* Campbell, Stephens, Reagan, Trenholm and Governor Clark, of Mississippi, "having applied to the President for pardon under his proclamation," were paroled October 11, 1865, Richardson, Papers and Messages of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 352.

† May 10, 1865, ibid., p. 308.

‡ Official Records, Navy. Series 1, vol. iii, p. 723.

§ Ibid., p. 732.

tions from Flag-Officer Barron required Captain Page to scatter the blockading fleet at Wilmington; intercept, if he could, the California steamers; and make a dash for the New England coast, cruise on the banks and destroy the fishing fleet. No vessels were to be bonded unless circumstances prevented their destruction.*

From Quiberon Bay the *Stonewall* went to Coruna and Farrol where she was so hospitably received that Slidell formally thanked the Spanish Minister at Paris.† While she lay in port making repairs the *Niagara,* Captain Craven in command, and later the *Sacramento* arrived at Coruna. Aware that his vessels were no match for the ram at sea, Craven thought seriously of running her down in the harbor. ‡ But nothing happened and late in March the *Stonewall* went out unmolested, stopped a few days at Lisbon, § was followed thither by the *Niagara* and the *Sacramento,* but again escaped and, reaching Havana, || was surrendered to the Governor-General and in time was delivered to the United States. ¶

The only Confederate cruiser then at sea was the *Shenandoah.* To reach her Mason appealed to Lord Russell and asked if Her Majesty would allow copies of an order to Waddell to be sent to British Consuls in ports at which the cruiser might touch.** Russell consented, and a circular enclosing the order was dispatched to all British colonial authorities.†† The order informed Waddell that Lee and Johnston and Taylor and Kirby Smith had surrendered; that Davis and Stephens and members of the Cabinet were prisoners; that foreign powers had withdrawn their recognition of belligerent rights and had forbidden the entry into their ports of vessels under the Confederate flag for any purpose

* Official Records, Navy. Series 1, vol. iii, p. 720.

† Ibid., pp. 735-736.

‡ Ibid., p. 439.

§ Ibid., pp. 741-743.

|| For failing to attack, Craven was tried by court-martial and suspended from duty for two years. Ibid., pp. 467-470.

¶ Ibid., pp. 569, 747.

** Mason to Russell, June 20, 1865, Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, p. 777.

†† July 12, 1865. Ibid., pp. 778, 779.

of repair, or supply, and advised him to come to Europe and await events.* The order never reached him. When, early in August, he heard from the captain of a British bark that the war was over, he stowed his guns and made for Liverpool, entered the Mersey on November sixth, 1865, and wrote Earl Russell offering to surrender his ship to Her Majesty's Government.† A guard was promptly placed over her, and the senior naval officer at Liverpool was sent on board to muster the crew and find out if any were British subjects. ‡ Waddell gave orders that when their names were called they should say they were Southerners. When, therefore, the crew was mustered on one side of the ship, and Lieutenant Whittle called the roll, and each man passed before him and was asked, "What countryman are you?" every Englishman, Scot and Irishman said he was a Southerner. The others answered according to their nationality. § When this farce was ended the senior naval officer reported that the men "were all foreigners, and that there were none known to be British subjects on board." || Seventy-nine were British subjects. Nevertheless all were mustered out and went ashore. The *Shenandoah* was then delivered to Consul Dudley. Some months later the British Captain explained why he could not distinguish the British from the American sailors. Accustomed as he had been during his whole life at sea to the uniform and cleanly appearance of British men-of-war's men, he trusted he might be pardoned if he could not decide whether some of the dirty, drawling, ill-looking, gray-coated, big-bearded men who passed before him as the crew of the *Shenandoah* were British subjects or American citizens. ¶

What Johnson would do to the prostrate South, how he would deal with her political leaders; what policy he would

* Official Records, Navy, Series 1, vol. iii, p. 776.

† Waddell to Russell, November 6, 1865, Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. iii, p. 461.

‡ Earl Clarendon to Adams, November 11, 1865, ibid., p. 461.

§ Affidavit of William A. Temple, ibid., p. 486.

|| Clarendon to Adams, November 11, 1865, ibid., p. 461. For the reply to this see Captain R. A. Paynter to Secretary of the Admiralty.

¶ Captain Paynter to Secretary of the Admiralty, February 3, 1866, Claims of the United States against Great Britain, vol. iii, Part II, p. 504.

adopt towards the States; towards those who had borne arms and those who, without arms in their hands, had aided and abetted rebellion; how he would treat the freedmen and the serious industrial problems sure to arise from the sudden change from slave to free labor, were questions which gave no little anxiety to the North, enraged and stirred to bitter and vindictive feelings by the murder of Lincoln. The vast powers exercised by Lincoln were Johnson's to use, for Congress was not in session and could not interfere. How would he use them? At his first Cabinet meeting he assured the Secretaries his policy would be the same as that of the late President. To the delegations which came to see him he declared that the people must be taught that treason was the blackest of crimes; that traitors must suffer its penalty; that the time had come when the people must be taught to understand the length and breadth, the height and depth of treason; that treason must be made infamous and traitors must be impoverished: that he would make no declaration of his policy until it could be written, paragraph by paragraph, in the light of events as they transpired.* The press was loud in his praise. He was not only one of the foremost patriots and statesmen, but a modest, self-reliant, accomplished gentleman.† It would be vain to seek for one who had rendered greater service to the twin cause of Union and Liberty, or given more convincing proof of unalterable attachment to those great pillars of the political fabric. ‡ Lincoln, said a Senator in the course of a speech, would have dealt with the rebels as an indulgent father deals with his erring children. Johnson will deal with them more like a stern and incorruptible judge. Thus in a moment has the scepter of power passed from a hand of flesh to a hand of iron. §

What he would do was made known by proclamation late in May. To all who had directly or indirectly taken part in the rebellion amnesty and pardon were granted with full restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, pro-

* Moore, Speeches of Andrew Johnson, p. 473; Speech to the delegation from Illinois, April 18, 1865.

† New York Tribune, April 21, 1865.

‡ Philadelphia Press, April 21, 1865.

§ Senator Doolittle at Racine, New York Tribune, April 24, 1865.

vided they took and signed and kept inviolate an oath to support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder, and abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations made during the war with reference to the emancipation of negro slaves. But there was to be no amnesty for those who had been pretended civil or diplomatic officers, or foreign agents of the Confederacy; or had left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; or had been military or naval officers above the ranks of colonel in the army or lieutenant in the navy. All who abandoned seats in Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the army or navy to evade the duty of resisting the rebellion; all who had treated otherwise than lawfully, as prisoners of war, captive officers, soldiers, sailors of the United States; all who were then, or had been, absentees from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion; graduates of West Point or Annapolis who served in the rebel army or navy; governors of States in insurrection; all who quit the North and crossed the military lines to aid the rebellion; or engaged in destruction of the commerce of the United States on high seas, or on the lakes, or on the rivers separating the British provinces from the United States; or had made raids from Canada; or, when they sought to take the benefit of the oath, were in custody, or under bonds as prisoners of war, or held for offenses of any kind; persons whose taxable property was worth more than twenty thousand dollars; or, having taken the oath of allegiance prescribed in Lincoln's proclamation of amnesty, had not kept and maintained it inviolate, were proscribed. All hope of pardon, however, was not cut off, for any one in the fourteen excepted classes might apply to the President, and clemency would be granted if consistent with the peace and dignity of the United States.*

For the States lately in rebellion Johnson had two policies. He recognized the farcical government set up in Virginia as the loyal government, sent Pierpoint to Richmond and

* Proclamation of May 29, 1865, Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, pp. 310-312, 341-342.

bade the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, Navy, Interior, the Postmaster-General, the Attorney-General and the district judges put in force all laws of the United States with the execution of which they were concerned. He permitted the governments set up in Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisana to continue unmolested. But in the seven other States, lately in rebellion, there was no semblance of a loyal government, and with these his course of procedure was utterly different. At the outbreak of war, indeed, on the day when the fugitives from Bull Run were streaming into Washington, Crittenden of Kentucky offered, in the House, a resolution which declared that the war was not waged in any spirit of oppression, or for conquest, or for subjugation, or to overthrow, or interfere with the rights or institutions of the States; but to maintain the Constitution and preserve the Union, and that when these objects were accomplished the war ought to cease. The House adopted it by a great majority, and a few days later Andrew Johnson laid it before the Senate. "The resolution," said he, "simply states that we are not waging a war for the subjugation of States. If the Constitution is maintained and the laws carried out, the States take their places and all rebel citizens must submit. That is the whole of it." * From this theory of indestructible States and the impossibility of any one leaving the Union, Congress, as the war dragged on, drifted rapidly away; but Johnson did not. Speaking, when military Governor of Tennessee, he said: "Tennessee is not out of the Union, never has been, and never will be out. The bonds of the Constitution and the Federal power will always prevent that. This government is perpetual." Provision there was for admitting States into the Union, but none for letting them out. Still holding this view when he became President, he began his work of reconstruction with North Carolina.

That State, from his point of view, had never been out of the Union. Rebellious persons had seized upon her government and in her name waged war against the United States. But now that the rebellion had been put down it was his duty to see that the loyal people of the State reëstab-

* Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 1st Session, p. 243.

lished the old government. The Constitution, he said in his proclamation, declared that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and protect each against invasion and domestic violence, and bound him by a solemn oath to take care that the laws were faithfully executed. The rebellion having deprived the State of North Carolina of all civil government, and the armed forces of rebellion having been entirely overcome, it became his duty to carry out and enforce the obligations of the United States to the people of that State and secure them in the enjoyment of a republican form of government, whereby loyal people should be protected in all their rights of life, liberty and property. Therefore, in obedience to the high and solemn duty imposed on him he appointed William W. Holden provisional governor; bade him convene, as soon as possible, a convention of loyal men to amend the State Constitution, and do whatever was necessary to enable the loyal people to restore the State to its constitutional relations to the Federal Government. No man was to vote for a delegate, or sit in the convention unless he had taken and signed the oath prescribed in the Amnesty Proclamation, and was a duly qualified voter on the day the State seceded. The proclamation then required the Secretaries and heads of Departments to put in force all laws with the Administration of which they were charged.* Proclamations of the same kind were then issued in rapid succession for Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina and Florida.†

What Johnson would do for the freedmen gave great concern to the Radical leaders. Again and again during the lifetime of Lincoln they urged him to give the negro the ballot; now that he was dead they redoubled the pressure on his successor. Before the murdered President was in his grave Sumner and Chase, one evening in April, called on Johnson and brought up the question of giving free negroes the right to vote. Sumner had expected a contest, but was

* Proclamation of May 29, 1865, Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, pp. 312-314.

† Ibid., pp. 314-316, 318-331.

charmed with Johnson's expressions of sympathy, so different from that of his predecessor. The late President had accepted the principle; but hesitated in the application. The new President accepted the principle and the application, and Sumner came away convinced that the colored people were to have the right of suffrage.* Chase brought with him an address to the people of the United States, which he hoped Johnson would issue. It was concerned with the reorganization of the rebel States, contained a distinct recognition of the right of loyal colored men to vote, and was read and read again to the President. He was assured that if he would send it forth it would be printed in every language, civilized and uncivilized, under Heaven, and would give him fame equal to that Lincoln won by his Proclamation of Emancipation. Johnson agreed to all that was said but failed to see how he could issue such a document just then. He was new in office and untried, and could not do as he pleased.† The Cabinet was equally divided, ‡ and the proclamation providing government for North Carolina appeared with no allusion whatever to negro suffrage.

As one proclamation followed another, the chagrin of the Radical leaders became greater and greater. "Is there no way," asked Stevens, "to arrest the insane course of the President in reorganization?" § "If something is not done the President will be crowned king before Congress meets." ‖ Refer the whole matter to Congress, said Sumner. What right has the President to reorganize States? ¶ Stevens thought he had none, wrote him to hold his hand and await the action of Congress, and told him that not one Union man in the North approved his course,** and went to Washington to urge him to call a special session of Congress; but without avail. To Wade, all seemed gloomy. The Presi-

* Pierce, Memoirs and Letters of Sumner, vol, iv, pp. 242, 243. Oberholtzer, United States Since the Civil War, vol. i, p. 39.

† Chase's MS., Diary, April 29, 1865. Oberholtzer, United States Since the Civil War, vol. i, pp. 39, 40.

‡ Ibid., p. 40.

§ Sumner's Works, vol. ix, p. 480.

‖ Ibid., p. 480.

¶ Pierce's Memoirs and Letters of Sumner, vol. iv, p. 256.

** Sumner's Works, vol. ix, p. 480.

dent was pursuing, and was resolved to pursue, a course that must consign the Republican Party, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the rebels and their Copperhead allies in the North.* To Carl Schurz the North Carolina proclamation seemed a declaration of policy hostile to the freedmen. It was so understood, he wrote Johnson, and it was most important the President should not be misunderstood. But there would soon be an opportunity for an open declaration. The policy applied to North Carolina could not be applied to South Carolina, for "the elective franchise and eligibility" to office were limited "by a property qualification consisting in the ownership of a certain quantity of land and a certain number of slaves." He would have the President declare, in the South Carolina proclamation, that the task of restoring her was in the hands of her entire population, and that all loyal men, without distinction, might vote for delegates to the Convention. This would be unconstitutional: but so was the appointment of a State Governor by the Executive of the United States, and so was the order to the Governor to call a convention to amend a State Constitution. Schurz proposed to lay his ideas on reconstruction before the public in a series of letters and asked if he might address them to Johnson.† The President made no reply, but called him to Washington, and sent him South to inform himself on the state of affairs, give his opinions thereon, and make such suggestions as he pleased.‡

He was not the only one sent South. Chase, accompanied by Whitelaw Reid, went with Johnson's approval. Grant made a short tour of inspection, and a host of newspaper correspondents were soon telling the public what they saw.

Everywhere they found discouraged men eager to sell their property and go North, go anywhere. § The newspapers were full of advertisements of plantations for sale at

* Sumner MS., Harvard Library, quoted by Rhodes, History of the United States, vol. v, p. 533.

† Schurz to Johnson, June 6, 1865, Writings of Carl Schurz, vol. i, pp. 260-261.

‡ To Sumner, June 16, 1865, ibid., p. 264.

§ Philadelphia Public Ledger, June 17, 1865.

prices far below their real value. Two dollars an acre would buy land in Virginia which before the war could not have been bought for fifty times that price.* From one to ten was asked in North Carolina; † from three to nine for cotton land around Columbus ‡ and five in Alabama. The whole economic system had broken down. Everywhere was hunger, destitution, dilapidation, decay, the wreckage of four years of savage warfare.

The upper valley of the Shenandoah, so often traversed by both armies, was a scene of desolation. From Winchester to Harrisonburg scarce a crop, fence, chicken, horse, cow or pig was in sight. Beyond Harrisonburg, towards Staunton, was the region laid waste by Sheridan, and there, within a circle five miles in diameter, scarcely a house, barn, mill or building of any sort was standing. Extreme destitution prevailed throughout the entire valley. All able-bodied negroes had left; only those unfit to work remained. § The country between Washington and Richmond was described as like a desert. There too, farmhouses had been burned, cattle run off, and the land, left untilled, had gone back to pasturage. Blackened chimneys marked the sites where little hamlets had once stood. In Richmond immediately after the occupation, the military authorities issued rations to the starving poor, to several thousands of the men of the Army of Northern Virginia on their way home, and to some twenty-five thousand women and children of all colors. Even those who had money were no better off, for it was Confederate paper, and what little food could be purchased must be paid for in greenbacks. So bad was the condition that a Relief Committee was appointed, and the city marked out into thirty districts with two "visitors" in charge of each. Their duty was to visit every house, list the names of all who were destitute, and issue ration tickets entitling each adult to one full ration, and each child and servant to half a ration, per day. Before the twenty-first of April more than

* Philadelphia Public Ledger, June 4, 1865.

† Ibid., June 17, 1865.

‡ Reid, After the War, p. 344. Oberholtzer, United States Since the Civil War, vol. i, p. 72.

§ New York Tribune, June 20, 1865.

a hundred and twenty-eight thousand rations had been given to more than twenty-nine thousand persons.*

From Petersburg, General McKibbin reported that he had made a tour of inspection through the counties of his subdistrict; had found that along the lines of march and near where the armies had long been camped there was great destitution, and that little could be done towards cultivation of the soil unless the planters were loaned seeds, farming implements, horses, mules and harness. To relieve the distressed freedmen, troops were sent to each county town, barracks were built at the Court Houses, and the negroes put to work on a confiscated plantation.† The officer in command at Lynchburg found many cases where all the men had gone from plantations leaving women and children to the care of their old owners. But the planters could not support them unless the crops were gathered, and without the labor of the men there could be no crops. Should he therefore, he asked, issue destitution rations to the planters for these people, or gather them in one place for subsistence? In hopes of holding the former slaves on the plantations he was authorized to issue rations. ‡

In the ten counties around Atlanta dwelt from five to eight thousand families, some twenty-five to fifty thousand persons, "utterly destitute of bread or any kind of food." Women and children walked ten to forty miles to get it, and then got "only a moiety, or none." § During a week, early in June, forty-five thousand pounds of meat, forty-five thousand pounds of meal, and ten thousand of flour were issued to the starving in Atlanta. || Thirty thousand pounds of meat, and eight hundred bushels of corn were needed each

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* Badeau, April 21, 1865, Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part III, pp. 882-884. Ord to Stanton, April 19, 1865, ibid., p. 835. "There is a starving multitude here, we are finding them. Some have money to buy, but no provisions for sale." F. F. Dent to Grant, May 2, 1865, ibid., p. 1069. Halleck to Grant, May 2, ibid., p. 1073.

† To Howard, May 26, 1865, ibid., p. 1159.

‡ Gregg, May 25, 1865, ibid., p. 1215.

III, p. 1215.

§ Winslow to General Wilson, May 31, 1865, ibid., vol. xlix, Part II, pp. 939, 945, 949.

|| Wilson to Thomas, June 16, 1865, ibid., p. 1002.

day to feed the destitute in the section of Georgia that lay around Atlanta.* Day after day a mob of women from the country, dressed in coarse, dirty homespun, struggled before the door of the Court House, while ladies looked on in despair. A newspaper correspondent declared there were a thousand women in the crowd. A man in a cart drawn by an ox said he had come four times to get food and had gone away each time with nothing. For five days he and his wife had been living on wheat bran.† Around Talladega, Alabama, five thousand persons were rationed. ‡ Torpor and decay were everywhere visible in Mobile. The planks had been torn from the tops of the levees, and used for fire wood; the wharves were rotting in the sun, and half the shops and warehouses were closed. § At Macon there were no fixed prices for food. The cost of bacon, eggs, butter, varied according to the whims of the sellers, and whether they were paid for in gold, greenbacks, silver, or bartered for other commodities, a very common practice. ||

Half the continent has been devastated by war, said the Union Commission. In many parts of the South distress was great and growing greater, and especially in the track of Sherman's army. Official reports which came to its office told of women and children who walked ten, forty miles for bread and then got but a morsel or nothing; of naked beings crouching beside an old brick chimney, all that remained of what was once their home; of ten counties in northern Georgia in all of which there was not growing as much food for man and beast as could be found on an ordinary Northern farm. The chief sufferers were the families of Union volunteers in southern Tennessee and northern Georgia, whose homes had been ruined by rebel armies or guerrillas. Twenty thousand suffering poor in middle Tennessee and an incalculable number in east Tennessee had been helped. Supplies costing over $3,000 had been sent to the valley of the Shenandoah and in less quantities to places

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlix, Part II, p. 1020.
† New York Tribune, July 25, 1865.
‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlix, Part II, p. 947.
§ Reid, After the War, p. 205.
|| New York Tribune, June 23, 1865.

scattered over the country from Little Rock to Fernandina.

A visitor described Charleston as "a city of ruins, of deserted streets, of vacant houses, of widowed women, of rotting wharves, of deserted warehouses, of weed-wild gardens, of miles of grass-grown streets, of acres of pitiful, voiceless, barrenness." * Another saw many mules grazing in the streets and described the wharves as so overgrown with a rank plant that they looked like swamps.† Columbia, once much admired for its broad streets, beautiful shade trees, fine lawns and extensive gardens, was, our traveler said, a wilderness of ruins. The heart of it was a mass of blackened chimneys and crumbling walls. Not a store, office, shop, escaped in the business part. For three-quarters of a mile along each of twelve streets not a building was left. Of the rows of fine shade trees that once lined its sidewalks, but rows of dead trunks remained.‡ Money consisted of shin plasters redeemable in sums of two dollars and more in greenbacks. They were issued by some merchants who were striving to revive business. Not one of the five railroads which once entered it now came within twelve miles of it. You went north thirty-two miles to find the end of one; southeast thirty to find the end of another; south forty-five miles to reach a third; fifty miles to reach a fourth, and northwest twenty-nine miles before you came to the end of the fifth. § Everywhere rails were missing or so bent and twisted that they never could be used.

All railroads in the South were in dilapidation. From almost every branch road and from many of little importance the rails had been carried away to keep in repair those of military importance. Locomotives were useless for want of new parts to replace those worn out. Broken windows in passenger coaches were stopped with boards for want of glass. Passengers were often put into box cars around the sides of which were rough board seats. A traveler on his way from Augusta to Atlanta saw hundreds of cars of other

* Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 1.
† Carl Schurz, Reminiscences, vol. iii, p. 165.
‡ Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 34.
§ Ibid., p. 29.

roads standing at what had once been stations, or on side tracks of timber running off into the woods. Those near the stations were inhabited by whites and blacks. Again and again stops were made to fill the tender with water carried to it in pails, for all tanks had been destroyed.* Between Augusta and Savannah was a stretch of sixty miles across which stages ran to connect with the end of the road leading to Savannah.† Reid, on his way to Montgomery, traveled in a box freight car around the sides of which was a board bench for such as wished to sit down. ‡ At Opelika the train for Macon consisted of two box cars, with no seats, into which were thrust passengers, baggage, freight and fuel. The smokestack of the engine was battered, its bell broken and its headlight gone. At Montgomery, the train consisted of box freight cars in each of which were half a dozen board benches placed crosswise. § Going from Charleston to Columbia another traveler went by rail to Orangeburg, a distance of seventy-seven miles, in seven hours and a half, at a cost of five dollars. One train passed over the road each way daily. That on which he journeyed consisted of five freight cars, a baggage, a box car for negroes and a passenger car. When twenty miles out of Charleston the conductor collected the fare. The place had been a pleasant little village; but it was in Sherman's way and only half of it remained. From Orangeburg he went by covered wagon to Columbia. || No one who had not traveled this route could have any idea of the variety of shapes into which Sherman's men had twisted the rails. Not a good rail, not a tie was left between Orangeburg and Columbia. ¶ The road was utterly destroyed.

Between Lynchburg and Bristol on the Tennessee line, some two hundred and four miles, Reid spent twenty-four hours. As he looked off from the rear of the train he saw rails with crushed ends, gaps where stones had been inserted

* New York Tribune, July 22, 1865.
† Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 360.
‡ Reid, After the War, p. 365.
§ Ibid., p. 368.
|| Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 29.
¶ New York Tribune, July 12, 1865.

to keep the wheels from coming down on the ties, and sharp curves outward, traces of twists given the rails by Yankee raiders.* On railroads seized and used for military purposes by the Federal Government conditions were far better. Road beds and rails were good, and rolling stock plentiful; but it was late in September before the Government began to return these roads to their owners, selling them the rolling stock on credit.†

To Raleigh, refugees, white and black, came in such numbers and so crowded the houses into which they were admitted that it became necessary, for sanitary reasons, to house them in the rebel barracks or put them in tents in the suburbs. Two thousand negroes had come, or been brought, from South Carolina and Georgia. All refugees were rationed.‡

. Before the Emancipation Proclamation of January, 1863, what to do with fugitives within the Union lines had sorely puzzled both Lincoln and his generals. After the proclamation all slaves within the boundary drawn by it were considered free, left the plantations by hundreds, found refuge in Union camps or followed the marching columns. Forty thousand freedmen who came with Sherman's army or followed it to Savannah were settled on the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina. § But the great mass of the slave population stayed on the plantations and served its masters faithfully. Not only in peace but in war, said a Southern governor, they have been faithful to us. Our women and infant children were left almost exclusively to the protection of our slaves and they proved true to their trust. Not one case of insult, outrage, indignity, has come to my knowledge. They remained at home. They raised food for our armies. We all know that many were anxious to take arms in our cause. For several years along six hundred miles of coast they heard the guns of Federal ships of

* Reid, After the War, p. 340.

† New York Tribune, September 7, 1865.

‡ Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvii, Part III, pp. 565, 607.

§ General Saxton's Report, December 6, 1865, Senate Executive Document, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 27, p. 410.

war, yet not a thousand of them left our service to find shelter and freedom under the Union flag.*

When the fighting ended and the Confederacy went down, the old labor system of the South fell to pieces, and the great mass of negroes, so quiet during the war, began to move. They were free. They belonged to nobody. They could no longer be bought and sold, nor flogged, nor forced to work. To enjoy this freedom great numbers left the plantations and flocked to the camps and garrison towns to live in idleness and be cared for by the Government that had made them free. They are no longer, it was said, our contented and happy slaves with an abundant supply of food and clothes for themselves and their children, and a superior race to look ahead and plan for their comfort. They are a discontented and unhappy people, many of them houseless, homeless and roaming about in gangs, not knowing one day where food for the next will be obtained.†

Well aware of what would happen when slavery ceased to exist Congress passed and Lincoln, in the last hours of the session just ended, approved an act establishing a "Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands." ‡ The duty of the Bureau was to protect the rights of the negroes as freedmen, give relief to refugees, white and black, in the devastated regions, and care for the confiscated lands. The life of the Bureau was one year, but later acts continued it for seven. Some little time must elapse before it could be organized and put in operation, and during this time the duty of explaining to planter and freedman their changed relation was performed by officers of the army in the field. The delusion of the colored people, formerly slaves, concerning their rights and privileges, said a general order issued at Petersburg, having caused much evil, it was necessary to explain the true relation in which they stood to the Government and their former masters. They were wrong in thinking that with freedom came individual rights in

* Inaugural Speech of Governor Walker of Florida, Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part IV, p. 16.

† Ibid.

‡ Act of March 3, 1865.

the property of their old owners, and that they were entitled to live with and be supported by him without any obligation to work. Many believed that all his property was theirs and that he remained on the plantation only by their leave. Thoughtless, ignorant, mischievous soldiers had put this idea in their heads. They must not be deceived. The law made them free, but gave them no claim to the property of their former master. They might make any contract a white man could make and were equally bound to abide by it. But their former master had a right to refuse them anything he could deny a perfect stranger. He was no more bound to feed, clothe, care for them than if he had never been their owner. They must work for their support in the future just as they had before they became free; but their labor must be paid for, and the wages would be their own. Destitute rations would be issued to nobody able to labor, unless it could be shown that work could not be found.* To remove all doubt from the minds of the people of North Carolina, general orders informed them that all slaves were made free by the proclamation of the first of January, 1863; that former masters were guardians of the young and the infirm and of those destitute of parents or relatives; could not turn them away, nor refuse shelter and food, and were urged to hire the freedmen paying fair wages or giving a share in the crops.†

Freedmen were told that minors were under control of parents or guardians; that able-bodied men of full age could not quit home, desert wives, children, young brothers and sisters and leave them to be supported by others while they lived in idleness; that only those having no dependents might find new homes wherever they could get employment. With the approval of the military authorities the parishes of Opelousas, St. Landry, Franklin, made regulations which put the negroes in a condition little better than slavery. None could go about within the limits of his parish, nor be absent from the plantation after ten o'clock at night without a pass

* Official Records, Series 1, vol. xlvi, Part III, p. 933. General Order No. 11, April 24, 1865.

† Ibid., vol. xlvii, Part III, pp. 331, 503.

in writing from his employer. None could rent a house. If he did he must be seized and forced to find an employer, for every freedman must be in the employ of his former master or some white man. None could preach, or exhort, or declaim at meetings of blacks without a permit from the president of the police jury. None could barter, sell or exchange any article unless he had a permit from his employer stating exactly what he might barter or sell. Violation of these regulations was to be punished by fines, or imprisonment for five days, or confining the offenders for not more than twelve hours, within a barrel placed over "his or her" shoulders in the manner practiced in the army.* Streams of freedmen from Texas and Arkansas were reported pouring into Missouri to be fed and sheltered. Great hardships, it was said, had been suffered on the journey, and not a few women and children had died of starvation on the way.†

No contracts for labor were made for more than the current year, and until the Freedmen's Bureau took over the care of the blacks, were revised by the military authorities. The rules laid down by the Bureau required fair wages, good rations, clothes, quarters, medical attendance, no work on Sunday, and half an acre of land to each family for a garden. Rations must consist of a peck of corn meal and five pounds of bacon, or pork, a week for each worker and each member of a family; the clothing of two suits in summer and one in winter for each worker and each member of a family. Twenty-six days of ten hours' labor in summer and nine in winter made a month. Six hours of extra toil made one working day and entitled the laboring man or woman to half a ration. Five per cent of all wages must be given the Bureau for maintenance of schools, for it had no money for such purpose.‡

Such workers as received wages were paid generally from six to eight dollars a month in Virginia, were housed in the old slave cabins, were given firewood, corn and bacon and

* Senate Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 2, p. 93.

† Official Records, vol. xlviii, Part II, p. 295.

‡ House Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 70, pp. 44, 45.

sometimes clothes, and permitted to cultivate an acre, raise poultry and own a pig.*

In upper and middle Georgia where the land was poor and little corn or cotton was raised on an acre, planters paid twelve dollars a month with food and housing to able-bodied males, and from eight to ten to able-bodied women working in the fields. Along the coast and in southwestern Georgia where good crops of corn, rice and cotton grew, the wage was fifteen a month for men and ten for women; or in lieu of money one-third the gross, or one half the net crop was set aside for the workers.† In Louisiana, from ten to twelve, with food and shelter;‡ in Texas never more than six.§ From these small wages, it often happened, planters would deduct the cost of feeding and clothing the children and infirm. Where the wage was a share of the crop it might be a seventh, or tenth, a quarter or a half.‖ As the old year drew to a close a great number refused to make contracts for the new, for they still believed that on Christmas each would receive forty acres of land. ¶ So widespread was this belief, and so firmly was it held, that the Freedmen's Bureau bade its superintendents and agents explain that no land would be given at Christmas or at any other time, and try to convince the blacks they were mistaken.** Confiscated and abandoned land, and by abandoned was meant that the rightful owner had voluntarily left to engage either in arms or otherwise in aiding or encouraging the rebellion,†† might be leased in tracts of not more than forty acres. But none could lease who did not have money enough saved to meet current expenses, and could not procure animals and seeds. ‡‡

The provisional Governors meanwhile, went on with re-

* New York Nation, vol. i, p. 109.

† House Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 70, p. 64.

‡ New York Nation, vol. ii, p. 305.

§ New York Tribune, July 17, 1865.

‖ New York Nation, vol. i, pp. 210, 293.

¶ Ibid., p. 126.

** Senate Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 27, pp. 124, 140, House Executive Documents, No. 70, p. 394, No. 11, p. 12.

†† House Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 70, pp. 17, 22.

‡‡ Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

construction. The oath of allegiance was tendered to all white males of full age not in the excepted classes, and delegates were elected to conventions to amend the constitutions of their States and make them conform to the changes wrought by the war. No time was lost, and before the end of November conventions in six States met, finished their business and adjourned.*

To these conventions men were elected who were disqualified. The excepted classes listed in the amnesty proclamation made it impossible to do otherwise, for in them were included almost every leading man in the South. But this made no difference. The provisional Governors sent their names to the President who pardoned them in time to take their seats in the conventions.

The great issues before these bodies were: the ordinance of secession, the debt created by the war, the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution. Each repealed its ordinance of secession, or declared it null and void. Each abolished slavery, or declared that, slavery having been destroyed, or slavery having been destroyed by the Government of the United States, or "the Government of the United States having, as a war measure, proclaimed all slaves held or owned in the State emancipated, and having carried this proclamation into full effect," † there shall henceforth be neither slavery nor voluntary servitude except for crime. Five repudiated the war debts, North Carolina and Georgia grudgingly, as of necessity, and under compulsion from the President. ‡ The South Carolina Convention would not repudiate. The debt, the provisional Governor wrote, was very small, was so mixed up with the ordinary expenses of the State that it could not be separated, and that the legislature had no power to repudiate it, even if it could be separated. §

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* Mississippi, August 14; Alabama, September 12; South Carolina, September 13; North Carolina, October 2; Georgia, October 25; Florida, October 25, 1865.

† Georgia; Senate Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 26, pp. 237-238.

‡ Ibid., pp. 226, 227. Georgia, p. 81.

§ Perry to Seward, November 27, 1865. Ibid., p. 201.

Next to act were the legislatures. They were required by the President to ratify the proposed thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. Mississippi refused to do so, and set forth her reasons. Adoption of the proposed amendment could have no practical effect in Mississippi. Absolute freedom of the African race was already assured by the amendment to the State constitution adopted in perfect good faith by the convention. It was an "accomplished fact." To the second section there were serious objections. It gave Congress the power to enforce the first section by appropriate legislation. But, slavery having been abolished, there was no necessity for this grant of power. Slavery was extinct everywhere save in Delaware and Kentucky. In them it was tottering to its fall. No amendment was needed to coerce them into emancipation. Slavery could not be perpetuated in them after freedom had been obtained everywhere else. The language of this section was vague, indefinite. None could tell how Congress might construe it. Congress might claim the right to judge what legislation was appropriate for the freedmen in Mississippi; might claim that the freedom of the negro race was not complete until it was raised to political equality with the white. No grant of power could be more dangerous to the reserved rights of the States than one which gave Congress the right to legislate for denizens and inhabitants of a State. It was no time to increase the power of the Federal Government. The liberties of the people and the preservation of the federation would be best insured by keeping the Federal and State Governments in the spheres already marked out for them. Therefore Mississippi refused to ratify.* Alabama ratified with the understanding that no power was given Congress to legislate on the political status of the freedmen.† South Carolina embodied, in her resolution of ratification, the statement that any attempt by Congress to legislate on the political status of former slaves, or on their civil relations, would be

* Report of the joint standing Committee of State and Federal Relations, Senate Executive Document, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 26, pp. 79-80.

† Ibid., p. 110.

contrary to the Constitution of the United States as it then was, or as it would be when changed by the adoption of the proposed amendment; would be in conflict with the policy of the President as declared in the Amnesty Proclamation, and with the restoration of that harmony on which depended the vital interests of the American Union. North Carolina and Georgia made no conditions, and the assent of twenty-seven States having thus been obtained, Seward, by proclamation, certified that the Thirteenth Amendment was "to all intents and purposes a part of the Constitution of the United States." *

The year was almost spent when Florida gave her assent with the understanding that no power was given Congress to legislate on "the political status of the freedmen in this State." † In March of the following year Texas, despite much opposition, nullified her ordinance of secession, repudiated her war debt and declared that slavery should no longer exist. But four years passed before she ratified the Thirteenth Amendment.‡

Emancipation having been forced on the South, the States lately in rebellion proceeded, without delay, by apprentice act, by vagrancy act, by new black codes to define the economic rights of the four millions of liberated slaves and bring back, as far as possible, conditions as they were before the war. To the mass of the people in the North the freed negroes were men and women who were relieved of the yoke of slavery and were entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of the white man including, in the opinion of the radicals, the right to vote. To the men of the South the free negro differed not one whit from the plantation slave save that he could not be bought and sold, must be paid for his labor, and was likely to become a far more dangerous and unruly element in the social system. He was as ignorant as a child, as lazy as a dog, as superstitious as any of his race running wild in the forests of Africa. Never,

* December 18, 1865, Statutes-at-Large, vol. xiii, pp. 774-775.

† December 28, 1865.

‡ February 18, 1870, Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State, No. 7, pp. 634, 635.

while a slave, had he taken thought for the morrow. The food he ate, the clothes he wore, the cabin in which he dwelt had all been provided by his master. Forced to work all his life as a slave, now he was free he would do no work or as little as he pleased. Corn and cotton, sugar cane and tobacco could not be cultivated if the laborers were few, or free to come and go as they pleased. There must be no uncertainty. Once again the negro must be forced to work.

The problem which faced the South was indeed a hard one. The old slave codes went down with the abolition of slavery and there were none to take their places. Laws there were for the government of free negroes, but they were intended for a limited number living under very different conditions. The first State to make a new code was Mississippi. Such laws for the whites as could with safety be extended to the blacks were so extended. But the color line was drawn, as the North soon came to believe, with cruel harshness and a deliberate intention to reduce the freedman as far as possible to his old state of slavery. He could not serve in the militia, nor sit in the jury box, nor testify in court in civil suits unless a party to the record, nor in criminal actions unless all parties were negroes or the culprit at the bar was a white man charged with some act of violence to a negro. In all cases he must be examined on the witness stand in open court. Tennessee refused to admit negro testimony; but the Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau at once ordered that it should be received. He could not carry fire arms without a permit, nor ride in a railroad car with whites; but negresses might if accompanying their mistresses as maids. He could not rent or lease lands or tenements except in cities and towns; and must, before the second Monday in January, 1866, have a lawful home, or employment and written evidence thereof. If living in a city, town or village, this evidence must be a license from the Mayor. If living outside of a city, town or village, a license from a member of the board of police of his beat "to do irregular and job work," or a written contract. All contracts for labor, if for longer than a month, must be in writing and attested and read to the negro by a city or county officer or

two disinterested whites. Should the negro run away from his employer any person might arrest and bring him back and receive five dollars, and ten cents a mile, for so doing. To knowingly employ such deserter or give or sell him food, raiment, or anything was a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment. Boys and girls under eighteen who were orphans, or whose parents refused support must be apprenticed to some suitable person, giving preference to their former masters; must be fed, clothed and treated humanely, and taught to read and write, and might be given such "corporal chastisement as a father or guardian" was allowed to inflict on his child or ward at common law. Freedmen over eighteen who, on the second Monday in January, 1866, had no lawful employment were to be treated as vagrants, and fined fifty dollars. If they did not pay they were to be hired out to any one who, for the shortest time would pay the fine and costs.* The Freedmen's Bureau promptly set aside all this legislation and it came to naught.

Despite all these and other acts of discrimination against the freedmen, Johnson, as he looked over his work of reconstruction, considered it good. When, therefore, Congress assembled in December he called on it to finish his work by seating the Senators and Representatives from the reconstructed States. But not until April and August, 1866, did he declare by proclamation that the state of insurrection and war proclaimed by Lincoln was ended, and "that peace, order, tranquility and civil authority" existed in and through the whole of the United States of America.†

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* Laws of Mississippi, 1865.

† April 2, 1866; August 20, 1866, Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. vi, p. 438.

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